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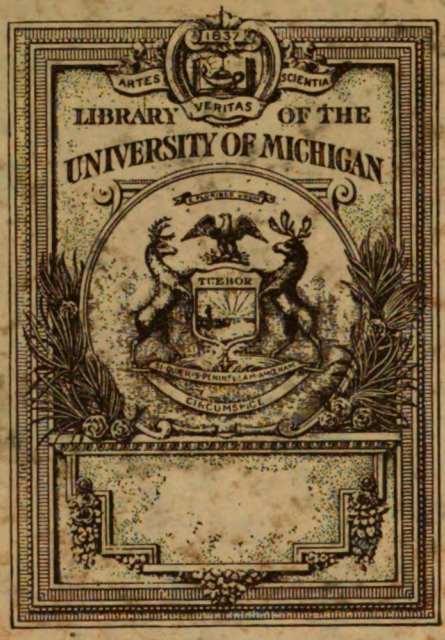
The beauties of England and Wales

John Britton, James Norris Brewer, Edward Wedlake Brayley, Frederic Shoberl, Joseph Nightingale, John Hodgson, Francis Charles ...



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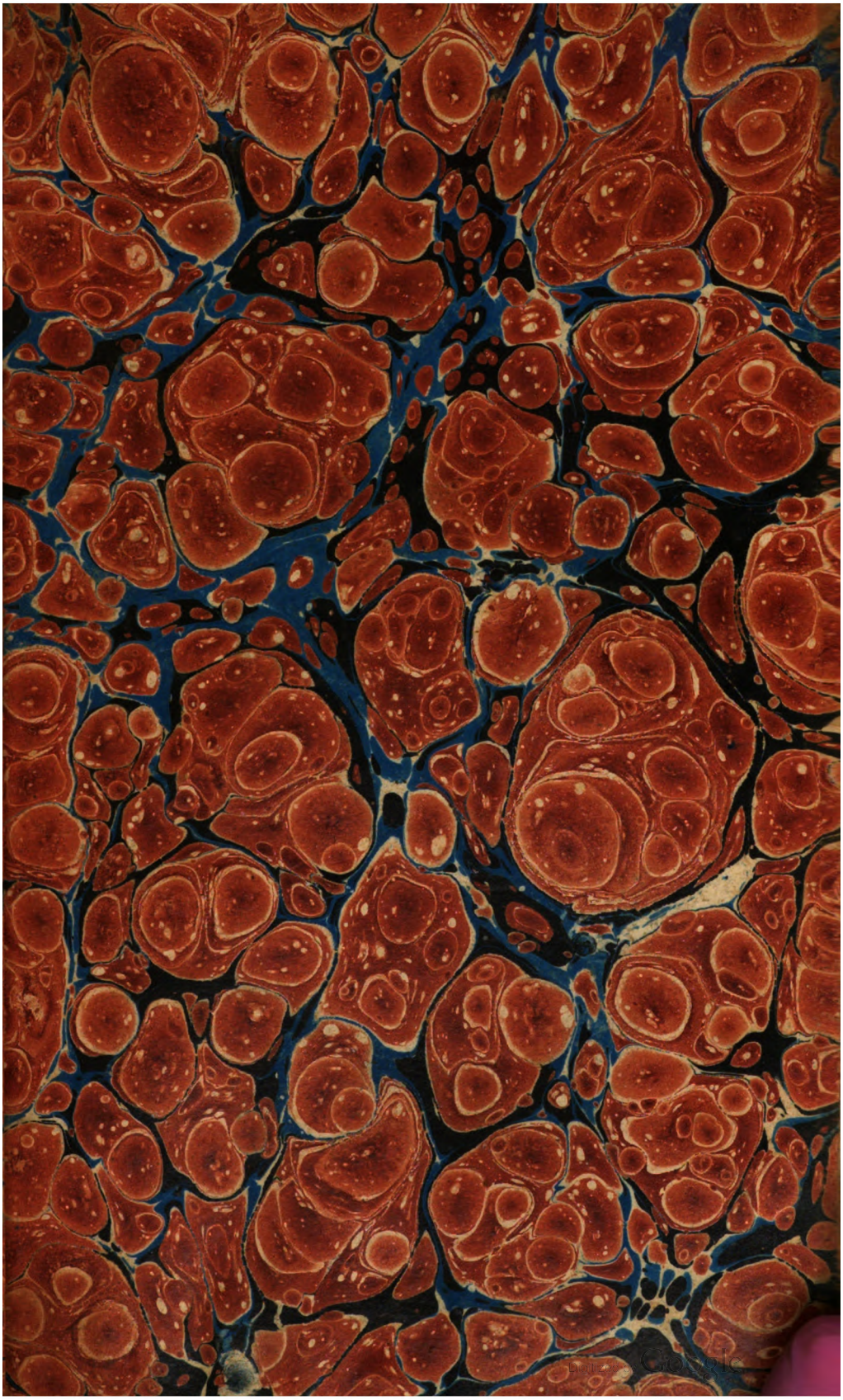

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Engraved by J. Burnett from a drawing by F. Nash, for the Baronia of England & Wales. F. W. Fairholt del.

ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
(West Front)
London.

London, Published by Fisher, Head & Sharpe Poultry April 1 1825

THE

Beauties

of

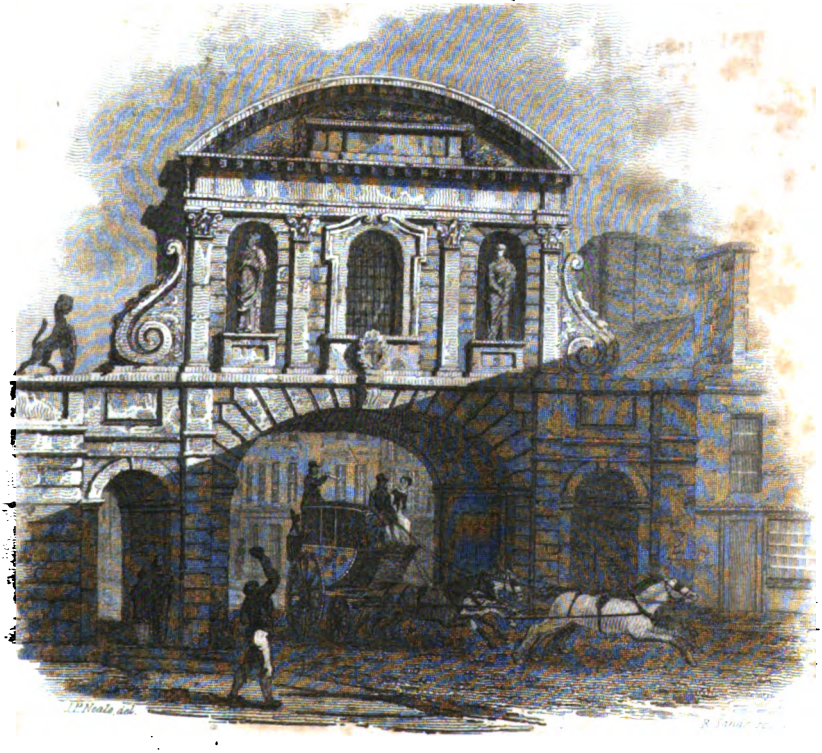
ENGLAND AND WALES;

OR

DELINEATIONS

TOPOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL,
and
DESCRIPTIVE.

Vol X. Part II.



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THE

BEAUTIES

OF

England and Wales:

OR,

ORIGINAL DELINEATIONS,

TOPOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND DESCRIPTIVE,

OF

EACH COUNTY.

EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

BY

EDWARD WEDLAKE BRAYLEY.

VOL. X.

PART I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. HARRIS; LONGMAN AND CO.; J. WALKER; R. BALDWIN; SHERWOOD AND CO.; J. AND J. CUNDEE; B. AND R. CROSBY AND CO.; J. CUTHELL; J. AND J. RICHARDSON; CADELL AND DAVIES; C. AND J. RIVINGTON; AND G. COWIE AND CO.

1814.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Proprietors of this Work, in submitting this Second Volume to the liberality and candour of the Public, deem it necessary to explain under what circumstances they are placed with respect to the completion of the remaining volumes.

This Volume, as far as page 720, is the composition of Mr. Brayley; but, for several reasons not requisite to be stated in this place, it became necessary to engage another Editor to finish it: accordingly Mr. Nightingale undertook to conclude Mr. Brayley's very interesting History and Description of the East India Company and House, in Leadenhall Street, and with that account, and the usual Indexes, &c. &c. to end the Volume. The readers will, Mr. N. trusts, readily perceive the difficulty, and still greater delicacy, under which he laboured in executing this task, trifling as it appears. Not having any opportunity of conferring with

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with Mr. Brayley, to continue the narrative with that spirit and uniformity of manner and character in which it had been begun, was extremely difficult. The train of Mr. Brayley's authorities was not easily discovered, and it was impossible, without a consultation with Mr. Brayley himself, that Mr. Nightingale should know the precise line of proceeding which his predecessor meant to have adopted, had he completed what he had so well begun. Whatever errors, mistakes, or want of judgment, therefore, may be discovered in that part of the work which peculiarly belongs to the present Editor, should not, of course, be charged to the labours or undertaking of the original Editor.

The work will henceforth be continued with the utmost regularity. Mr. N, who has undertaken that part which relates to the Cities of London and Westminster, or what may properly be denominated the Metropolis, has employed nearly two years in surveying every part of these extensive cities. This survey he made with a view to another object, not dissimilar to the present; and what was defective in that survey, will be accomplished before any part of his present undertaking shall be put to press; or, at least, before he will venture to print what he may have but imperfectly examined. He hopes, therefore, with the able assistance he has engaged, and the many valuable communications

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cations already received or promised, to complete his part of the work to the satisfaction of the subscribers.

For that part which has a more intimate reference to the County of Middlesex, as distinct from the Metropolis, extensive Collections and Arrangements are making, by, and under the direction of MR. BREWER, a gentleman already known to the subscribers, as the Editor of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire, forming part of the 12th and 15th Volumes of the "BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND."

London,
Sept. 12, 1814.

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THE

BEAUTIES

OF

England and Wales.

LONDON.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF LONDON IN ITS PRESENT STATE; INCLUDING PARTICULARS OF ITS SITUATION, EXTENT, BUILDINGS, POPULATION, DOMESTIC POLITY, MANUFACTURES, RETAIL TRADE, CLIMATE, &c.

Nurse of Art! The CITY rear'd,
In beauteous Pride, her *Tower-encirc'd* head,
And stretching Street on Street, by Thousands drew
From twining woody Haunts, or the tough Yew
To Bows strong straining, her aspiring Sons.

Then COMMERCE brought into the public walk
The busy Merchant; the big Warehouse built;
Rais'd the strong Crane; choak'd up the loaded Street
With Foreign Plenty; and thy Stream, O Thames,
Large, gentle, deep, majestic King of Floods!
Chose for his grand resort. THOMSON.

THE immense congregation of Buildings, known under the general name of LONDON, and forming the Capital of the British Empire, includes the Cities and Liberties of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and about thirty of the

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adjacent villages in Middlesex and Surrey. The River Thames, which separates these Counties, also divides the Metropolis into two irregular parts; the Cities of London and Westminster, with their widely extended Suburbs, standing on the Northern side, and the Borough of Southwark, &c., on the Southern. The communication between these respective divisions, is maintained principally by means of the three Bridges of London, Blackfriars, and Westminster; and a fourth Bridge has been recently commenced at Millbank, above Westminster, in order to facilitate an intercourse with the opposite shore at Vauxhall.*

The situation of London, in respect to its position on the Globe, is in Latitude, 51 degrees, 31 minutes, North; and in Longitude, 18 degrees, 36 minutes; or 5 minutes, 37 seconds, West, from Greenwich. Its distance from the principal Cities of Europe is as follows: from Edinburgh 367 miles, South; from Dublin 338 miles South-east; from Amsterdam, 190 miles, West; from Paris, 225 miles, North North-west; from Copenhagen, 610 miles, South-west; from Vienna, 820 miles, North-west; from Madrid, 860 miles, North-east by East; from Rome, 950 miles, North North-west; from Constantinople, 1660 miles, North-west; and from Moscow, 1660 miles, East South-east.

The immediate site of London is about sixty miles from the sea, Westward, in a pleasant and spacious valley, stretching along the banks of the Thames; which river, as it flows through the town, forms a bold curve or crescent. On the Northern side, the ground rises with a quick ascent, and then more gradually, but unequally, heightens to the North-west and West, which are the most elevated parts. On the South side, the ground is nearly level, and was anciently an entire morass of several miles extent, but was reclaimed through the artificial embankment of the River.† The

* Two more Bridges have also been projected, and Subscriptions are now raising for the purpose of erecting them; the one from Cuper's Bridge, on the Surrey side, to the Strand between Somerset House and the Savoy, and the other from Bankside to the avenue connecting with Queen Street.

† Whether this was effected by the Britons or by the Romans, is, at this distance

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The present average breadth of the stream, in this part of its course, is from four to five hundred yards; its general depth, at low water, is about twelve feet, but at spring tides it rises from ten to twelve, and sometimes to fourteen, or fifteen feet above that level. The tides commonly flow to the distance of fifteen miles above London Bridge, and would probably extend yet further, but from the stoppage of the water by that ponderous fabric.†

The general soil of the valley in which the Metropolis is situated, is gravel and clay, with loam and sand intermixed. The clay predominates in most parts of the town; and to this circumstance, combined with the facility with which the clay is converted into brick, the vast augmentation of buildings in London is partly to be attributed. From the neighbourhood of Tothill Fields, on the South, to that of the Tower on the East, the buildings, following the natural bend of the River, rise in a sort of amphitheatric form, and are defended from the bleak winds of the North, by the rising grounds about Islington and Highbury, and the hills of Highgate and Hampstead. Below the Tower, and extending to the extremity of the County along the River Lee, in the vicinity of Wapping, Limehouse, Poplar, &c., the ground is in general flat, and the houses are exposed to the chilling blasts of the East. The Western and higher parts of the Metropolis, stand pleasantly open to the genial breezes of that quarter. The Southern, or Surrey side, lies low and level, and is still marshy, particularly in the neighbourhood of Lambeth, and St. George's

distance of time, impossible to ascertain; yet, that the former people had formed a settlement on the Northern bank of the Thames, before the embankment was constructed on the South, may be inferred from the ancient name *Llyn-Din*, i. e. 'The town on the *Lake*,' from which the term *London* appears to have been corrupted. See preceding Volume, pages 75 to 79.

* About *one-twelfth* part of the water, at ordinary spring tides, is computed to be denied a passage by the piers and sterlings of the Bridge, and through this impediment, the tide rises nineteen inches higher on the East side than on the West.

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Fields; of late years, however, as the population of these districts has advanced, greater attention has been given to the drainage, and the whole is now in a state of progressive improvement.

The extent of London from West to East, or from Knightsbridge to Poplar, is full seven miles and a half; its breadth, from North to South, is very irregular, but may be described as varying from two to four miles. The outward line, or circumference, of the contiguous buildings, allowing for the numerous inequalities of breadth, may be computed at about twenty-five miles; and the area of the whole comprehends between eight and nine square miles. The principal mercantile Streets range from West to East, and in that direction the Metropolis is intersected by two great thoroughfares; the one, which is most adjacent to the Thames, and may be called the *Southern line*, commences on the Bath Road, at Hyde Park Corner, and under the successive names of Piccadilly, Hay-market, Cockspur Street, Charing Cross, Strand, Fleet Street, Ludgate Hill, St. Paul's Church-yard, Watling Street, Cannon Street, East Cheap, and Tower Street, connects with Tower Hill; and thence extends to Limehouse, about two miles further, through East Smithfield, Radcliff Highway, Upper and Lower Shadwell, &c. The *Northern line* begins on the Uxbridge and Oxford Road, and under the different appellations of Oxford Street, High Street, St. Giles's, Holborn, Skinner Street, Newgate Street, Cheapside, Cornhill, Leadenhall Street, Aldgate, and Whitechapel, leads by the Mile-End road into Essex: from this latter line, at Church-lane, Whitechapel, the new Commercial Road branches off South-eastward, and goes on to the West India Docks, a distance of about two miles. The principal thoroughfare which crosses London from North to South, enters from the Cambridge Road at Kingsland, and continues along Shoreditch, Norton-Falgate, Bishopsgate Street, Gracechurch Street, Fish-Street Hill, London Bridge, the Borough High-Street, Blackman Street, and Newington Causeway, to the Brighton and other roads. Besides this, there are two other main avenues into Surrey and Kent, over the Bridges of Blackfriars and Westminster,

by

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by spacious Roads, which meet at the Obelisk in St. George's Fields, and again diverge near the well known sign of the Elephant and Castle.

Independent of its various local and judicial divisions, London may be considered as comprehending three great districts, viz. The West End of the Town; the City; and the East End of the Town. The '*West End* of the Town,' which, in its general colloquial acceptation, extends from the vicinity of the Strand, to the neighbourhood of Hyde Park, Westward, and to Paddington Road North-westward, is the most modern and uniform part of the Metropolis; and the houses, generally speaking, are the largest, most respectable, and best built. Here, at Westminster, and St. James's, are the Seats of the Legislature, of Government, and of the Court; and the squares, and principal places of this district, contain the Town residences of the chief Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. The '*City*,' includes the division, properly so called, and some portion of its Liberties, and forms the Grand Centre of the Mercantile and Trading parts of London; with the exception, perhaps, of the Silk Manufacture, (which is mostly confined to the populous vicinity of Spitalfields), and of most of the Maritime branches; the latter are principally carried on at the '*East End* of the Town,' and in its vastly increasing Suburbs. The inhabitants of this large District are in general connected with the Shipping Business, and consist of Merchants, Owners, and Captains of Ships, Ship and Boat Builders, persons concerned in the Docks, as Shop-keepers, Slop-sellers, &c., Sailors, Watermen, and others who derive employment from maritime pursuits. The Southern banks of the Thames, from Deptford and Rotherhithe, to Lambeth and Vauxhall, are also chiefly inhabited by persons engaged in Commercial and Maritime concerns; and the immediate borders of the River are occupied by an almost continued rage of Dock-yards, Wharfs, Warehouses, Iron-founderies, Glass-houses, Timber-yards, Boat-builder's Yards, and Manufactories of different kinds.*

* See preceding Vol. pages 62, 63.

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London is computed to contain about 60 Squares, and 8000 Streets, Lanes, Courts, &c.: the whole formed by upwards of 160,000 Buildings, of various descriptions, as Public Structures, Churches, Dwelling Houses, Warehouses, Shops, &c. The Churches and other principal edifices, are mostly built of stone; the Dwellings, with the exception of some of the mansions belonging to the nobility, also of stone, are almost wholly built with brick: but few wooden houses are now to be seen, and those are principally of a date anterior to the Great Fire of 1666. Many of the Squares are extremely spacious, and the central area of most of them is inclosed by an iron pallisade, and laid out in gravelled walks and shrubberies for the recreation of the inhabitants of the surrounding houses. The principal Streets are also spacious and airy; and in most of the new parts of the town, the buildings are respectable and uniform; yet the continuity of line, which results from this regularity, renders them by far less picturesque than the old houses, which were constructed with projecting porticoes, over-hanging windows, gable ends, &c. and of which some specimens may yet be found.

Through the numerous improvements that have been made in the course of the last 150 years, the inhabitants of London enjoy greater conveniences and domestic comforts than those of any other city in Europe. All the Streets, excepting on the very outskirts of the town, are regularly paved, and divided into a carriage way, and a foot-path on each side. The carriage way is paved with small squarish blocks of Scotch granite, or pebbles, so disposed as to rise with a small convexity in the centre, and having a continued channel, or keunel, on each side, at a short distance from the foot-pavements: the latter are in general laid with large thin flags, or slabs, either of Yorkshire freestone, moorstone, or limestone; and are finished with a regular kirb, raised an inch or two above the carriage way: their breadth varies from about three to six, or eight feet, in proportion to the width of the avenue. The mud and soil which accumulates in the streets, are taken away at stated intervals by scavengers employed by the different parishes; and the waste water, &c. runs off through iron gratings, fixed in the kennels at proper intervals, into arched

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arched sewers or drains, constructed beneath the streets (and communicating by smaller drains with the houses) and having various outlets through larger sewers into the Thames. Through these means, and from the ample supply of water which the inhabitants derive from different sources, the general cleanliness is very considerable, and greatly contributes to the present salubrity of the Metropolis.

The charges of constructing and keeping in repair the sewers, drains, &c. and of paving the streets, are defrayed by levies of a small sum per pound on the rents of all inhabited houses; and the expenses of lighting and watching are likewise discharged in the same manner. The sewer tax is collected every two or three years under the direction of the Commissioners of Sewers; the taxes for paving, lighting, and watching are, in general, assessed by the authority of magistrates and other officers, acting in the different districts and parishes, under the express regulations of various acts of Parliament, obtained for local purposes.

The manner in which the Streets are *Lighted* very much conduces to the public safety, and on dark nights has a most striking effect, particularly at a distance, and to strangers.* The lamps are very numerous: in the more respectable neighbourhoods, (in addition to those fixed up before the larger mansions, and at almost every door, at the private charge of individuals,) they are hung in front of every dwelling, by means of iron frame-work, connected with the railings of the areas; in all the principal streets and avenues also, they are ranged before every second or third house.† The roads immediately contiguous to the Metropolis are likewise

 enlightened

* Pennant mentions an anecdote of a foreign Ambassador, who, on entering London through St. George's Fields, at night, conceived the idea that the town was illuminated in honour of his arrival, and with humorous *naiveté* remarked, that it was "more than he could have expected!"

† The Lamps are of glass, of a globular form, and about ten inches in diameter: within these are hung the burners (for the consumption of oil, with cotton wicks) each of which has two lights, one on each side, and the whole is covered by a tin top, partly conical, and partly cylindrical, having small apertures

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enlightened by lamps hung upon strong posts, about eight feet high, fixed in the ground at regular distances along the edge of the foot-paths. In some parishes, of late years, the lamps have each been furnished with two solid glass lenses, being segments of globes, through which the light is greatly increased by refraction; yet these are by many regarded as objectionable, from their dazzling the sight at a distance, and yet leaving the space immediately beneath the lamps in darkness.

The *Watching* of the Metropolis is chiefly entrusted to aged men, who are mostly hired at small weekly salaries by the different parishes, and provided with a great coat, a lanthorn, a pole or staff, a rattle and a watch-box. Each watchman has a regular beat or walk, which it is his duty to go twice round every hour during the night, and to proclaim aloud the time, and the state of the weather. The whole number of these nightly guardians, including the patroles, (who are much fewer, but are armed with cutlasses, fire-arms, &c.) does not exceed 2,200, according to a late estimate* made

apertures to give vent to the smoke. These tops, also, prevent the lights from being extinguished by rain or wind, unless the weather should be very squally. From the mode in which the private lamps are generally hung, their appearance becomes ornamental, the iron-work frequently displaying considerable taste in the design or pattern.

* "The following is an estimate of the Watchmen and Patroles employed to protect the inhabitants of the Metropolis during the night against acts of violence and depredation.

City of London, watchmen and patroles, about	785
City and Liberty of Westminster, ditto,	300
Division of Holborn, ditto,	370
Division of Finsbury, ditto,	130
Division of the Tower Hamlets and Tower Liberty, ditto,	290
Division of Kensington, Chelsea, &c. ditto,	65
Borough of Southwark and vicinity, ditto,	80
	2,020
Private watchmen in different parts of the Metropolis, ditto,	180
	2,200

Vide '*Treatise on the Functions, &c. of a Constable,*' by P. Colquhoun, Esq. L. L. D.

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made by Dr. Colquhoun. In the winter season, the roads adjacent to London are additionally guarded by horse-patroles, and on extraordinary occasions, the officers of the Police are likewise ordered out, or kept in readiness, to assist in the preservation of the public peace.

The width of the streets, and the moderate height of the buildings, which are hardly ever run up into six and seven or even more stories, as in some other cities, highly contribute to the healthfulness of London. Few of the streets are so narrow as to prevent two carriages from passing, and many others, especially in the new parts of the town, are wide enough for four or five to pass without inconvenience. The general width of the principal trading streets may be stated at from thirty to fifty and sixty feet; others, particularly westward, measure from sixty to a hundred feet and upwards; the width of Parliament Street, at the Treasury, is about 120 feet; and that of Portland Place somewhat more than 350.

The mansions of the Nobility, and principal Commoners, display great variety, as well in their exterior architecture, as in their internal decorations and arrangements. Generally speaking, their exterior is characterized by a simplicity and plainness, by no means consonant with the taste and elegance exhibited in the interiors. In some instances, as will be more particularly adverted to hereafter, the designs are magnificent, and the buildings themselves sufficiently capacious and splendid, to deserve the appellation of palaces. The same general description, also, appertains to the public buildings connected with the administration of government; and the internal construction of the whole exemplifies that judicious disposition of parts, and commodiousness of arrangement and fitting up, which distinguishes modern architecture. The houses of the next rank are more uniform; principally through the operation of different acts of Parliament that have been made within the last 150 years, for regulating buildings, and securing the public convenience and safety. They consist of three or four stories above ground, with one below, under the level of the streets, containing the kitchen, cellars, &c. On each principal

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principal story is a large room in front, and one or two others, with the stair-case, behind: the attics are commonly divided into smaller rooms for servants. Below the kitchens are the drains; and in front is an open area, secured by an iron railing, and communicating with the coal vaults: these are dug under the streets, and have a circular aperture, communicating with the pavement, through which the coals are let down, and which, at other times, is covered with an iron plate. Every house of modern erection is separated from the contiguous ones by a party wall, the better to prevent the spreading of fires.*

The situation of London is so favourable, that springs,† which might yield large quantities of water, are found on digging almost every where, yet the main sources of that plentiful supply which the inhabitants receive, are the Thames and the New River;

* In the principal Streets and great Squares, Houses let in proportion to their size, &c. at from 200 to 500l. per annum. The next class let at from 100 to 200l. and, in the third and fourth rate streets, the annual rent varies from 40 to 100l. When a Lease is granted, which is seldom for a longer term than twenty-one years, and more frequently for seven or fourteen, the rental is lower than when let for a single year; but in these cases a premium is commonly given for the Lease. In the principal trading Streets, the rents vary from 100 to 400l. per annum; and in the second and third rate trading Streets, they average at from 40 to 60l. and upwards to 100l. per annum.

† "The waters of these springs contain a small portion of sea salt, and a larger quantity of *magnesia vitriolata*, so as to be sensible to the taste, and so as, in some places, to act as a purgative. They also contain gas, sometimes in quantity sufficient to give them briskness, and render them agreeable to the taste. The *Thames* water is very pure some miles above the town; near the town it is mixed with sand, and contains a sufficient quantity of mucilaginous matter to putrify. When preserved in casks, it purifies itself, by putrefaction, and remains afterwards more pure, but it never purifies sensibly in the river, nor in the cisterns in which it is sometimes kept a few days for use. At the lower part of the town it contains a little sea salt when the tide is at its height. Its specific gravity is nearly the same with that of distilled water; and the *New River* water is of similar quality. This is likewise pure, unless after heavy rains; and is bright and clear, and does not putrify on keeping." *Fordyce.*

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ver; this arises from the comparative cheapness with which those waters are conveyed into the very houses themselves, and which is effected by means of iron or wooden pipes, laid beneath all the streets, from one to three feet below the surface, and having small bores connected with leaden pipes, that lead to the kitchens and cisterns. In these pipes also, at convenient distances in the streets, plugs are fixed, to be opened in case of fires; and occasionally, to give issue to the water in times of frost, when the smaller pipes become frozen. In various parts of the town, also, over the ancient wells that have been preserved, pumps are fixed, having iron ladles attached, for the convenience of the populace.*

"London," says Dr. Colquhoun, in his valuable Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, "is not only the first commercial city that is known at present to exist, but is also one of the greatest and most extensive manufacturing towns, perhaps, in the universe; combining, in one spot, every attribute that can occasion an assemblage of moving property, unparalleled in point of extent, magnitude, and value, in the whole world." In another place,

* The following extract from Stow's Survey of London, p. 10. Edit. 1598, gives a curious picture of ancient London, in regard to its supply of water. "Aunciently, untill the Conqueror's time, and 200 years after, the Citie of London was watered, besides the famous River of *Thames* on the south part, with the *River of the Wels*, (or Fleet) as it was then called, on the west, with a water called *Walbrooke*, running through the middest of the Citie into the River of Thames, serving the hart thereof, and with a fourth water, or boorne, which ran within the Citie, through *Langbourne* Warde, watering that parte in the east. In the west suburbes was also an other greate water, called *Oldborne*, which had his fall into the River of Wels: then was there three principall Fountaines, or Wels, in the other suburbes, to wit, *Holly Well*, *Clement's Well*, and *Clarkes Well*. Neare unto this last named fountaine, were divers other Wels, to wit, *Skinner's Well*, *Fag's Well*, *Tode Well*, *Leder's Well*, and *Rad-Well*. In West Smithfield there was a Poole, in Recordes called *Horse-poole*; and one other *Poole* near unto the Parish Church of S. Giles, without Criplegate. Besides all which, they had in every streete and lane of the Citie divers fayre wels and fresh springes: and after this manner was this Citie then served with sweete and fresh waters."

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place, this gentleman estimates, that the transit of property by land-carriage, to and from London, amounts in value to the vast sum of fifty millions annually; and the number of carts, waggons, coaches, &c. employed in the conveyance of this immense aggregate has been computed at forty thousand. The Metropolis, indeed, being 'the grand mart for every possible variety of goods, both of elegance and use,' and the very centre of commerce, as well as the seat of a population amounting to upwards of nine hundred thousand persons,* it may readily be conceived that these computations do not exceed the truth. The *Manufactures*, as has been stated in a general way in the preceding volume, include almost every kind of article, either of utility or consumption, or of ingenuity, taste, science, or convenience. Those of silk, watches, cut-glass, fine jewellery, gentlemens' carriages, and their trappings, organs, piano-fortes, cabinet-work, fancy furniture, mathematical and optical instruments, fire-engines, &c. are almost peculiar to the Capital; at least, in all their higher branches. Sugar, soap, &c. are also manufactured here to an unparalleled extent; and the distillers and brewers furnish sources of employment for an aggregate capital of many millions.† Cutlery and fire-arms, of the most superior kinds, and even cannon, form part

* The total of the summary of the population of London, as ascertained from the returns made to the House of Commons, in 1801, will be found in the preceding Volume, p. 54; yet, as that number, viz. 865,628, does not include the soldiers generally stationed in the Metropolis, and whose numbers are upwards of 12,000, nor yet the seamen belonging to the navy, nor the foreigners who frequent the Port, nor yet the dealers and visitors from the country, who are constantly going to and fro, besides some other classes of persons, which might be easily enumerated; the gross amount of human beings at all times resident in the Capital and its immediate environs cannot be less than the number stated above. There can be little doubt that a line, extending from St. Paul's Cathedral, as a centre, and continued round a circumference of seven miles, would include more than a million of souls!

† Further particulars of the Brewing and Distilling business, as well as of various Manufactures, will be inserted in the subsequent parts of this Volume.

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part of the manufactures of London; and, among other branches of steel and iron work, that of polished register, and other stoves, should not be omitted; nor yet the more minute, but ingenious, art of needle-making.* The casting of printers' types, stereotype, and metal ornaments for printing, may likewise be enumerated with those almost peculiar to London or its neighbourhood, as well as numerous branches of art and science, carried on under exclusive patents, and otherwise.

The vast variety of objects which thus concentrate in the trade of the Metropolis, open an immense field for retail business, and very many are the streets where the ground floors of the houses are wholly occupied as retail shops. These, in a general point of view, are the same as the two principal lines of thoroughfares already described; and various others run in a parallel direction, or else branch out in different angles from the intermediate and adjacent avenues. Many of the shops are fitted up with much taste, and those appropriated to the more costly branches of trade have an unrivalled aspect of wealth and splendour. In this respect, the silversmiths and jewellers take the lead; and the dealers in watches, in ironmongery, cutlery, and other steel-work, in Manchester goods, mercery, linen drapery, hosiery, &c. form part of the aggregate. The china and cut-glass warehouses exhibit also a most brilliant variety of elegant and valuable goods; and the upholsterers, the opticians, the book and print sellers, and the repositories of fancy-wares, of carriages, and of furniture, all furnish an interesting display of choice, ingenious, and expensive articles.† On winter evenings, till eight or nine o'clock, all the principal

* Among British housewives, *Whitechapel* Needles have long been famous.

† To include the *Pastry-cooks* in this enumeration might appear ludicrous, yet when it is known that one of that trade, a London Citizen, was, from his success, enabled to bequeath more than 100,000l. to his heirs, the seeming pettiness of the business swells into importance. The exhibition of plum cakes, &c. in the pastry-cooks' windows, on Twelfth Nights, has long been famous; and, within the last three or four years, several of their principal shops have been fancifully fitted up with painted paper, and otherwise, as the interiors of grottoes on the sea shore.

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principal retail streets appear as if partially illuminated; such is the brilliancy that arises from the numerous lamps, &c. with which the shops are lighted up.

The accommodations for travellers and occasional residents in London have the same comparative excellence as those enjoyed by the inhabitants themselves. The hotels, inns, taverns, coffee-houses, and lodging-houses, possess both convenience and cleanliness, and, in all the principal ones, an inmate may either reside in privacy, or mingle with company, as inclination dictates. Commodious private lodgings may be found in many eligible situations throughout the whole Metropolis;* and in many of the first situations at the west end of the town, are hotels, where the most elevated in rank and distinction meet with adequate and comfortable residencies and entertainment. The accommodations of the principal taverns and coffee-houses in all the other quarters of London, and more particularly in the City, are equally respectable, though, with a few exceptions, not so splendid.†

The vast intercourse maintained by the inhabitants of London with each other, and with the surrounding towns and villages, for the purposes either of business, health, or pleasure, furnishes employment to many thousand vehicles of different descriptions, as gentlemens' carriages, stage coaches, post and single-horse chaises, glass coaches, gigs, hackney coaches, sedan chairs, waggons, carts, &c. The hackney coaches amount to eleven hundred, and are licensed by the authority of Commissioners acting under different acts of Parliament: the gentlemens' carriages are yet more numerous, and the stage and glass coaches abound to a degree no where else to be paralleled. The sedan chairs, which are principally

* The charge for Ready-furnished Lodgings in private houses varies, according to the quality, situation, and extent of the apartments. Upon the first floor, rooms may be had from one guinea, to two, three, four, five, and upwards, per week; on the second floors, in similar situations, apartments may be hired at about two-thirds, or somewhat less, of those sums.

† The London, and City of London Taverns, in Bishopsgate Street, and the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, are more especially celebrated for public dinners.

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pally employed in the west end of the town, amount to four hundred; the post-chaises, gigs, &c. are very numerous, and the licensed carts, waggons, drays, and other vehicles of similar character exceed the number of thirty thousand. Saddle-horses may also be hired in almost every quarter of the Metropolis for any time, from a day upwards; and at the various livery stables the horses of individuals are kept in excellent condition at a certain reasonable sum per week.

Notwithstanding the sudden and strongly contrasted changes of the weather in London, compared with the state of the atmosphere in other climes, and although multitudes of its poorer classes live in squalid poverty and wretchedness, the general healthfulness of this Capital may be deemed fully equal to that of any other in the world. In this respect considerable improvements have taken place since the times of the Great Plague and Fire, and contagious disorders are now but of rare occurrence, at least to any extent. The annual mortality at the present period may be averaged at about one in thirty-one: the number of deaths is greatest in infancy, and about one-fourth of the whole are of children under two years of age. The improved habits of nursing, however, and the recent discoveries in medicine, and particularly of *Vaccination*, bid fair to remedy a great proportion of this evil.

The temperature of the air in London and its vicinity is sensibly affected by the influence of the coal fires, which warm and dry the atmosphere; and it is a remarkable fact, that vegetation is earlier by ten days or a fortnight on the west and south-west sides of the Metropolis, than on the northern and eastern sides. This is to be attributed to the severity of the north and north-east winds being mitigated in their passage over London, by the warmth of the air arising from the fires. The more prevalent winds blow from the north-east and south-west; and these, with little variation, occupy about ten or eleven months in the year. The westerly winds are generally pregnant with rain, the greatest falls coming from a few points west of the south; the easterly winds

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winds are sharp and piercing, but almost always dry.* The heat of the atmosphere is very variable, it seldom remaining equal for many days; and every year differing from the preceding one, as well in respect to heat and cold, as to moisture and rains. "Sometimes the winter is severely cold, with frosts from November till May, with little interruption: sometimes the water is not frozen for more than ten or twelve days. Most commonly there is a little frost in November and December; but otherwise these months [and particularly November] are very foggy [gloomy] and moist. The principal frost is generally in January: February is commonly a mild, open, moist month: March is generally cold [windy] and dry. The summer months vary as much: sometimes there are three months very warm; sometimes not more than a week [in continuance]: the latter half of July [and beginning of August] is commonly the hottest. In August heavy

* "Winds blowing from every point of the compass between the west, north-west, and north, are so very dry as not to produce a day's rain in a year; though I have observed as an uncommon circumstance, small rain for two or three hours from the north-west. An east wind is always dry, generally with black clouds, and the same from the other points, till the wind gets about to, or near, the north-east, which, with a few points on either side of the north-east, most frequently brings the like dry black clouds, but sometimes gentle rain for a day or two. When the wind veers from the north through the west, it continues dry till it passes the south-west, from which point to the south it almost certainly brings rain; but it seldom stops there a day, returning to the same point; and when it passes southward through the eastern points, all is perfectly dry till it reaches about the south-east: the atmosphere then begins to give the appearance of rain. The wind, however, seldom rests there, but veers to the south, and from that quarter and a few points more westerly, we receive the greater rains. During the spring months the wind frequently blows warm and steadily from the south-west for near a fortnight; in a few hours it changes to the opposite point, or the north-east, and blows a steady cold gale for near another fortnight: this is repeated very often in the course of the year." *Middleton's Agric. of Midd.* p. 7. The westerly winds mostly prevail in the months of February, September, November, and December: the easterly winds are most prevalent in January, February, and the beginning of March.

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heavy rains often fall, especially in the last half of the month. The thermometer sometimes rises to above 80° of Fahrenheit's scale, very rarely to 84°; but the most common summer-heat is from 65° to 75°: in winter it sometimes falls to 15°; but the most common winter heat, when it freezes, is between 20° and 30°: it has been known to fall below the point marked 0, but very rarely; the most frequent when it does not freeze, is between 40° and 50°."* The excessive heat of the middle of July, 1808, has been already noticed:† on the thirteenth of that month the thermometer, in the open air, in the shade, and with a northern aspect, near St. James's Park, rose to 94°; and in various parts of London, in the shade also, it varied from that degree, upwards, to 103°. On the same day, in particular local situations in the sun, the quicksilver rose to the extraordinary heights of from 120 to 140 degrees! The contrast between this day and that of the 24th of January 1795, is most striking: on the latter, the thermometer fell to six degrees below Zero!

GENERAL PARTICULARS OF THE GROWTH AND PROGRESSIVE IMPROVEMENTS OF LONDON, FROM THE TIME OF THE BRITONS TO THE PRESENT PERIOD; TOGETHER WITH VARIOUS INCIDENTAL NOTICES OF TRADE, COMMERCE, LOCAL REGULATIONS, RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS, AND HISTORICAL EVENTS.

THE exact period of the foundation of London is involved in all the obscurity attendant on our earlier history, and nothing further can be affirmed with truth than, that it was a town or fortified place of the Britons previous to the Roman Invasion. The advantage of the situation, both for defence and traffic, was doubtless the leading cause of its remote settlement: yet little could the first inhabitants imagine, when they reared their rude habitations on

 the

* Fordyce, as quoted in Mid. Agri. of Midd. p. 8.

† See preceding Volume, p. 55, 56.

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the banks of its expansive lake*, that the infant village would eventually become the Metropolis of Britain, and the most considerable City upon the globe.

> O'er the deep trench an earthy mound arose,
> To guard the sylvan town from beasts and foes;
> But plain and simple, in the shadowy wood,
> The shapeless rude-constructed hamlet stood.
>
> ABORIGINAL BRITONS.

The eminence on which St. Paul's Cathedral now stands, and which is still higher than most of the adjacent grounds (though they have in some places acquired about twenty feet of adventitious height†,) with its declivity towards the Thames and the Fleet Rivers, was in all likelihood the original nucleus of ancient London. Cæsar, in his Commentaries, uses the words *Civitas Trinobantum*; and though several antiquaries have argued, that these words, in the sense which the Roman chieftain has used them, signify the '*state*,' or '*dominion*,' rather than the '*City* of the Trinobantes,' as they have been translated by others; yet, from the whole context of Cæsar's account, it may be questioned, whether London was not really the place designated by the appellation Civitas Trinobantum. Ammianus Marcellinus expressly calls it *Augusta*, and *Augusta Trinobantum*; and in another passage he mentions it as an ancient town, once called *Lundinium*.‡ These names, with the exception of Augusta, are evidently derivations from the British language; and combined with the course of the *Watling* Street, another name derived from the British, through the very centre of ancient London to its trajectus at *Dwr-gate*, a fourth appellation of British origin, lead the mind to the fair deduction, that this extended Capital had the Britons for its founders. Still more, it may be very rationally inferred, that it was not only established, but also brought into considerable importance

* See preceding Volume, p. 73—80.

† Ann. of Comm. Vol. I. p. 153. Edit. 1805.

‡ Amm. Mar. Lib. XXVII. and XXVIII.

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tance by the Britons; for Tacitus, speaking of the insurrection of Boadicea, in the reign of Nero, A. D. 61, describes it as highly celebrated for its concourse of merchants, and famous for its great stores of provisions, &c. though not a colony.* Dr. Stukeley, in the first volume of his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, conjectures that the ground-plot of ancient London was comprehended within an oblong square, of the proportion of two to three, which extended in breadth from Maiden Lane, Lad Lane, and Cateaton Street, to the Thames, and in length from Ludgate to the present Walbrook.

During the Roman domination in Britain, the population, trade, and buildings of London, must have been considerably increased: it was advanced from a *Præfecture* into the rank of a *Colony*; it became the seat of the *Vicarius Britanniarum*, and of the Commissioners of the Treasury under the Roman Emperors; and it was surrounded with walls and fortified. Whether the Roman wall on the north side extended so far as the present *London Wall*, has been sometimes questioned, through an inaccurate measurement of its course given by Stow;† yet Stow himself, in the same chapter, furnishes sufficient evidence of the affirmative. The account of *Roman London*, and of the abundance of Roman antiquities discovered in and near it, given in the preceding Volume,‡ renders it unnecessary to enlarge here; unless, perhaps, to remark, that Stukeley, inspecting its neighbourhood with the eye of an acute, though sometimes visionary observer, has placed a Roman Camp, attributed by him to Cæsar, on the way to Pancras, between the Brill (a Public-house so called) and the high road towards the Church.

Very little is known of the state of London during the Saxon period, excepting that it progressively, but gradually, increased, both in extent and affluence; and that, to use the language of

* Ann. Lib. XIV. c. 33. His words are, '*Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniæ non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre.*' For further evidence of the priority of London to the Roman Conquest of Britain, see preceding Volume, p. 80–82, and p. 609.

† Sur. of Lond. p. 9. ‡ See p. 88–101.

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Venerable Bede, it became the 'Emporium of many nations.' St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey were founded early in the seventh century; but not any descriptions of those edifices, as then built, have descended to our times. Westminster, says Stow, was then called '*Thorney*,' because "it was a place overgrowne with thornes, and environed with waters."* Whether there was a Bridge over the Thames at this period is uncertain, though very probable; but that there was one in 994 is evident, from an incidental notice in William of Malmsbury, who, speaking of the repulse of the Danes under Sweyn and Olaf, before London in that year, says, that 'part of them were drowned in the river, because in their hasty rage they took no heed of the Bridge.' A few years prior to this event, viz. in 982, great part of the City was burnt: Stow, in mentioning this fact, on the authority of T. Rudborne, states, that "the Citie at this time had most buildings from Ludgate toward Westminster, and little or none where the hart of the Citie is now, except in divers places was housing that stoode without order; so that many citties, as Canterbury, Yorke, and other in England passed London in building."† In these particulars, the accuracy of Rudborne may justly be doubted; for the various assaults which the Londoners sustained from the Danes, and the continual danger they were in through new invasions of those marauders, render it incredible that they should have so exposed themselves and their property to destruction. Besides, long previous to this era, the superior importance of London to that of any other City, seems clearly indicated in King Athelstan's law respecting coinage, by which *eight* minters were allowed to London, whilst seven only were appointed for Canterbury, and six for Winchester.‡

On the submission of the Londoners to the Norman William, that ferocious chieftain hastily constructed a fortress near the banks of the Thames, on the west side of the City; and about ten years afterwards, still more effectually to secure the obedience of

* Howe's Stow's Ann. p. 65. † Howe's Stow, p. 86.

‡ See also preceding Volume, p. 106.

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of his new subjects, he commissioned the celebrated Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, to erect the building now called the White Tower, within the Tower of London. In his reign also, the rebuilding and great enlargement of St. Paul's Cathedral was commenced; and the strong Castles of Baynard and Montfichet, both of them standing near the Thames, within the City walls, were also erected by two of William's hardy soldiers of the same names.* During this, and several succeeding reigns likewise, the buildings of London were greatly increased by the foundation of numerous Religious Houses, and Abbatial, and Episcopal Residences, &c. The Royal Palace at Westminster, which had been founded by Edward the Confessor, was also considerably enlarged, and the great Hall there was first built by William Rufus.

The accession of Henry the First proved eminently beneficial to London, as that Monarch, to strengthen his defective title, sought to conciliate the Citizens, and, with that intent, he granted them a new and extensive Charter, by which many of their ancient and most important privileges were ascertained and established, and various new ones conferred. In consequence of this Charter, various guilds and associations of trade and professions were formed; and municipal usages, hitherto of no higher authority than common practice, assumed the dignified character of 'legal authority, and were reduced to writing.' In this reign, Rahere, who bore the office of King's *Minstrel*, founded the Priory and Hospital of St. Bartholomew, on the east side of Smithfield, on the moorish ground, without the wall, which now formed a common laystall for the City. The Priory of St. John of Jerusalem for Knights Templars, and a Benedictine Nunnery, were also founded at Clerkenwell, by Jordan Briset; and Maud, Henry's Queen,

* It is a singular circumstance, and much to be regretted, that not any account of London should have been inserted in the Domesday Book. The only satisfactory manner of accounting for this omission is, by supposing that the Capital was then advanced to such high importance, that a distinct Survey was taken, and that this record was afterwards either lost or destroyed.

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built, in succession, an Hospital for Lepers, at St. Giles' in the Fields, another Hospital for poor maimed people, at Cripplegate; the Priory of the Holy Trinity, within Aldgate; and the Church and Hospital of St. Catherine, below the Tower.

The state of London, in the time of Henry the Second, has already been described, from the interesting tract, written by Fitz-Stephens, about 1174;* and it may be added, from the same author, that, in his estimation, 'the honour of the City' consisted 'in its proper men, its costly armour, and its multitude of inhabitants.' His character of the London Matrons is brief, but highly honorable: his words are '*Urbis Matronæ ipsæ Sabinæ sunt.*' At this period, the houses of the Citizens were generally built with wood, and thatched with straw or reeds, a mode of construction that resulted from the comparative cheapness and plenty of those materials, but the evils of which were frequently experienced in the extensive ravages of conflagration. The Religious buildings, however, and the houses of the chief Nobility and Prelates, were mostly of stone, as well, perhaps, as some of the dwellings of principal Citizens and Merchants; for it is upon record that one Geoffrey Martel, in the reign of Henry the Second, sold a piece of land, with a *stone* house, in London.† In this reign, likewise, the new London Bridge was began with *stone;* and in that of the succeeding Sovereign, Richard, Cœur de Lion, an order was made by the City, that 'all houses, thereafter to be erected in London, or within the Liberties thereof, should be built with *stone*, up to a certain height, with party-walls of the same, and covered either with slates or tiles.' This order, from obvious causes, was but little heeded, and the majority of buildings, for some ages afterwards, still continued to be erected with wood.

About the year 1190, the precincts of the Tower were considerably extended, by William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, and Chancellor of England, who, having been left at the head of the Regency, by King Richard, during his absence in the Holy Land, thought proper to surround the Tower with a new embattled wall, and

* See preceding Volume, p. 121—125. † Madox's Form, p. 178.

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and 'a broade and deepe ditch,' by which he greatly encroached upon the adjoining lands, and had part of the City wall 'broken down, for the enlarging of the Tower; to wit, from the saide gate towards the river of Thames.'* This proceeding highly offended the Londoners, and, together with the many other arbitrary acts of the Regent, led to his deposition and banishment, in the following year.†

In the time of King John, anno 1208, the Citizens, or rather Merchants, of London, purchased for 200 marks an exemption from the *Quinzieme*, which was a duty payable by every Merchant, whether native or foreigner.‡ In the same reign, between the years 1211 and 1213, the City ditch was first dug round the outside of the wall, and extended to the breadth of 200 feet. This ditch, says Stowe, "being originally made for the defence of the Cittie, was long together carefully clensed and mainteyned, as neede required."§

In the reign of Henry the Third, though, generally speaking, a most oppressive one to the Londoners,‖ various improvements were made in the Capital, and the number of Citizens, having 'mightilie increased,' a new supply of fresh water was obtained from the manor of *Tye-bourne*, and conveyed by pipes into the City about West-cheap. Different regulations, for the prevention of fires, were also established; andthe former order, for covering all houses with slate or tile, 'and more especially such as stood in the best streets,' was renewed. At this time, the west part of Cheapside was 'a void place,' called Crown Field, from the sign of the Crown Inn; the principal part of the City lying more eastward. Besides the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey, this reign was prolific in reli-

 gious

* Stow's Lond. p. 25. Edit. 1598. † See preceding Volume, p. 126.

‡ And. Hist. of Com. Vol. I. p. 372. Our Author remarks, that *Merchant* 'was an appellation then given to all persons who made a business of buying and selling, however trifling their dealings might be.' Ibid. 371. In the year 1205, the Quinzieme of London amounted to 836l. 12s. 10d. a greater sum than was raised by this duty in any other place in England.

§ Sur. of Lond. p. 17. ‖ See preceding Volume, p. 133—143.

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gious Establishments; and the following were in the course of it all erected in London: the Friary of Augustines, near Broad Street, St. Helen's Priory in Bishopsgate Street, the Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem without Bishopsgate, the White Friars or Carmelites near Fleet Street, the Franciscans or Grey Friars in Newgate Street, and the Hospital of the Savoy in the Strand.*

The comparative cheapness of house rent in London, in the time of Edward the First, may be estimated from what Stow has recorded of Gregory de Rokeslie, who was chief Assay Master of the Royal Mints, and Lord Mayor of London from 1275 to 1282; "He," says the Historian, "dwelled in Milk Street, in an house belonging to the Priory of Lewes, in Sussex, whereof he was tenant at will, paying xx. s. by the year, without being bounden to reparations or other charges."† In the year 1277, an Order of Common Council was made, said to be the first upon record, which prohibited the 'holding of a market upon London Bridge, or in any other place not specially appointed,' and forbad 'to all Citizens the purchase of cattle, or goods of any kind, within the town of Southwark, which could be had in the City, under the penalty of forfeiting the commodity purchased.'

In the year 1285, the great Conduit in West-cheap was completed, and the water which had been conveyed from the springs at Tyburn, was let into it through leaden pipes. In the same year, some strong Parliamentary Laws were made for the suppression of Robbery, &c., throughout England; and a particular statute was enacted for London, which, 'because many murders, homicides, assaults, and robberies, had been committed in the City, both in the day and in the night,' ordered, that all persons found

* We learn from Matthew Paris, that in this Reign, William de Trumpington, Abbot of St. Albans, bought a House, or rather a Court of Houses, in London, as extensive as a great Palace, with Chapel, Stable, Garden, a Well, &c., for one hundred Marks, to which he added fifty Marks for improvements." *Mat. Par. Vit. p.* 125-6.

† Sur. of Lond. p. 235.

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found in the Streets with sword and buckler, or other arms, after the Curfew was rung at St. Martin's le Grand, except great Lords and men of good reputation, should be committed to the Tunne (a Prison in Cornhill, erected in 1282 for night-walkers,) and next day carried before the 'Magistrates; and, because such malefactors generally concerted their plans in taverns, and continued in them till the appointed time of putting their plots in execution,' the Masters of all taverns for the sale of wine or ale, were ordered to shut them up as soon as the Curfew Bell rang. The Aldermen were, moreover, required to make diligent enquiry in their wards for all malefactors, and for people who had no property, or visible means of support.*

The taste for magnificent and shewy spectacle, imbibed by the Crusaders in the opulent Regions of the East, when many of our Nobles,

'Bearing their Birthright proudly on their backs,'

took up the Cross, 'to make a hazard of new fortunes,' in the Holy Land, was the means of introducing into the Metropolis, a strong passion for pageantry, ostentatious apparel, and splendid decoration; and in consequence of the great demand for silks and costly embroidery thus produced, 'the Merchants, who had been long in the habit of importing them, opened shops in Cheapside, St. Lawrence, Jewry, and the Old Jewry;' and these, 'next to those of the Goldsmiths, are reputed to have been the most splendid in London.' The domestic conveniences, however, but little corresponded with this outward show; the general use of woolen was unfavourable to cleanliness, and the want of chimnies was equally prejudicial. The fires were made in the Halls, against a reredoss, or screen, and the smoke had little other passage than the openings in the roof. The windows, also, were principally latticed, the use of Glass being hardly known, excepting in Churches, and Palaces.

In the year 1300, the King, on the complaint of the Merchants of

* And. Hist. of Com. Vol. I. p. 443.

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of Bourdeaux, that they could neither sell their Wines, paying poundage, nor yet hire Houses or Cellars to store them in, directed a Writ, dated at Carlisle, to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, in consequence of which, many 'fair and large Houses, with Vaults and Cellars for stowage of wine, and lodging of the Bourdeaux Merchants,' were erected near the bank of the river, on the spot where a public Cookery had been in the time of Henry the Second. From these buildings, afterwards called the Vintrie, the Vintry Ward derived its name.†

The principal Monastic foundations in London, of the time of Edward the First, was the Nunnery of St. Clare, now the site of the Minories; the Monastery of the Black Friars, the Crouched Friars, and St. James's Hospital for Lepers, now the Palace of St. James's.

In the splendid reign of Edward the Third, the growing population, and increasing prosperity of the Metropolis, were repeatedly checked by Pestilence, although upon the whole, it made considerable progress, both in point of extent and of affluence. In 1328, the City obtained a great accession by the grant of the Bailiwick of Southwark, at the low Rent of ten pounds annually. This was bestowed by the King on the representation of the City Magistracy, that criminals were enabled to set Justice at defiance, by passing over to Southwark, into which their authority did not extend.

In July, 1346, the King granted a Commission to the Master of the Hospital of St. Giles's in the Fields, and to John de Holborne, empowering them to levy *tolls*, 'perhaps,' says Anderson, 'the earliest known by any remaining records,' upon all Cattle, Merchandize, and other goods, for two years, passing along the public highway leading from the 'Bar of the Old Temple,' (i. e. Holborn Bar, between which and Chancery Lane, then called New Street, the ancient House of the Knights Templars stood) to the said Hospital; and also along the Charing Road, (probably St. Martin's Lane) and another highway called Pourtpool, (now Gray's-Inn Lane), for the purpose of repairing the said highways, 'which,

† Stow's Lond. p. 186.

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' which, by the frequent passing of carts, wains, horses, and cattle, had become so miry and deep, as to be nearly impassible.' *

In the years 1348 and 1349, the dreadful *Pestilence* which extended its ravages through every part of the known world, most horribly desolated London, and more than 50,000 of its inhabitants were interred within the ground now forming the precincts of the Charter-House; besides many thousands more in the different Church-yards, and cemeteries, within and without the City walls. The mode of building, and the general want of cleanliness, were doubtless concurring causes in spreading this calamity, † which Rapin has ascribed to the Judgment of God at the '*unbridled debauchery*,' which all the Historians unanimously affirm, to have at that time prevailed throughout the Kingdom.'

" When we take an ideal view of the Metropolis at this period," says a contemporary writer, ‡ " and consider, that although there were within its walls large vacant spaces, consisting of the gardens appertaining to the mansions of the nobility, to the Halls of Companies, and to the different Monastries and Convents, which are now covered, and that the population, though it never has nor can be correctly ascertained, was certainly proportionably small compared to what it is at present; yet it must also be recollected, *that little salubrity* could be derived from these apparent advantages; because those parts of the City which were inhabited, (that is, generally speaking, along the bank of the River, West from St. Paul's, and North to the Wall,) were intersected by narrow Streets, Lanes, and Alleys, encumbered with houses, whose apartments jutting

* The rates upon the several articles amounted to about one penny in the pound on their value, and were to be paid by all, except Lords, Ladies, and persons belonging to Religious Establishments, or the Church. Rym. Fœd. Vol. V. p. 520.

† But very few of the higher classes of the community suffered, as may be seen in the Hist. of Edward the Third, by Joshua Barnes, Book I. C. viii.

‡ J. Moser, Esq., in Ent. Mag. Vol I. p. 11.

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jutting out story above story, almost in their upper stories touched those on the opposite side; and places like these, and habitations thus constructed, the cielings of which were low, and whose inmates were numerous, must certainly, even if cleanliness *had been* attended to within, have engendered disease; but as we have reason to believe that this was not the case, and as the custom which prevailed among the lower classes, of wearing, at all seasons of the year, scarcely any apparel but what was made of woollen, operated to the repression, and encouraged that neglect, of domestic and personal purity, which is said to have rendered their houses morbid dens, the occasional prevalence of pestilential diseases is little to be wondered at; indeed, the only wonder is, that they were not more frequent."

In August, 1352, the Staple, or Mart, for Wool, was removed from Bruges, in Flanders, and fixed at Westminster, near the King's Palace: and in the following year, in September, the Parliament enacted, that the Staple 'for wool, wool-fells, hides, and lead,' should be held for ever in that City, and in other places in England mentioned in the Act. Through this ordinance, the trade and population of Westminster, as well as of the Metropolis generally, were much increased; and even as early as the twentieth of November following, it was found necessary to pass an Order of Council for the repairs of the Highway between Temple Bar and Westminster, which had already become so deep and miry by the 'carts and horses carrying Merchandize and provisions to the Staple,' that it was dangerous to pass upon it. The King, therefore, required the proprietors of the adjacent houses, 'in consideration of the improvement of their property, by means of the staple being fixed at Westminster,' to repair the road between their houses and the kennel, under the direction of the Mayor and Constables of the Staple; and for the reparation of the main Road between the kennels, and also for the construction of a Bridge near the Palace, (probably over some creek of the River,) for the accommodation of the Merchants frequenting the Staple, he directed

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rected that a Toll should be taken for three years, upon all goods carried to or from the Staple, whether by land or water.* This Road duty was afterwards renewed at various times, as appears from the Patent Rolls; and within ten years, that is, in 1363, 'this equitable mode of repairing Roads by funds collected from those who used them,' was so far established, that the Road between Highgate and Smithfield, the highway from Uxbridge by Acton to London, and the *venel*, called Faytor's, now Fetter Lane, were all ordered to be repaired from Tolls levied by authority of Parliament.

"It is worthy of notice," says Anderson, under the year 1372, "as illustrative of the growth and progressive prosperity of the great commercial Capital of the British Empire, that at this time, at least *twenty* of the Houses in Burcher (Birchover, or Birchin) Lane, in the very heart of the City, came under the description of *Cottages*, and under that denomination were conveyed to St. Thomas's Hospital, in Southwark. [*Rot. pat. 46. Edw. III. m. 2.*] It may be also observed, that about this time the shops in London appear to have been detached and separate tenements, or at least separate properties, unconnected with houses; as they are at this day in several Cities and Towns." †

In the year 1379, the Citizens represented to the King in Council, that by their industry and franchises they had gained their livelihood by land and water, and in various other countries, from which they had imported many kinds of Merchandize, whereby the

* Rym. Fœd. Vol. V. v. p. 774.

† Hist. of Com. Vol. I. p. 579. Of many documents which might be adduced in support of this observation, one grant made by King Edward the Third to William Latimer, may be sufficient. It conveyed to him two messuages and four shops, in the Parish of Dionis, Langbourne Ward; three messuages and five shops, in St. Andrew's, Billingsgate; one messuage and one shop, with a quay adjoining, in St. Mary at Hill, Billingsgate; three messuages with a cellar, in St. Botolph's, Billingsgate; and one messuage and two shops, in St. Mildred's, Bread Street. *Ibid.* from *Rot. pat. Sex. 47. Edw. III. m. 16.*

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the City and the whole Kingdom were greatly benefitted, and their Navy supported and increased; but that lately their franchises had been taken from them, contrary to Royal Grants and Magna Charta, which would be of ruinous consequence to the City, the Kingdom and the Navy, and disable them from paying their taxes:—They therefore prayed that they might have relief, and that the relief might be extended to all the Cities and Boroughs in the Kingdom.* Two years afterwards, the Magistrates and Community of London, presented a Petition of similar import to the Parliament; in which also they required, that 'strangers might not be allowed to have Houses, to be Brokers, nor to sell Goods by Retail.' They likewise represented to the King and Council, that 'the Merchant-strangers discovered secrets to the enemy,' and they prayed 'that a stop might be put to these enormities.' The prayer of this Petition, as appears from Sir Robert Cotton's Abridgement of The Tower Records, was granted, "conditionally; that the same City be well governed, saving to the Merchants their liberties.† The restrictions thus imposed upon Foreigners, were soon found to be so highly detrimental to trade and commerce, that in less than two years and a half afterwards, the Parliament revived the Acts (which had been so recently abrogated) in favour of Foreign Traders, and even granted to them some additional exemptions and privileges.‡

Among the principal Religious Establishments founded in this reign, within and near the City, were the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen, adjoining the Palace at Westminster; the Chatreuse, or Charter-House, beyond West Smithfield; the New Abbey, or St. Mary of the Graces, near the Tower, and Elsing Spital, now Sion College, near London Wall.

Various judicious regulations were made in the time of Richard the Second, in whose days the Plague twice spread its ravages through London, for the removal of all filth, garbage, &c., from

* Brady on Burghs; App. p. 36. † Cott. Rec. p. 133, and 134.

‡ Stat. 1st. Rich. II. Chapters 1 and 2.

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from the streets of the City, and the banks of the Thames; and for preventing the like nuisances in future under heavy penalties.

The internal improvements of the City during the reign of Henry the Fifth were considerable. About 1415, the Postern called Moregate, leading to the waste, since named Moorfields, was built by Thomas Falconer, Lord Mayor, "for ease of the Citizens," says Stow, "that way to passe uppon causewaies into the fielde, for their recreation." In the following year Sir Henry Barton, Lord Mayor, ordered 'lanthorns with lights to be hung out on winter evenings, betwixt Hallowtide and Candlemasse.'* In 1417, Lower Holborn, one of the great inlets to the City, was first paved, it being then described as a highway, 'so deep and miry, that many perils and hazards were thereby occasioned;' and the King, at his own expense, is recorded to have employed two vessels, each of twenty tons burthen, for bringing stones for the purpose. In 1419 Leadenhall was erected in place of a more ancient and smaller edifice, by Sir Simon Eyre, as a public Granary against times of scarcity.

In the reign of Henry the Sixth, the increased population of London rendered it necessary to open fresh supplies of water, and various bosses and conduits were erected in different parts; yet the whole supply being still deficient, the Citizens obtained from the Abbot of Westminster, in the year 1439, a perpetual grant of a fountain in the manor of Paddington, together with the right to break up the ground for laying their pipes, for an annual rent of *two pounds of pepper*. The Abbot's grant was confirmed in June 1443, by the King; who likewise authorized the City Magistrates to break up any public road, or ground belonging to himself or any other person; to purchase two hundred fodders of lead for their pipes, &c. and to *press* into their service plumbers, masons, and other workmen.†

In

* Stow's London, p. 591. Edit. 1633.

† Rym. Fœd. Vol. V. xi. p. 29—33.

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In the year 1456, a Petition to Parliament from the four Ministers of Allhallows the Great, St. Peter Cornhill, St. Mary Colechurch, and St. Andrew Holborn, was productive of the foundation of a Grammar School in each of those parishes; and about nine years afterwards Winterbourn, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Kempe, Bishop of London, obtained the King's Letters Patent for the foundation of other seminaries of learning in St. Paul's Church-yard, the Collegiate Church of St. Martin's-le-Grand, St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Dunstan's in the East, and the Hospital of St. Anthony. The rents of houses in the City and Suburbs about this period seem to have run from six shillings and eightpence to three pounds and upwards per annum, as appears from a 'composition for offerings' entered into in 1457, between the Clergy of London and the Laity.*

In the year 1463, on the Petition of the 'male and female artificers of London,' &c. the Parliament 'prohibited, for a time to be limited by the King's pleasure, the importation or sale of woolen caps, woolen cloths, laces, corses, ribands, fringes of silk or thread, laces of thread, silk twined, silk embroidered, laces of gold, tires of silk or gold, saddles, stirrups, harness belonging to saddles, spurs, bosses of bridles, andirons, gridirons, locks, hammers, pincers, fire-tongs, dripping-pans, dice, tennis-balls, points, purses, gloves, girdles, harness for girdles of iron, latten, steel, tin or alkmine, articles made of tanned leather, tanned furs, buscans (probably buskins), shoes, galoches or corks, knives, daggers, wood-knives, bodkins, sheers for tailors, scissars, razors, sheaths, playing cards, pins, pattens, pack-needles, any painted ware, forcers, caskets, rings of copper or latten gilt. chafing-dishes, hanging candlesticks, chafing bells, scaring bells, rings for curtains, ladles, scummers, counterfeit basins, ewers, hats, brushes, cards for wool, and blanch-iron wire, commonly called white wire.' The tenants of the precinct of the Chapel of St. Martin's-le-Grand, in London, were exempted from the operation of this Act; as they were also from all Acts containing restraints upon trade made about this

* See Strype's Stow, Vol. I.

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this period.* From this curious document, we not only learn the general nature of the manufactures of England in the fifteenth century, but likewise that various articles were then made here, the introduction of which into this country has been assigned to a date far subsequent.

In the seventeenth of Edward the Fourth, Sir Ralph Jocelyne, the Lord Mayor, obtained an Act of Common Council for repairing the City Wall betwixt Aldgate and Aldersgate. For 'the more furtherance of the worke,' also, as Stow records, "he caused the Morefielde to bee searched for clay, and willed *bricke* to be made and brent there; and likewise caused chalke to be brought out of Kente, and to be brent into lime in the same Morefielde."† This is one of the earliest notices of the use of brick in London, that occurs; though soon afterwards the larger houses were began to be built principally with this material. Other improvements were made likewise about this time; and the increasing demand for fresh water occasioned new Conduits and Cisterns to be constructed between the years 1471 and 1478, at Aldermanbury, the Standard in Fleet Street, Fleet Bridge, Cripplegate, Holborn, and Gracechurch Street.

A very salutary Act of Parliament, for ensuring the healthfulness and convenience of the Capital, was passed in 1488, by which the slaughtering of cattle was prohibited within its precincts as an intolerable nuisance.

In the thirteenth of Henry the Seventh, "all the gardens, which had continued time out of mind without Moorgate; to wit, about and beyond the Lordship of Fensberry (Finsbury), were destroyed; and of them was made a plain field for archers to

 shoote

* And. Hist. of Com. Vol. I. p. 676. It seems probable that this exemption was claimed as a privilege annexed to the Abbey at Westminster, to which St. Martin's-le-Grand belonged, as it still does to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

† Stow's Lond. p. 9. Edit. 1598.

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shoote in."* This was the origin of what is now called the Artillery Ground.

In the year 1502, the river Fleet was cleansed and made navigable for small craft from the Thames to Holborn Bridge; and the little stream, called Houndsditch, which had become a public nuisance from the filth and carrion cast into it, was about the same period arched and paved over. In the following year was laid the first stone of the beautiful Chapel of Henry the Seventh, at Westminster; the spot on which it stands having been previously

* Stow's Lond. p. 351. Edit. 1598. In the account of historical events connected with London, given in the preceding Volume, a remarkable transaction, and one which places the importance of the Capital in a very striking point of view, as well as the high degree of credit that was attached to the signature of the Chief Magistrate, was accidentally omitted. It happened in the eleventh year of Henry the Seventh, in the second Mayoralty of Sir Henry Colet, the father of the beneficent founder of St. Paul's School. In that year, says Stow, (Surv. of Lond. p. 574. Edit. 1633), "was much trouble about the entercourse between England and Flanders." The particular event alluded to is thus narrated in a Manuscript preserved in the British Museum; vid. *Cotton. Vitell.* A. 16.

"In the month of Febr. xi. Hen. VII. was concluded an *amyte* and entrecourse between this land and *Flaunders;* and for the assurance of the same, above and besyde both the seles of eyther prynces, was granted to dyverse townys of this lande to be bounde, among the whiche London was one: which sealing, when it sholde have been perfourmed, the Commons of the Citie wolde not be agreable theyr sele sholde passe: and albeit that my Lord Desby, my Lord Tresorer, the *Chyef Justyce* of *England*, Maister *Bray*, and the *Maister* of the *Rolls*, by the King's commandment, came to Guildhall, to extorte the sayd Commons for the same; yet in no wyse they wolde not be agreable that the towne sele sholde pass, but besought the sayd lordes to grant unto thym respite of vi dayes, trustying in that season to shew in writyng soch consyderacyons unto the King's Grace and his Counsaill, that his Grace sholde be therewith well contented: which was to thym graunted, and thereupon dyvers billes were dyvysed. Albeit, that for the hasty spede of my *Lord Chamberleyne*, which at that tyme was redy to departe to *Caleys*, to kepe suche appoyntment as was before concluded, the *Mayrs* sele was taken only, as in the maner folowith:

"TO

viously occupied by a tavern, distinguished by the sign of the White Rose.

Early in the reign of Henry the Eighth, some further improvements were made in Moorfields, through the praise-worthy attention of Roger Acheley, Lord Mayor in 1511, who caused that waste to be better drained and levelled, and had bridges made to improve the outlets to the adjacent villages.

The *Customs* of the London Citizens about this period, as well as the *picturesque*, if that epithet may be admitted, character of one or two branches of the civic police of the Capital, have been curiously detailed by Stow, from whose more elaborate account the following particulars are derived.

"TO ALL CHRYSTEN PEOPLE, these present Letters beholding or heryng, HENRY COLET, knyght, nowe Mayor of the Citie of LONDON, in the relme of ENGLAND, helth in our Lorde everlastynge. Whereas bi twene the high and mighty prynce, my soveragne Lorde HENRY, by the grace of God, King of *England* and of France, and Lorde of Ireland, on that one partye, and the noble prynce Phelyp, Th'archduke of Austry, and Duke of Burgoyne on the other party; certayne treatyes of amyte and intercourse of merchandysing and other communicacyon of merchaunts concernyge the profyte of both prynces, theyr relmes and subjettes, the xxiii daye of the month of Februarye last past, at London, were finally concluded and determyned. Knowe ye me the sayd HENRY, at the requeste and commandment of my said soveragne Lorde, and at the contemplacyon of his Letters to me in that behalfe directed and delyvered, of good faythe, to have promysed and ME AND MYN HEIRS, to the sayd Prynce *Phelyp*, Th'archduke to his heyres and sucessours, under PLEGGE and BOND OF ALL MY GOODS PRESENT AND TO COME, to have bound and by thes presents promyse and bynde that I shall procure, instaunce, and, as moche as in me is, shall do, that the same my lord the Kyng, his heyres and successours, all the sayd entrecourse and amyte, and all and singular in the same conteyned and specyfyed, well, fully, and truly shall holde, observe, and fullfylle; and, by his subjettes and servants in that theym concerne, well and truly shall do, to be holdyn, observed, and fulfylled; and to the contrarient doers and brekers of the same, shall ministre, or doo to be ministred, justice. In witness whereof, the seale of armes of me the sayd HENRY to these presents I have put, wryten at London, the fyrst daye of the month of Maye, in the yeare of our Lord God, M CCCC XCVI, and the XI yere of the reygne of my said soveragne Lord Henry the VII."

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At the feast of Christmas, there was in the King's house, wheresoever he was lodged, a 'Lord of Misrule, or Master of Merry Disports,' and the like also, was there in the house of every Nobleman of honour or good worship, whether spiritual or temporal. Among these the Mayor and Sheriffs of London had their several Lords of Misrule,* 'ever contending, without quarrel or offence, who should make the rarest pastimes to divert the beholders.' These Lords began their rule on Allhallows Eve, and continued the same till Candlemas Day; 'in which space, there were fine and subtle disguisings, masques and mummeries, with playing at cards for counters, nails, and points, in every house, more for pastime than for gain. Against this feast, the Parish Churches and every man's house, were decked with holm, ivy, bay, and whatsoever the season of the year afforded that was green; and the conduits and standards in the streets were likewise 'garnished.'

In the week before Easter, great shews were made for the 'fetching in of a twisted tree, or Wyth, as they termed it, out of the woods into the King's house, and the like into every man's house of honour or worship.'

On May-day in the morning, every man, 'except impediment,' would 'walke into the sweet meadows and green woods, there to rejoice their spirits with the beauty and savour of sweet flowers, and with the harmony of birds, praysing God in their kind.' In this month, also, the Citizens of London, of all estates, lightly in every parish, or sometimes two or three parishes joyning together, had their several Mayings, 'and did fetch in May-poles with divers warlike shews, with good archers, morrice-dancers, and other devices, for pastime all the day long; and towards the evening,

* In an Act of Common Council, made about the year 1554, for the regulation of the City Feasts, &c. on account of the great dearth and excessive dearness of provisions, it was enacted, that from thenceforth "there shall no *Wyth* be fet home neither at the Mayor nor Sheriff's houses; neither shall they keep any *Lord of Misrule* in any of their said houses." The keeping of the Whitsun Holidays, and the dinners at Bartholomew-tide were also ordered by the same Act to be 'laid down.'

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evening, they had stage-plays and bonfires in the streets.' The great Mayings and May-games, however, made 'by the Governors and Masters of this City,' with the triumphant setting up of the great Shaft, or May-pole, before the Church of St. Andrew in Cornhill, 'have not been so freely used as before,' since 'that insurrection of youths against Aliens, on May-day, 1517.'*

In the months of June and July, on the Vigils of Festival Days, and on the same Festival Days in the evenings, after sunset, there were usually made bonfires in the streets, 'every man bestowing either wood or labour towards them.' The more wealthy, also, before their doors, near 'to the said bone-fires, would set out tables on the Vigils furnished with sweet bread and good drink; and on the Festival Days with meats and drinks plentifully, whereunto they would invite their neighbours and passengers also to sit, and be merry with them in great familiarity, praying God for his benefits bestowed on them.'†

Next to the May-day spectacles, the most splendid of the annual City exhibitions, was the procession of the *Marching Watch*, at Midsummer, on the Vigils of St. John the Baptist, and of St. Peter and St. Paul. On these evenings, it was a custom for the Citizens to adorn their doors with green birch, fennel, St. John's wort, orpin, white lillies, and other plants and flowers intermingled with lamps of glass, with oil burning in them; and some 'hung out branches of iron curiously wrought with hundreds of lamps lighted at once, which made a goodly shew,' particularly in New Fish Street, Thames Street, &c. At this time the City Watch appears to have consisted of different bodies, viz. the *Standing Watches*, which consisted of Citizens, clad 'all in bright harness,' who formed the regular safe-guards of the

* See preceding Volume, p. 241—245.

† "These were called bone-fires [good-fires], as well of amity amongst neighbours, that being before at controversie, were there by the labour of others reconciled, and made of bitter enemies, loving friends; as also for the virtue that a great fire hath, to purge the infection of the ayre.' *Stow's Surv. p.* 84. *Edit.* 1633.

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Wards and Suburbs; and the *Marching Watch*, which paraded through the principal streets of the City in grand cavalcade; the whole number of persons composing the procession amounting to nearly 4000. This latter spectacle was so costly and pompous, that Henry the Eighth, whose passion for shew and pageantry often furnished a theme for historical record, was several times a witness of its 'setting forth,' on the evenings above-mentioned.*

In the twenty-fourth of Henry the Eighth, anno 1533, an Act was passed for 'sufficiently paving' the street-way between Charing Cross and the Strand Cross (near Somerset House), and the owners of the lands adjoining were adjudged to defray the charge, the Strand not being yet a continued street. In the following year, another Act was passed for 'paving with stone,' the street between Holborn Bridge and Holborn Bars, 'at the west end thereof,' and also 'the streets of Southwark;' and every person was made liable to maintain the pavement before his own door, under the forfeiture of sixpence to the King for every square yard.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries, and the subsequent demolition of most of the buildings connected with ecclesiastical establishments, occasioned a great alteration in the aspect and local character of the Metropolis during the reign of this Sovereign. It has been judiciously remarked by a contemporary writer, that 'the unkennelling of the Romish Fox,' as it was then termed, must in this City have produced a very singular effect. 'The splendour of the monastic buildings had, from the time of the Saxons, been gradually expanding: age after age increased their number, enlarged their size, and added to their ornaments. These fabrics, venerable for their antiquity, still more venerable as monuments of the unaffected piety of their founders, and highly respectable as specimens of the architectural taste, and depositaries of the effusions of the literary and graphic genius of former

* See preceding Volume, p. 238, 239, note; and Stow's Lond. p. 79—85. Edit. 1633.

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former centuries, were, in the course of a few years nearly annihilated.' *

The Dissolution of the Monasteries was effected between the years 1536 and 1540. Previously to this era, the various religious edifices and their respective appendages, within the walls of London, occupied nearly two-thirds of the entire area; and about one-fifth of the whole population is supposed to have been associated in the numerous communities and brotherhoods which then separated 'the drones from the working-bees.' It must be remembered also, in respect to the ground covered by Monastic Foundations, that the Bishops of almost every See, and the Superior of every principal Religious House in England, had a residence either within the City, or in its vicinity.

Independently of the more splendid establishments of *St. Paul's Cathedral* and *Westminster Abbey*, the Metropolis and its Suburbs, at the time immediately prior to the Reformation, contained all the variety of Ecclesiastical Institutions and Buildings enumerated in the following list.

FRIARIES and ABBIES. *Black Friars*, between Ludgate and the Thames; *Grey Friars*, near Old Newgate, now Christ's Hospital; *Augustine Friars*, now Austin Friars, near Broad Street; *White Friars*, near Salisbury Square; *Crouched*, or *Crossed Friars*, St. Olave's Hart Street, near Tower Hill; *Carthusian Friars*, now the Charter House, Charter-House Square; *Cistercian Friars*, or *New Abbey*, East Smithfield; *Brethren de Sacco*, Old Jewry.

PRIORIES. *St. John of Jerusalem*, Clerkenwell; *Holy Trinity*, or Christ Church, within Aldgate; *St. Bartholomew the Great*, near Smithfield; *St. Mary Overies*, Southwark, near London Bridge; *St. Saviour's*, Bermondsey.

NUNNERIES. *Benedictine Nunnery*, Clerkenwell; *St. Helen's*, Bishopsgate Street; *St. Clare's*, Minories; *Holywell*, between Holywell Lane and Norton Falgate.

* Eur. Mag. Vol. LI. p. 417; article Vestiges, &c.

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COLLEGES, &c. *St. Martin's le Grand; St. Thomas of Acres,* Westcheap; *Whittington's College* and *Hospital,* Vintry Ward; *St. Michael's College* and *Chapel,* Crooked Lane; *Jesus Commons,* Dowgate.

CHAPELS, &c. *St. Stephen's,* Westminster; *Our Lady of the Pew,* Strand; *St. Anne's,* Westminster; *St. Esprit,* or the *Holy Ghost,* Strand; *Rolls Chapel,* or *Domus Conversorum,* Chancery Lane; *St. James in the Wall, Chapel* and *Hermitage,* Monkwell Street; *Mount Calvary Chapel,* near Goswell-Street Road; *St. Mary's Chapel,* and *Pardon Chapel,* in St. Paul's Church-yard, and two other *Chapels* also; *Guildhall Chapel; Chapel of our Lady,* Barking Parish; *Corpus Christi,* Poultry; *St. Anthony's Chapel,* Hospital, and School, Threadneedle Street; *Chapel* and *Almshouses* in Petty France; *Lady Margaret's Almshouses,* Almonry, Westminster; *Henry the Seventh's Almshouses,* near the Gatehouse, Westminster; *St. Catherine's Chapel* and *Hermitage,* near Charing Cross; *Pardon Chapel,* Wilderness Row, St. John's Street.

HOSPITALS, having resident Brotherhoods or Sisterhoods. *St. Giles's in the Fields,* near St. Giles's Church; *St. James's,* now St. James's Palace; *Our Lady of Rounceval,* Charing Cross; *Savoy,* Strand; *Elsing Spital,* now Sion College; *Corpus Christi,* in St. Lawrence Pountney; *St. Papey,* near Bevis Marks; *St. Mary Axe; Trinity,* without Aldgate; *St. Thomas,* Mercer's Chapel; *St. Bartholomew the Less,* near Smithfield; *St. Giles* and *Corpus Christi,* without Cripplegate; *St. Mary of Bethlehem,* near London Wall; *St. Mary Spital,* without Bishopsgate; *St. Thomas,* Southwark; the *Lok Spital,* or *Lazar House,* Kent Street, Southwark; *St. Katherine's,* below the Tower.

FRATERNITIES, &c. *St. Nicholas,* Bishopsgate Street; *St. Fabian* and *St. Sebastian,* or the *Holy Trinity,* Aldersgate Street; *St. Giles,* Whitecross Street; the *Holy Trinity,* Leadenhall; *St. Ursula le Strand; Hermitage,* Nightingale Lane, East Smithfield. *Corpus Christi,* St. Mary Spittle; *Corpus Christi,* St. Mary Bethlehem; *Corpus Christi* and *St. Mary,* Poultry.

ARCHIEPISCOPAL

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ARCHIEPISCOPAL and EPISCOPAL RESIDENCES. *Lambeth Palace; York Place*, Whitehall; *Durham House*, Strand; INNS of the Bishops of *Bath, Chester, Llandaff, Worcester, Exeter, Lichfield*, and *Carlisle*, all in and near the Strand; *Bishop of Hereford's Inn*, Old Fish-Street; *Ely House*, Holborn, now Ely Place; *Bishop of Salisbury's Inn*, Salisbury Square; *Bishop of St. David's Inn*, near Bridewell Palace; *Bishop of Winchester's House*, Southwark, near St. Mary Overies; *Bishop of Rochester's Inn*, adjacent to ditto.

RESIDENCES of ABBOTS and PRIORS, mostly called INNS. *Abbot of St. Alban's*, near Lothbury; *Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury*, in St. Olave's, Southwark; *Abbot of Battle*, Southwark, near London Bridge; *Abbot of Bury*, near Aldgate, toward Bevis Marks; *Abbot of Evesham*, near Billeter Lane; *Abbot of Glastonbury*, near St. Sepulchre's, Smithfield; *Abbot of Hyde*, within the Tabard Inn, immortalized by Chaucer, in Southwark, and afterwards at St. Mary Hill; *Prior of Hornchurch*, Fenchurch Street; *Abbot of Leicester*, near St. Sepulchre's, Smithfield; *Prior of Lewes*, in Southwark; *Abbot of St. Mary's, York*, St. Peter's Place, near Paul's Wharf; *Prior of Necton Parke* (suppressed by Henry V.), Chancery Lane; *Prior of Okeburne*, Castle Lane, Upper Thames Street; *Abbot of Peterborough*, at Peterborough Place, near St. Paul's; *Abbot of Reading*, near Baynard's Castle; *Abbot of Ramsay*, Beech Lane, Whitecross Street; *Abbot of Salop*, in Smithfield; *Prior of Sempringham*, Cow Lane, Smithfield; *Prior of Tortington*, in St. Swithin's Lane; *Abbot of Vale Royal*, Fleet Street; *Abbot of Waltham*, at Billingsgate.

When a comparison is made between the extent of ground thus occupied by Religious and Ecclesiastical Foundations, and that covered with merchants' warehouses, mansions, and cottages, or assigned to the purposes of trade and commerce, as wharfs, quays, shops, &c. the difference appears so striking, that a person unacquainted with its history, would at once infer that London had been a City of priests and monks rather than a commercial City;

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City; and that from the great number of holidays for legendary saints, fasts, vigils, processions, &c. enjoined by the Rubric, the inhabitants 'dedicated but one day in the week to labour, instead of six.'* There cannot be a question, indeed, but that both the interests of commerce and the progress of population were greatly retarded by the numerous monastic institutions which thus 'encumbered' the Capital; and however we may lament or execrate the '*worse than Gothic barbarity*,' which demolished the immense and beautiful piles connected with these establishments (in many instances merely for the sake of the materials), and destroyed the rich specimens of art which they contained, we cannot but rejoice in the destruction of those bonds which separated man from his kind; and, in violating the strongest impulse of his nature, gave new strength to temptation, and led the way to the commission of every sensual enormity.

The liberation of so many thousands from the seclusion of the cloister, quickly led to an increased bustle and traffic, which called for new improvements in the avenues to the City. In 1540, a Statute was passed, giving authority to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to levy assessments, &c. for erecting new Conduits, and repairing such as had fallen into decay, and for paving with stone various streets, &c. described in the Act to be 'very foul, and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noyous, as well for all the King's subjects on horseback, as on foot, and with *carriages*.' The streets paved under this Statute were Aldgate High Street, Shoe Lane, Fetter Lane, Gray's-Inn Lane, Chancery Lane, and the 'way leading from Holborn Bars towards St. Giles in the Fields, as far as any habitation is on both sides of the said street.'†

The next Act that was passed for the paving of London, viz. 34th and 35th of Henry the Eighth, c. 12, refers particularly to the following streets, lanes, &c.: 'Chiswell Street; Whitecross Street; Golding Lane; Grub Street; Goswell Street; Long Lane;

* Vestiges, &c. in Ear. Mag. Vol. L. p. 427.

† 32 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

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Lane; St. John's Street, from the Smithfield Bars up to the Pound; Cow Cross, from the said Bars; Water Lane, in Fleet Street, leading down to the Thames; the way leading without Temple Bar, westward, by and to Clement's-Inn Gates and New-Inn Gates, to Drury Place, and also at one end stretching from the said way to the sign of the Bell, at Drury Lane end.; and the common way leading through a certain place called Petty France, from the Bars of the West end of Tothill Street, at Westminster; the street or highway leading from Bishopsgate to and above Shoreditch Church; the Bridge called Strand Bridge, and the way leading thither from Temple Bar; and the lane called Foscue Lane, leading from the garden and tenement of the Bishop of Lichfield, and the garden and tenement, called the Bell and Proctors, down to Strand Bridge;' all which are stated to be "very foul," &c. and "very necessary to be kept clean, for the avoiding of corrupt savours, and an occasion of pestilence; for the amendment and reformation whereof," all who "had any lands or tenements adjoining to the aforesaid streets, lanes, or ways," are ordered "to pave the same with paving-stones before their tenements to the middle of the street or lane, in the like manner and form as the streets of the City of London, with causeways and channels in the midst of the said streets, and to maintain the same." * About this era, some fresh supplies of water were conveyed to the City from the springs near Perilous Pool, Hackney, Muswell Hill, Hampstead Heath, and St. Mary le Bone;

* It is evident from this Act, that the streets afterwards named Butcher Row, and Holywell Street, St. Clement's, were not then built; and in most of the others, the dwellings had little more connection than was made by their garden walls, &c. Golding Lane, now Golden Lane, was literally a green avenue betwixt cottages and gardens. Whitecross street derived its name from a Conduit which stood there, surmounted with a white cross. Chiswell street was an open road between detached wooden houses, shaded with trees. Bishopsgate Street Without was also in a considerable degree composed of detached wooden and brick houses, with trees intermingled, and standing at a distance from each other.

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le Bone; and in 1546, new Conduits were erected in Coleman Street and Lothbury.*

Had the 'view, or ground-plot' of London, 'painted on board,' which the industrious antiquary, Mr. John Bagford, mentions in his letter to Hearne,† to have found in a manuscript inventory of Henry the Eighth's furniture, been still extant, it would have afforded a most curious contrast to the state of the Metropolis as it now exists; occupying an immense extent of ground in Middlesex, and branching out into the adjacent counties of Surrey, Kent, and Essex. In respect, however, to the western Suburb, this enquiry may be partially gratified from a cut by Holbein, which has been thus described.

"In this print we behold a large extent of fields, stretching from the village of *Charing* to the Hospital of *St. James:* to the left, the un-towered fabric of the Abbey, the gable roof of the Hall, and the square pinnacles of the Church of *St. Margaret* rising above a cluster of houses and trees, denote the City of Westminster. On the foreground, a few small dwellings shaded with large trees, and some contiguous ruins, discriminate the Chapel of '*Our Lady of the Pew;*' close to which there was a house, wherein, Stow says, 'were distracted and lunatic people, but that some King of England, not liking to have such objects so near his Palace, caused them to be removed to *Bethlem.*' Near this Chapel stood the Hospital of St. Mary Rounceval, situated exactly opposite to St. Martin's Lane.—The beautiful Cross, one of those erected by Edward the First to the memory of his Queen, does not appear in the print; but in the central point of the foreground is the *Hermitage*—a small cell annexed to the Chapel of *St. Catherine*, over against the Cross."‡ At this

* The expense of erecting the Lothbury Conduit, and of bringing the water into it from springs in Hoxton Fields, were ordered to be defrayed by a levy of two-fifteenths on the Citizens. *City Records.*

† See Lel. Coll. Vol. I. p. lxxx.

‡ Vestiges, &c. Eur. Mag. Vol. LI. p. 170.

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this period, also, the ancient Church of St. Martin in the Fields *stood alone:* it appears to have been a small fabric, consisting of a barn-like body, with a square low tower. The parish annexed to it was immensely large in proportion to the building, as may easily be conceived, when we consider, that those of St. Paul, Covent Garden, St. James, and St. Anne, Westminster, have all been taken from it; and the circumstance of this edifice serving for such a considerable extent of district, shews how slenderly that district must have been inhabited.*

In an Act of Parliament, made in the seventh of Edward the Sixth, for the general regulation of Taverns, the sale of Wines, &c. it was enacted, that the number of Taverns in the City and Liberties of London should 'not exceed forty, nor those in Westminster be more than three;' and that none of the said Taverns should retail wines to be spent or drank within their respective houses. By the same Act, the prices of Gascony and Guienne wines were fixed at eightpence per gallon, and that of Rochelle wine at fourpence per gallon; and it was likewise enacted, that not any wines should be sold at a higher price than twelve-pence per gallon. In the latter part of this reign, the Protector Somerset erected his magnificent Palace called Somerset House; to furnish room and materials for which, the Church of St. Mary and the mansions of three Bishops were demolished on the spot, besides the Chapel, Cloisters, and Charnel House that stood in St. Paul's Church-yard, and the Tower and part of the Church of St. John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell.

From the very curious Plan and View of London, intituled '*Civitas Londinum,*' by Ralph, or Radulphus Aggas, made soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, which is yet extant, though extremely scarce,† a variety of interesting particulars of the

* Vestiges, &c. Eur. Mag. Vol. LI. p. 172.

† Aggas's original plan was first reduced and copied, with some additions, into Braun's Civitates: between the years 1572–3 and 1584. In 1748, it was re-engraved by Vertue, in six sheets, who annexed to it the date 1560. The original plan is printed on six sheets, and two half-sheets, and measures six feet three inches, by two feet four inches.

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the state of the Capital at that period, may be derived. From this document it appears, that the most crowded part of the City, was then, as at present, on the south side, extending from Newgate Street, Cheapside, and Cornhill, to the banks of the Thames; and that besides the small bay at Billingsgate, there were two lesser ones above Bridge, at Ebgate and Queenhithe. Beyond Lothbury, from Basing-hall Lane to Bishopsgate, a great portion of the ground, with the exception of Coleman Street, and the houses adjacent to St. Augustine's Church, was uncovered, and apparently occupied for gardens.

Similar void spaces, but separated by buildings, occurred between Bishopsgate Street and the Minories, at the extremity of which, next Tower Hill, stood a Cross. Goodman's Fields was only an extensive inclosure, and East Smithfield, and St. Catherine's seems to have extended but very little beyond St Catherine's Tower. From the gardens and inclosures immediately attached to the north side of Whitechapel and Houndsditch, the ground was only shaded with trees; the Spital Fields lying entirely open from the back of St. Mary Spital, which gave them name. Houndsditch was only a single line of buildings, extending from St. Botolph's, Aldgate, to Bishopsgate Without: from thence a pretty regular street, but interspersed with openings and detached edifices, extended to Shoreditch Church, which terminated the avenue. Westward from Bishopsgate, a few buildings, the principal of which was a long range named the Dogg House,* with gardens and inclosures intermingled, reached to Moorfield and Finsbury Field, both of which, from the Dogg House to Finsbury Court, were completely open; and on Finsbury Field, where the handsome square of that name, and the houses beyond, extending to Old Street, now stand, were several Windmills. In Old Street, itself, from the spot now occupied by St. Luke's Church to

* It seems probable that this building was so named from its being the Kennel for the *City Puck*, i. e. of Hounds; we find from Stow, that one of the Lord Mayor's officers was called Master *Common-Hunt*. Ann. p. 649. Edit. 1633.

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to Shoreditch, was not a single house, and only two or three detached buildings stood in the fields beyond. The mansion called Finsbury Court, was near the upper end of Chiswell Street, between which and Whitecross Street, the houses were very few. Goswell Street was merely indicated by a road described as 'leading to St. Alban's;' and Islington was hardly to be seen in the distance. Clerkenwell, with the exception of the houses in St. John Street and Cow Cross, was mostly occupied by the precincts of the Monastery and the Church; and only a few detached buildings stood on the Islington Road beyond the latter edifice. From the back of Cow Cross towards the Fleet River, and beyond that towards Ely House, and Gray's-Inn Lane, the ground was either entirely vacant or occupied in gardens; and Gray's-Inn Lane only extended to a short distance beyond the Inn. From Holborn Bridge to the vicinity of the present Red Lion Street, the houses were continued on both sides, but further up to about Hart Street, the road was entirely open; a garden wall there commenced, and continued to near Broad St. Giles's, and the end of Drury Lane, where a small cluster of houses chiefly on the right, formed the principal part of the village of St. Giles; only a few other buildings appearing in the neighbourhood of the Church and Hospital, the precincts of which were spacious and surrounded with trees. Beyond this, both to the north and west, all was country, and the Oxford and other main roads were distinguished only by avenues of trees. From the Oxford road, southward, to Piccadilly, called the 'way from Reading,' and thence along the highways named the Haymarket and Hedge Lane, to the vicinity of the Mews, not a house was standing; and St. James's Hospital, and three or four small buildings near the spot now occupied by Carleton House, were all that stood near the line of the present Pall Mall. The limits of the Mews were the same as now; but Leicester Square and all its neighbourhood were completely open fields. St. Martin's Lane had only a few houses beyond the Church, abutting on the Convent Garden (now Covent Garden) which extended quite into Drury Lane,

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Lane, and had but three buildings within its ample bounds. Not a house was standing either in Long Acre, or in the now populous vicinage of Seven Dials; nor yet in Drury Lane from near Broad St. Giles's, to Drewry House at the top of Wych Street. Nearly the whole of the Strand was a continued street, formed, however, in a considerable degree by spacious mansions, and their appropriate offices, the residences of Noblemen and Prelates: those on the south side had all large gardens attached to them, extending down to the Thames, and have mostly given names to the streets, &c. that have been built on their respective sites. The Spring Gardens were literally gardens, reaching as far as the present Admiralty; and further on, towards the Treasury, were the Tilt-Yard and Cockpit; opposite to which was the extensive Palace of Whitehall. Along King Street to St. Margaret's Church and the Abbey, the buildings were nearly connected; and from Whitehall to Palace Yard, they were also thickly clustered on the bank of the Thames. Adjacent to Abingdon Street, the site of which was then a part of the demesne attached to the Palace at Westminster, were several buildings; and some others stood opposite to the Archbishop of Canterbury's Palace in Surrey.

On the Surrey side, the Plan exhibits only a single house that stood anywise contiguous to Lambeth Palace; but more northward, near a road that took the same direction from Westminster as the present Bridge Road, and almost opposite to which was a kind of stage landing-place, were six or seven buildings. All beyond these, to the Banks of the Thames opposite to White Friars, was entirely vacant: there, a line of houses, with gardens and groves of trees behind them, commenced, and was continued with little intermission along Bankside to the vicinity of the Stews, and Winchester House. One of the most noted places in this line was the Theatre and Gardens, called Paris Gardens, the site of which is now occupied by Christ Church and its annexed parish. Further on, but behind the houses and nearly opposite to Broken Wharf and Queenhithe, were the circular buildings and inclosures

appropriated

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appropriated to Bull and Bear-baiting, amusements to which Queen Elizabeth seems to have been very partial. Southwark, as far as appears in the Plan, which only extends to a short distance down the Borough High Street, was tolerably clustered with houses, and London Bridge was completely encumbered with them. Along Tooley Street to Battle Bridge, and down to the river, the buildings were closely contiguous; but along Horslydown they stood much thinner, and were intermingled with gardens to where the Plan terminates, nearly opposite to St. Katherine's.

Such then, and so contracted was London about the period of Elizabeth's accession; yet the reign of that Princess forms a splendid epoch in its advancing growth, and notwithstanding the 'dilapidating' Proclamations of the years 1580, 1593, and 1602,* both the population and the buildings continued to keep pace with the extension of commerce, and the increase of the working classes, whose numbers had been greatly augmented by the multitudes redeemed by the Reformation from the idleness of the cloister.

The principal ground upon which Elizabeth and her Ministers had recourse to this restraining policy, was the 'danger of Pestilence;' and notwithstanding the continued injunctions for the 'voiding of inmates' from the Capital, it is most certain that if London was at any time "overthronged with inhabitants, it appears rather to have had its population decreased by pestilential diseases, than spread over a wider district by civic precaution." In despite, however, as well of plague as of proclamations, the Suburbs were greatly extended before the end of Elizabeth's reign; and many of the large mansions of the Nobility and others within the City itself, which now began to be deserted for the more *courtly* air of Westminster, were either separated into divers tenements, or pulled down to make way for streets of houses.†

* See preceding Volume, p. 287 and 302.

† The first Proclamation issued by Elizabeth will serve as a specimen of the whole. It furnishes abundant evidence of the increase of the people; an

The diffusion of wealth, through the enlargement of commercial intercourse, was accompanied in London by its usual concomitant, luxury, and particularly in dress; so much so, indeed, that

an increase which all the authority of the Crown, strengthened as it was in the following century, by Parliamentary Statutes, proved wholly inadequate to check.

"*Proclamation against NEW BUILDINGS and INMATES.*

"THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY perceiving the state of the City of London, being anciently termed her *Chamber*, and the Suburbs and confines thereof, to increase daily by access of people to inhabit the same, in such ample sort as thereby many inconveniences are seen already, but many greater of necessity like to follow, being such as her Majesty cannot neglect to remedy, having the principal care under Almighty God to foresee, aforehand, to have her people in such a City and confines, not only well governed by ordinary justice, to serve God and obey her Majesty, which by reason of such multitudes, lately increased, can hardly be done without devise of more new Jurisdictions and Officers for that purpose, but to be also provided of sustentation of victual food, and other like necessaries for man's life, upon reasonable prices, without which no City can long continue: and finally, to the preservation of her people in health, which may seem impossible to continue, though presently by God's goodness the same is perceived to be in better estate universally, than hath been in man's memory; yet where there are such great multitudes of people brought to inhabit in small rooms, whereof a great part are seen very poor, yea, such as must live of begging or by worse means, and they heaped up together, and in a sort smothered, with many families of children and servants in one house or small tenement; it must needs follow, if any plague or popular sickness should, by God's permission, enter amongst these multitudes, that the same would not only spread itself and invade the whole City and confines, but that a great mortality would ensue to the same, where her Majesty's personal presence is many times required, besides the great confluence of people from all parts of the realm, by reason of the ordinary Terms for justice there holden, but would be also dispersed through all other parts of the realm, to the manifest danger of the whole body thereof, out of which neither her Majesty's own person can be, but by God's special ordinance, exempted, nor any other whatsoever they be. For remedy whereof, as time may now serve, until, by some further good order to be had in Parliament or otherwise, the same may be remedied: her Majesty

by

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that several sumptuary laws were at different times enacted to restrain the wear of costly and 'inordinate' apparel, or at least to confine it to the superior ranks. Elizabeth, as well as her

 predecessors,

by good and deliberate advise of her Counsel, and being also thereto moved by the considerate opinions of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and other the grave wise men in and about the City, doth charge and straightly command all manner of persons, of what quality soever they be, to desist and forbear from any new buildings of any house or tenements *within three miles from any of the gates of the said City of London*, to serve for habitation or lodging for any person, where no former house hath been known to have been, in the memory of such as are now living; and also to forbear from letting or setting, or suffering any more families than one only to be placed or to inhabit from henceforth, in any house that heretofore hath been inhabited. And to the intent, this her Majesty's royal commandment and necessary provision may take place, and be duly observed, for so universal a benefit to the whole body of the realm, for whose respects all particular persons are bound by God's law and man's, to forbear from their particular and extraordinary lucre: her Majesty straightly chargeth the Lord Mayor of the City of London, and all other Officers having authority in the same, and also all Justices of Peace, Lords, and Bailiffs of Liberties, not being within the jurisdiction of the said Lord Mayor of London, to foresee that no person do begin to prepare any foundation for any new house, tenement, or building, to serve, to receive, or hold any inhabitants to dwell or lodge, or to use any victualling therein where no former habitation hath been in the memory of such as now do live; but that they be prohibited and restrained so to do. And both the persons that shall so attempt to the contrary, and all manner of workmen that shall, after warning given, continue in any such work, tending to such new buildings, to be committed to close prison, and there to remain without bail, until they find good surities with bonds for reasonable sums of money to be forfeitable and recovered at her Majesty's suit, for the use of the Hospitals in and about the said City, that they shall not at any time attempt the like. And further, the said Officers shall seize all manner of stuff, so, after warning given, brought to the place where such new buildings shall be intended, and the same cause to be converted and employed in any public use for the City or Parish where the same shall be attempted. And for the avoiding the multitudes of families heaped up in one dwelling house, or for the converting of any one house into a multitude of such tenements for dwelling or victualling places, the said Lord Mayor, and all

other

predecessors, had recourse to the same questionable policy; and though in a few respects she mitigated the severity of some former statutes, 'her good Citizens' were not altogether satisfied with the

other Officers, in their several Liberties, within the limits of three miles, as above-mentioned, shall commit any person giving cause of offence, from the day of the publication of this present Proclamation, to close prison, as is afore limited. And also for the offences in this part of increase of many indwellers, or, as they be commonly termed inmates, or undersitters, which have been suffered within these seven years, contrary to the good ancient laws or customs of the City, or of the Boroughs and Parishes within the aforesaid limit of three miles aforementioned, the said Lord Mayor and other the Officers above mentioned, shall speedily cause to be redressed in their ordinary courts and law days, betwixt this and the Feast of All Saints next coming, within which times such undersitters, or inmates, may provide themselves other places abroad in the realm, where many houses rest uninhabited to the decay of divers ancient good boroughs and towns. And because her Majesty intendeth to have this ordinance duly executed, her pleasure is, that the said Lord Mayor of London, and other the Officers having jurisdiction within the space of three miles above-mentioned, shall, after the proclamation hereof as speedily as they may, meet in some convenient place near to the said City, and there, after conference had, accord among themselves how to proceed to the execution hereof; and, if cause shall so require, to impart to her Majesty's Privy Counsel, any let or impediment that may arise, to the intent that remedy be given to any such impediment, according to her Majesty's pleasure heretofore expressed.

"Given at Nonesuch, the 7th day of July, 1580, in the twenty-second year of her Majesty's reign.

"God Save the Queen."

On the swearing in of the new Lord Mayor, Sir John Branch, in the Court of Exchequer, in the October following, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, declared to him her Majesty's pleasure as to the course which the City should pursue in respect to the Proclamation; and in consequence of this, at the next Court held by the Mayor, the following Orders '*For New Buildings*,' &c. were directed to be issued.

"First, for the matter of new building and multiplication of families, precepts shall be directed to the several Aldermen of the Wards of this City, to call their several Inquests of Wardmote, upon their oaths, to enquire

the partial relaxation that had been allowed them. On the plea, therefore, of 'that decent order and conveniency that was by Citizens, Officers, and others, thought meet to be used and continued,

quire and present all offences against the said Proclamation, both in erecting of new Buildings, and in letting out or converting of former houses to greater number of habitations than heretofore have been; and also of the pestering the City and places adjoining, with inmates and with increase of allies, and with strangers, such as either come not hither for their conscience in true religion, or be of such places as they may safely return; and also to enquire, so near as they can by credible information, all offences against the said Proclamation, in places pretended exempt, and within three miles, without the walls of the said City: To the intent that for such things as are in the jurisdiction of this City, speedy remedy be given; and for the rest, petition be made to the most honourable Council, and that precepts be sent to the Wardens of the several Companies of the Carpenters and Bricklayers, that none of their companies do work in any such new building or severance of former houses, on pain of imprisonment, during the Council's pleasure, or disfranchisement for ever.

"Secondly, For the matters of plague and infection, the Ministers of this Court shall be commanded to seek out the Orders heretofore sent by the Lords of the most honourable Privy Council, and also those that have been considered by the Common Council of this City, and allowed by the said Lords in this behalf; and certain grave persons, both Aldermen and Commoners, shall be appointed in commission again to consider thereof, and of all places convenient, and for further orders, both in clean keeping the streets, lanes, and houses, and otherwise, requisite in that behalf: and thereof inform this Court, that order may be taken accordingly, with the good liking of the most honourable Lords."

In the course of the subsequent proceedings, the subjoined '*Device*,' as it is called, was prepared by the City Recorder, Fleetwood, to be offered to the Lords of the Council: the local information it details is curious; it shews also the contracted policy on which the City Majestracy then acted.

1st. Against setting up new Buildings in or near London.

2nd. Against converting great houses to alleys, or multitude of habitations; and

3d. Against Inmates:—In these several articles,

"To provide from time to time, that her Majesty's Proclamation be better observed.

"Some

tinued, by those who though they were not of substance and value answerable, *by the rates limited by the Book of Subsidy*, yet did hold place of such worshipful calling otherwise, as required some larger

" Some correction or blame, where negligence hath been in execution, and a more severe charge hereafter.

" How lawfully to reach in some exemplary manner, for the houses already bylded against the Proclamation, that the same may be some way redressed, because law wanteth to pull them down.

" That the offenders, some at least of each sort, be holden in imprisonment during her Majesty's pleasure, and under assessment of great fines, till they come to submission to abide the order of the Lords, upon which submission and bond for observing thereof, the Lords may take order touching reforming the houses already bylded.

" That it be ordered, and the parties bound, that where new houses have been builded in place of old, they be put two or more into one, till they be reduced at the most, not to exceed the number they were before.

" That they be also bound, that in those houses they shall place none but such as shall not burthen the Citie with their poverty, and that shall be of good behaviour.

" That the Mayor and Justices of London, &c. be commanded not to allow any in such house, to keep alehouse or other victualling.

" That no Inn of Court or Chancery receive more than the house can conveniently lodge, and for execution thereof, that all such as lodge out of the house be judged inmates.

" That her Majesty's order may be executed as well to sheds as to dwelling-houses, because men used to lie in those sheds under the stall, where if one die infected, it is more dangerous than in any house, and such people do commonly sojourn at the alehouse.

" That the Mayor of London be commanded to execute the City's law against tippling in cellars, and to put the bonds in suite that he hath against such as turne house to alleys, and to place poor in their tenements burdenous to the City.

" That making holes under stalls for artisans be taken away, which is to be done very well, by an indirect mean, to the beauty and wholesomeness of the Citie, viz. That the Lord Mayor be commended for the good reformation made upon London Bridge, to take away the forestalling or setting out of stalls into the street, beyond the posts of their houses; and that he be commanded to do the like throughout London.

" That

larger limitation than was generally prescribed by the Statute and Proclamation,' Sir George Bond, Lord Mayor, in 1588, wrote a Letter in the name of the City to the Privy Council, stating, that "Forasmuch as they," the Citizens, "were desirous that some convenient and comely order, *such as might stand with the honour of the Queen*, might be in London used and continued, which could not be without some further toleration; they therefore thought good to present to the Lords of the Council, 'a *Book* which they had caused to be drawn, containing a certain

 limitation

"That such as your Lordships doe not choose out to be imprisoned and made examples, may nevertheless not be discharged, but remain in terror of suffering the like, that they may also submit and be bound.

"That your Lordships forbear to make requests for men to be made free by redemption, by whom and their issue and servants, the City is much filled.

"That your Lordships will command the Mayor, &c. to consult of reasonable means, by restrayning excess of apprentices, by abridging the easy setting up of young men, without serving as journeymen, and the dissolution of good townes, by our running to Fairs, in which case they must have double number of servants, that the over-peopling of London may be remedied.

"May it please to pardon this new devise, to extend to the new building already made.

"That her Majesty will ordain an Officer in the City, by her prerogative, called a Harbinger, for the plague.

"This Harbinger to have power to take up lodging in any of these new builded houses, to receive the infected of the plague, there to be received, lodged, and cherished, till they be whole.

"A remedy for new buildings in gardens, where now are habitations, and many times incontinent acts, *and the sale of mens children by private contracts*, &c. as Bridewell knoweth.

"The City of London hath ever had, and now most meet it should have, their free and open walks in the fields about the City, and namely in Moorfields, and some other fields, where grounds have been enclosed for gardens, and new dwellings there builded.

"Order may be given as in like case at suite of Archers for shooting, now for wholesomeness of the City, by Commission out of the Chancery, that all those inclosures made within memory be laid open, as they were before the enclosure."

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limitation and *order for apparel of Citizens and Officers of the City, in their several degrees and callings, and of their wives;* which they prayed them by their honourable good means to her Majesty by public Proclamation, or otherwise, to be allowed unto them; and that observing the same, they might not be impeached of either of the said Acts, by reason of wearing any apparel or stuff by the same Book desired to be allowed them."*

No

* Though the grave Magistrates of the City felt their own dignity *abated*, to use a legal phrase, by sumptuary restraints, they seem to have had little objection to impose similar restrictions on those who were subjected to their authority. In 1582, an Act of Common Council was passed for the regulation of Apprentices, in which it was enacted, "That no Apprentice whatsoever should presume, 1. To wear any apparel but what he receives from his master. 2. To wear no hat, or any thing but a woollen cap, without any silk in or about the same. 3. To wear neither ruffles, cuffs, loose collars, nor other thing than a ruff at the collar, and that only of a yard and a half long. 4. To wear no doublets but what are made of canvas, fustian, sackcloth, English leather, or woollen, without any gold, silver, or silk trimming. 5. To wear no other coloured cloth or kersey in hose or stockings than white, blue, or russet. 6. To wear no other breeches but what shall be of the same stuffs as the doublets, and neither stitched, laced, or bordered. 7. To wear no other than a plain upper coat, of cloth or leather, without pinking, stitching, edging, or silk about it. 8. To wear no other surtout than a cloth gown or cloak, lined or faced with cloth, cotton, or baise, with a fixed round collar, without stitching, guarding, lace, or silk. 9. To wear no pumps, slippers, or shoes, but of English leather, without being pinched, edged, or stitched; nor girdles nor garters other than of crewel, woollen, thread, or leather, without being garnished. 10. To wear no sword, dagger, or other weapon, but a knife; nor a ring, jewel of gold or silver; nor silk in any part of his apparel, on pain of being punished at the discretion of the master for the first offence; to be publicly whipped at the Hall of his Company for a second offence; and to serve six months longer than specified in his indenture for a third offence." And it was further enacted, "That no Apprentice should frequent or go to any dancing, fencing, or musical schools; nor keep any chest, press, or other place for keeping of apparel, or goods, but in his master's house, under the penalties aforesaid."

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No inconsiderable part of the increase of London in this reign must be attributed to the influx of foreigners from the Low Countries, which the wise policy of Elizabeth led her to encourage for the advantage of trade, and the introduction of new branches of manufacture.* Many hundreds also settled in London of those Protestants who had fled from different parts of France after the fatal vespers of St. Bartholomew.

The great augmentation in the buildings of the Metropolis, which had taken place during Elizabeth's time, may be seen from the following passages selected, with a few verbal alterations for the better connection, from the first edition of Stow's Survey.

St. Katherine's, below the Tower, has 'of late years been inclosed about, or pestered with small tenements and homely cottages, having inhabitants, English and strangers, more in number than some cittie in England.'† 'From this precinct of St. Katherine to *Wapping in the Wose*, and *Wapping* itself, never a house was standing within these fortie years, but is now a continuall streete, or rather a filthy straight passage, with lanes and allyes, of small tenements, inhabited by saylors and victuallers, along by the river Thames, almost to Radcliffe, a good myle from the Tower.'‡ On the site of *New Abbey*, East Smithfield, of 'late time is builded a large Store-house,' and 'the grounds adjoining are employed in building of small tenements: Tower Hill also is greatly diminished by tenements.' In place of 'the Nunnes of St. Clare, called the *Minories*, is now builded divers faire and large Store-houses for armour and habilliments of war, with divers work-houses, serving to the same purpose.'§ The *Ditch*,

* See preceding Volume, p. 625—634. The number of resident Foreigners within the City and its Liberties in the year 1580, as taken under the orders of the Council, was 6462; of these 2302 were Dutch, 1838 French, 1116 Italians, 1542 English born of foreign parents, and about 664 of countries, &c. not specified. This return exhibited an increase of 3762 persons within the course of thirteen years, when a previous Survey had been made.

† Sur. of Lond. p. 89. ‡ Ibid, p. 347. § Ibid. p. 90.

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Ditch, without the walles of the Citie, on the other side of that streete, ' is now of latter time inclosed, and the bankes thereof let out for garden plottes, carpenters' yards, bowling-allies, and divers houses be thereon builded.' *

Eastward from St. Botolph's Church ' were certain fayre Innes, for receipt of travellers, up towards *Hogge Lane* end, which stretcheth north to St. Mary Spittle, without Bishopsgate, and within these fortie-foure yeares past, had on both sides fayre hedge rowes of elm trees, with bridges and easy styles to passe over into the pleasant fields, very commodious for Citizens therein to walke, shoote, and otherwise to recreate and refresh their dulled spirits in the sweet and wholesome ayre, which is now within few yeares made a continual building throughout of garden houses and small cottages: and the fields on either side be turned into garden plottes, teynter yards, bowling alleyes, and such like, from Houndsditch in the west, so farre as Whitechappel, and further in the east. The south side of the highway from Aldegate had some few tenements thinly scattered here and there, with much voyde space betweene them, up to the Barres; but now that streete is not onely pestered with divers allies, on either side to the Barres, but also even to Whitechappel,' ' and almost half a mile beyond it, into the common field.' †

From Aldgate north-west to Bishopsgate, on the outer side of Houndsditch, ' was a fayre fielde, some time belonging to the Priory of the Trinitie:—this field (as all other about the Citie) was inclosed, reserving open passages thereinto, for such as were disposed: towards the street were some small cottages of two stories high, and little garden plottes backward, for poor bed-rid people.—This street was first paved in the year 1503; three brethren, that were gun-founders, surnamed Owens, gat ground there

* Sur. of Lond. p. 91.

† Sur. of Lond. p. 92. The streets leading to Whitechapel and its neighbourhood were ordered to be paved, by Act of Parliament, in the thirteenth year of Elizabeth viz. 1571.

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there to build upon, and to inclose for casting of brasse ordinance. These occupied a good part of ye street on the field side, and in short time divers other also builded there, so that the poore bed-rid people were worne out, and in place of their homely cottages, such houses builded, as do rather want room than rent. The residue of the field was for the most part made into a garden, by a gardiner named Casway, one that served the markets with hearbes and rootes; and in the last year of King Edward the Sixth, the same was parcelled into gardens, wherein are now many fayre houses of pleasure builded.' The 'mud wall round the ditch side of this street, is also by little and little all taken downe; the bank of the ditch being raysed made level ground, and turned into garden plottes, and carpenters yards; and many large houses are there builded, by which meanes the ditch is filled up, and both the ditch and wall so hidden, that they cannot be seene of the passers by.'*

'Without the Church-yard of St. Botolph, without Bishopsgate, is a causeway leading to a quadrant called *Petie Fraunce*, of Frenchmen dwelling there, and to other dwelling houses, lately builded on the banke of the Towne Ditch by some Citizens of London, that more regarded their owne private gaine than the common goode of the Citie.'†—'Near these is the Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem, upon the streetes side northward from which many houses have been builded with alleyes backward, of late time, too much pestered with people (a great cause of infection) up to the Barres.'‡ In place of 'the late dissolved Priorie and Hospital of Our Blessed Ladie, commonly called *St. Mary Spittle*, and near adjoining, are now many faire houses, builded for receipt and lodging of worshipfull and honorable persons.'§ About this time also '*Golding Lane* was replenished on both sides, with many tenements of poor people.'‖ Then 'from the further end of Aldersgate Streete, straight north to

* Sur. of Lond. p. 92, 93. † Ibid. p. 127.

‡ Ibid. p. 128. § Ibid. p. 129. ‖ Ibid. p. 354.

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to the Barre, is called *Goswell Street*, also replenished with small tenements, cottages, and allies, gardens, banquetting-houses, and bowling places.' * On the high street of 'Oldborne have ye many faire houses builded, and lodgings for gentlemen, innes for travellers, and such like, up almost, (for it lacketh but little) to St. Giles's in the Fields.'—*Gray's Inn Lane* 'is furnished with faire buildings, and many tenements on both the sides, leading to the fields towards Highgate and Hamsted.'† 'South from Charing Crosse on the right hand, are divers fayre houses lately builded before the Parke. On the left hand from Charing Crosse be also divers fayre tenements lately builded.'‡

In Southwark 'on the banke of the river Thames, there is now a continuall building of tenements, about half a mile in length to the Bridge. Then from the Bridge, straight towards the south, a continuall street called Long Southwarke, builded on both sides with divers lanes and alleyes up to St. George's Church, and beyond it through Blackman Street towards new towne, or Newington. Then by the Bridge, along by the Thames eastward, is St. Olave's Street, having continuall building on both the sides, with lanes and alleyes up to Battle Bridge, to Horse-downe, and towardes Rotherhithe: also some good halfe mile in length from London Bridge. So that I accompt the whole continual buildings on the banke of the said river, from the west towards the east, to be more than a large mile in length. Then have ye from the entring towards the said Horse-downe, one other continual street, called Bermondes-Eye Street, which stretcheth south, likewise furnished with buildings on both sides, almost halfe a mile in length, up to the late dissolved monasterie of St. Saviour, called Bermondsey; and from thence is one Long Lane, so called of the length, turning west to St. George's Church, afore named; out of the which Long Lane breaketh one other street towards the south, and by east, and this is called Kentish Street, for that it is the way leading into that countrey: and

* Sur. of Lond. p. 355. † Ibid. p. 361. ‡ Ibid. p. 374.

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and so you have the boundes of the Borough.'* From this descriptive outline of Southwark, it is evident that the buildings on this side the Thames, had not kept pace with the increase on the northern bank, although various additions had been made, as will be shewn hereafter.

The augmented population of the Metropolis requiring fresh supplies of water, several new Conduits were erected during Elizabeth's reign; one of the principal of these was on Snow Hill, where a ruinous Conduit was rebuilt, and had water conveyed to it, though leaden pipes, from a reservoir of the waters of several springs made in the fields, near the extremity of the present *Lamb's Conduit* Street (where also a Conduit was formed), so named from the patriotic Citizen, William Lamb, Esq. (sometime a gentleman of the Chapel to Henry the Eighth), at whose sole charge the work was executed. Conduits for the conveyance of Thames water, were built also at Dowgate, Leadenhall, and Old Fish Street; and at Broken Wharf a vast engine was constructed, in the year 1594, for supplying the western parts of the City.'†

The accession of James the First was quickly followed by a destructive Plague, the spreading of which, there can be no doubt, was highly accelerated by the narrowness of the streets, and the crowded population of the houses; yet every extension of the Suburbs seems about this period to have been resisted by successive Administrations, with a pertinacious obstinacy, for which at the present time we know not how to account. 'Proclamation followed Proclamation, restricting the proprietors of decayed dwelling houses, and other premises, in rebuilding, to the identical limits formerly occupied; and all edifices reared in the City or Suburbs, contrary to the tenor of the Proclamation, were ordered to be demolished. In defiance, however, of these prohibitary restraints, the Metropolis increased; and although delinquents

* Sur. of Lond. p. 329, 330.

† For the origin of the Thames Water Works, see preceding Volume, p. 288; further particulars will be given under London Bridge.

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delinquents were prosecuted and fined, the building speculation continued, till it became necessary, in consequence of the rapid decay of wooden structures, and the vast consumption of timber, to order, 'that in future the outer walls, fore-fronts, and windows of all edifices should be either of brick or stone.'*

Among the buildings which arose in this reign was the *New Exchange*, which the crafty Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, and Lord High Treasurer of England, erected on the site of a long range of stables belonging to Durham House in the Strand, 'some shape of the modelling,' though not in all respects alike, being after the fashion of the Royal Exchange in London,' to which, indeed, it appears to have been intended as a kind of rival; yet, though patronized by the Sovereign himself, who (accompanied by his Queen and children, and many Lords and Ladies) attended its opening, in April 1609, and named it *Britain's Bourse*, it had not the expected success; though it continued to exist till long after the Revolution. †.

About this period, the buildings in Lincoln's-Inn *Fields* began so to increase, that the Privy Council, at the desire of the Benchers and Students of that Inn, directed a Mandate to certain Magistrates of the County of Middlesex, stating, that it was 'his Majesty's express pleasure and commandment, that the erection of new buildings' there 'should be restrained;' and ordering 'the said Justices to *apprehend* and *commit to Gaol* any who should be found so offending, or to take sureties of him or them to appear before the said Privy Council to answer the charges.' This curious mandate was not in force many years: the cause of its having been issued may be partly seen from the Special Commission, bearing date in 1618, and in which, after the most grossly

* See preceding Volume, pages 304 and 314. It seems probable, that the augmentation of London in James's reign, was partly occasioned by the numbers of his countrymen who settled here after his accession, and particularly after the Union of the two Kingdoms in 1605.

† More particulars of this building will be given in the account of the Strand.

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grossly false assumption, that '*more public works*, near and about the City of London, had been undertaken in the *sixteen years of that reign*, than in *ages* heretofore,' it was alledged, that 'the grounds called Lincoln's-Inn Fields were much planted round with dwellings and lodgings of Noblemen and Gentlemen of qualitie; but at the same time, were deformed by cottages and mean buildings, incroachments on the Fields, and nuisances to the neighbourhood.' The Commissioners, therefore, who were the Lord Chancellor Bacon, the Earls of Worcester, Pembroke, and Arundel, and other Noblemen and Gentry, 'were directed to reform those grievances; and according to their discretion to frame and reduce those Fields, both for sweetness, uniformitie, and comeliness, into such walkes, partitions, and other plottes, and in such sorte, manner, and forme, both for public health and pleasure,' as should be 'drawn up, by way of map, by Inigo Jones,' who was then Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Works. Under the superintendance of this able architect the present Square of Lincoln's-Inn Fields was laid out, and the buildings were begun; but many deviations were subsequently made in the original plan.' *

Whatever may be objected to the taste of Inigo Jones, who seems to have formed his style from the contemplation of the simplicity and solid grandeur of the Tuscan, rather than of the more elegant and higher Orders of Architecture, the Metropolis is certainly indebted to him for the introduction of a mode of building, which, if it has not all the characteristics of Grecian purity, is, generally speaking, far removed from the heavy and incongruous intermixture

* In Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. XVIII. p. 97, is the copy of another Commission directed to the Earl of Arundel, Inigo Jones, and others, for the prevention of 'any building on *new* foundations, within two miles of the City of London and Palace at Westminster;' and in some Letters from Mr. Gerrard, published in the Strafford Papers, which contain an account of proceedings under the Commission, it appears that twenty newly erected houses in St. Martin's Lane, were pulled down by order of the Commissioners acting on that authority.

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intermixture that succeeded the decay of the Pointed style. The *Banquetting House* at Whitehall, was one of the structures erected by him towards the latter part of this reign; this fine edifice was the first essay towards the building of an extensive and beautiful Palace for the English Sovereigns; a design which the subsequent contest between Charles the First and the Parliament effectually put a stop to.

One of the 'Public Works' alluded to in the Commission before-mentioned, was doubtless the bringing of the *New River* to London, which was effected in the year 1613, chiefly through the *individual* munificence of Sir Hugh Middleton. Another, most probably, was the erection of a County Sessions House, in St. John's Street, afterwards called *Hicks's Hall*, at the sole expence of Sir Baptist Hickes, who was subsequently created Lord Viscount Campden. About this time also, anno 1615, the foot-paths of the principal streets of the City, which had hitherto been laid with pebbles, were first begun to be paved with broad flags of free-stone, at the charge of the inhabitants. About this period also, several new *Play-houses* appear to have been either built or fitted up in London; the augmented numbers of the population demanding fresh sources of amusement: these edifices, however, were all of inconsiderable extent.

During the first ten or twelve years of the reign of Charles the First, the Suburbs of London kept continually on the increase, particularly in the neighbourhoods of Spitalfields and Westminster. The domestic traffic of the City in provisions, was also so much augmented, that various local regulations were devised to regulate it, and prevent its becoming a general nuisance. To this end it was enacted by the Common Council, in 1631, that 'no inhabitant should presume to sell any thing in the streets or lanes of the City, under pain of forfeiting for the first offence twenty shillings, for the second forty shillings, and for every subsequent offence, the penalty to be doubled.' Two years afterwards, the Court of Star Chamber issued a Decree against Engrossers of provisions, and for the regulation of Bakers, Victuallers, and Vintners,

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Vintners within the Cities of London and Westminster. Among other things enjoined by this Decree, it was ordered, that 'no Vintner should sell any thing but bread and wine, nor permit any flesh or any sort of provisions to be brought into his house, to be there eaten by any of his guests;' that 'the keepers of Victualling-houses should take no more than two shillings for a meal, including wine and beer, and of each servant eightpence:' All Victuallers and Vintners were likewise enjoined 'not to suffer in any of their houses, the use of Cards, Dice, Tables, or other unlawful games, nor to depend upon any License granted them upon that account by the *Groom-Porter*;'* all such by this decree 'being declared null and void.' Further, 'that no Innholder within the above Citie, or ten miles of the same, shall take above six-pence in twenty-four hours for hay for one horse, nor

* This will be better understood by referring to a Grant, (see preceding Volume, p. 383,) made in 1620, by James the First to Clement Cottrell, Esq. *Groom-Porter* of the Household; by which the latter was empowered to License within the *Cities of London and Westminster*, and their respective *Suburbs*, twenty-four Bowling-Alleys: in *Southwark*, four; in *St. Catharine's*, one; in the *Towns* of *Lambeth* and *South Lambeth*, two; in *Shoreditch*, one; and in every other *Burg, Town, Village*, or *Hamlet*, within two miles of the Cities of London and Westminster, one Bowling-Alley. He was further authorized to License fourteen *Tennis Courts*; and to keep at play at *Dice and Cards* forty *Tauerns* or *Ordinaries*: all within the same limits. This Grant may be considered as a direct example of the arbitrary power which James had then assumed; as it was made in express violation of an Act of Parliament passed in 33 Hen. VIII. c. 9, which enacts, that 'No person shall for his gain, lucre, or living, keep any Common-house, Alley, or Place of Bowling, Coiting, Cloysh, Eagles, Half-bowl, Tennis, Dicing, Tables, or Carding, or any other Game, prohibited by Statute heretofore made, or any unlawful new Game, upon pain to forfeit every day 40 s.' The Grant to Cottrell, on the contrary, besides a general permission for '*good and civil people*,' of sufficient '*qualitie and abilitie*,' to play at all the Games then used, gave also a similar License in respect to 'any other Game *hereafter to be invented*.' See *Rym. Fœd.* Vol. V. xvii. p. 838. The increase of Bowling-Alleys, and of Carding and Dicing Houses, after the decline of the manly practice of Archery, is somewhat pathetically lamented by Stow, in different parts of his Survey.

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more than six-pence for a peck of oats;' and 'it being apprehended, that great inconveniences would arise from the great numbers of *Livery Stables* lately set up in London, Westminster, and Southwark,' it was ordained, 'that after the said Stable-keepers had consumed their stocks of hay and oats, they *should not presume* to make any further provision, but lay the business entirely aside.' The only justification that can be offered for these arbitrary enactments, must be sought for in the great dearth which then prevailed.

About the year 1634, the foundation of the present square of *Covent Garden* was commenced by Francis, Earl of Bedford, and the Piazza, and Church of St. Paul there, were subsequently built by Inigo Jones.* At this time also, the great repair of St. Paul's Cathedral

* The following whimsical account of the State of the Metropolis about this period, is extracted from the Works of Sir William. D'Avenant. Making due allowance for the satire, and for the cast of humour that pervades it, this description may be regarded as presenting a pretty accurate picture of London at that period.

"I will first take a Survey of the long continued deformity in the shape of your City, which is of your buildings.

"Sure your ancestors contrived your narrow streets in the days of wheel-barrows, before those greater engines, carts, were invented. Is your climate so hot, that as you walk, you need umbrellas of tiles to intercept the sun? or are your shambles so empty, that you are afraid to take in fresh air, lest it should sharpen your stomachs? Oh, the goodly landship of *Old Fish Street!* which, had it not had the ill luck to be crooked, was narrow enough to have been your Founder's perspective; and where the garrets, perhaps not for want of architecture, but through abundance of amity, are so narrow, that opposite neighbours may shake hands without stirring from home. Is unanimity of inhabitants in wise cities better exprest than by their coherence and uniformity of building; whose streets begin, continue, and end, in a like stature and shape? But yours, as if they were raised in a general insurrection, where every man hath a several design, differ in all things that can make distinction. Here stands one that aims to be a palace, and next it another that professes to be a hovel: here a giant, there a dwarf; here slender, there broad; and all most admirably different in faces, as well as in their height and bulk. I was about to

Cathedral was carrying on, under the direction of the same architect. *Lisle House*, near Leicester Fields, was likewise erected in this reign; *Leicester* House had been built in the preceding reign, and these buildings may be considered as the *nucleus*,

 round

to defie any Londoner, who dares pretend there is so much ingenious correspondence in this City, as that he can shew me one house like another: yet your houses seem to be reverend and formal, being compared to the fantastical looks of the modern; which have more ovals, nitches, and angles, than are in your custards, and are inclosed with pasteboard walls, like those of malicious Turks, who, because themselves are not immortal, and cannot dwell for ever where they build, therefore wish not to be at charge to provide such lastingness as may entertain their children out of the rain; so slight and prettily gaudy, that if they could move, they would pass for pageants. It is your custom, where men vary often the mode of their habits, to term the nation fantastical; but where streets continually change fashion, you should make haste to chain up your City, for it is certainly mad.

"You would think me a *malitious* traveller, if I should still gaze on your mis-shapen streets, and take no notice of the beauty of your River; therefore I will pass the importunate noise of your Watermen (who snatch at fares as if they were to catch prisoners, plying the Gentry so uncivilly, as if they had never rowed any other passengers than bear-wards;) and now step into one of your peascod boats, whose tilts are not so sumptuous as the roofs of gondaloes, nor when you are within, are you at the ease of a *chaise-à-bras*.

"The commodity and trade of your River belong to yourselves, but give a stranger leave to share in the pleasure of it, which will hardly be in the prospect and freedom of air; unless prospect, consisting of variety, be made up with here a palace, there a wood-yard; here a garden, there a brew-house; here dwells a lord, there a dyer, and between both, *duomo comune*. If freedom of air be inferred in the liberty of the subject, where every private man hath authority, for his own profit, to smoak up a Magistrate, then the air of your Thames is open enough, because it is equally free. I will forbear to visit your courtly neighbours at Wapping, not that it will make me giddy to shoot your Bridge, but that I am loth to describe the civil silence at Billingsgate, which is so great, as if the mariners were always landing to storm the harbour; therefore, for brevity's sake, I will put to shoar again, though I should be so constrained, even without my galoshes, to land at Puddle Dock.

"I am

round which the extensive neighbourhoods of Leicester Square, the Hay-market, Seven Dials, Soho, &c. have since been formed. Leicester *Fields*, however, now the Square, was actually what the name imports, till after the commencement of the last century.

During the disastrous period of the Civil Wars the augmentation of London was nearly at a stand; but on the settlement of the Government in a Commonwealth, it again advanced with accelerated rapidity. This fact we gather from the preamble to an Act of Parliament, passed about the middle of the year 1657, which runs thus: "Whereas the *great* and *excessive number* of Houses, Edifices, Out-houses, and Cottages, *erected* and *new built* in and about the Suburbs of the City of London, and the parts thereunto adjoyning, is *found* to be *very mischievous* and *inconvenient*, and a *great annoyance* and *nuisance* to the *Commonwealth*; and whereas, notwithstanding divers Prohibitions heretofore had and made to the contrary, yet the said *growing evil is of late so much multiplied and increased*, that there is a *necessity*

"I am now returned to visit your houses, where the roofs are so low, that I presume your ancestors were very mannerly, and stood bare to their wives; for I cannot discern how they could wear their high-crowned hats: yet, I will enter, and therein oblige you much, when you know my aversion to a certain weed that governs amongst your coarser acquaintance, as much as lavender among your coarser linen; to which, in my apprehension your sea-coal smoak seems a very Portigal perfume. I should here hasten to a period, for fear of suffocation, if I thought you so ungracious as to use it in public assemblies: and yet, I see it grow so much in fashion, that me-thinks your children begin to play with broken pipes instead of corals, to make way for their teeth. You will find my visit short; I cannot stay to eat with you, because your bread is too heavy, and you disdain the light substance of herbs. Your drink is too thick, and yet you are seldom over curious in washing your glasses. Nor will I lodge with you, because your beds seem no bigger than coffins; and your curtains so short, as they will hardly serve to inclose your carriers in summer, and may be held, if taffata, to have lined your grand-sires skirts.

"I have

sity of taking *some further* and *speedy course* for the *redress thereof.*" The Act then proceeds to state, that "*by the Law,* the said Houses and Nuisances ought to be *abated,*" that is, removed or pulled down; "and the Builders, Occupiers, Continuers, and Tenants thereof, ought to make fines for the same; so that if the severity of the Law should be inflicted, it would tend to the undoing of divers persons who have laid out all, or a great part of their estates in such new Buildings." From this consideration, therefore, it was enacted, that "one year's rent, or year's value at the full and improved yearly value, of such Dwelling-house, Out-house, and other Building, built and continued upon any new foundation within the Suburbs of the said City of London, or in any other place or places within *ten miles* of the Walls of the said City, since the twenty-fifth of March, 1620, and not having four acres of land at least, according to the Statute or Ordinance *De Terris mensurandis,*" should be paid for the *use of the Commonwealth,* "in full satisfaction and discharge" of

"I have now left your houses, and am passing through your streets; but not in a coach, for they are uneasily hung, and so narrow, that I took them for sedans upon wheels: nor is it safe for a stranger to use them till the quarrel be decided, whether six of your nobles, sitting together, shall stop and give way to as many barrels of beer. Your City is the only metropolis in Europe, where there is a wonderful dignity belonging to carts.

"I would now make a safe retreat, but that me-thinks I am stopt by one of your heroic games, called Foot-ball; which I conceive (under your favour) not very conveniently civil in the streets, especially in such irregular and narrow roads as Crooked Lane. Yet it argues your courage, much like your military pastime of throwing at Cocks; but your metal would be much magnified, (since you have long allowed those two valiant exercises in the streets) were you to draw your Archers from Finsbury, and during high market, let them shoot at butts in Cheapside. I have now no more to say, but what refers to a few private notes, which I shall give you in a whisper, when we meet in Moorfields, from whence (because the place was meant for public pleasure, and to shew the munificence of your City) I shall desire you to banish the Laundresses and Bleachers, whose acres of old linen make a shew like the fields of Carthagena, when the five months shifts of the whole fleet are washt and spread."

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all fines, forfeitures, and penalties incurred by the said Builders, &c.

By the same Act, a penalty of 100l. was ordered to be levied upon every person who should erect 'any Dwelling-house, Out-house, or Cottage,' without assigning 'four acres of ground' to each respectively, within the limits already mentioned; and every person that 'should uphold and continue the same,' was subjected to the fine of 20l. for every month that such building should remain standing.* Among the exemptions from these forfeitures which concern the Metropolis, were the following.

William, Earl of Bedford, and his brothers, John and Edward Russel, the sons of Francis, the late Earl, were allowed 7000l. out of the fines *payable* by them 'in respect of the buildings in the parish of *Covent Garden*.' This considerable remission, evinces that this neighbourhood was now greatly advanced: about this time also, *Long Acre* was built on an extensive field, which had previously borne the name of the Seven Acres.

James Cooper, Robert Henley, and Francis Finch, Esqrs. and other owners of 'certain parcels of ground in the Fields, commonly called '*Lincoln's-Inn Fields*,' were exempted from all forfeitures and penalties in regard to any new buildings they might erect 'on three sides of the said Fields,' previously to the first of October, 1659; provided that they paid for the public service one full year's value for every such house, within one month of its erection; and provided that the said James Cooper and Robert Henley, &c. should convey the 'residue of the said Fields' to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, "for laying the same

* It was also enacted by the same Statute, "that for the prevention of the burning and firing of Houses, and for the preservation and saving of Timber for the future, that all, and all manner of Houses, Edifices, and Cottages, hereafter to be built within the Cities of London and Westminster, or the Liberties and Suburbs thereof, or within the Borough of Southwark, upon any old or new foundation, shall be built with brick or stone, or both, and straight up without butting or jetting," under the penalty of one hundred pounds.

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same into walks, for common use and benefit; whereby the great annoyances which formerly have been to the same Fields, will be taken away, and passengers there for the future better secured."

By the same Act, 'in respect of the great charge which John, Earl of Clare hath been at in erecting severell new buildings [now *Clare Market*], upon his inheritance in Clement's-Inn Fields, &c. usefull for an open and free Market,' it was enacted, that a Market should be held there thrice weekly, and that the Earl should enjoy all emoluments thereunto appertaining. These buildings, with others in their immediate vicinity, now forming *Clare Street*, *Denzil Street*, *Hollis Street*, &c. were commenced under Licenses granted by Charles the First, in the years 1640 and 1642 respectively.

The several lessees of a piece of land in Stanhope Street, described as extending 'along a dead wall, from the end of Black-Moor Street to May-Pole Lane, in the Parish of St. Clement's Danes;'—and who had bound themselves 'to build upon the the said ground substantial and strong-built houses, which will remove many annoyances there, and make that place more secure for passengers,' &c. were also exempted from all penalties for every house they might erect on the above site previously to the first of October, 1658. All Mariners, Ship-Carpenters, and Calkers, were likewise exempted from every fine or penalty in respect to any House or Cottage *below* London Bridge, built within two furlongs of the River Thames, provided it was their 'proper interest, and 'whilest they, or any of them, their wives, widows, or families, should dwell and inhabit within the same."

The attention of the Legislature was very early directed to the improvement of the Capital, after the restoration of Charles the Second; and in the beginning of 1661, an Act was passed for repairing the Highways and Sewers, widening certain avenues, cleansing and lighting the streets, &c. in and about the Cities of London and Westminster. By this Statute the following streets

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were directed to be paved: the street or way from the end of Petty France to St. James's House; the street (now St. James's Street) leading from St. James's House up to the highway; a street in *St. James's Fields* (now Pall Mall); a street extending from the Mews to Piccadilly (now Hedge Lane or Whitcomb Street), and from thence towards 'the Stone Bridge, to the *furthermost* building, near the Bull,' the corner of Air Street. Among the places to be widened, were the street near the Stocks Market, the entrance, called the Passage and Gate-house, from Cheapside into St. Paul's Church-yard, the street or passage from Fleet Conduit to St. Paul's Church; the passages at St. Dunstan in the West, and Temple Bar; the passages by and near Exeter House and the Savoy; and the way from the White-Hart Inn in the Strand into Covent Garden. Candles, or lights in lanterns, were also directed by the Act to be hung out by every householder, from Michaelmas to Lady-day, from the time of its becoming dark till nine o'clock in the evening.

A curious account of the extent and population of London at this period may be found in the 'Observations made upon the Bills of Mortality,' by Captain John Graunt, F. R. S. and afterwards printed by order of the Royal Society. Among other remarks in his Epistle Dedicatory, he says, that '*London*, the Metropolis of England, is perhaps a head too big for the body, and possibly too strong; that this head grows three times as fast as the body to which it belongs; that our parishes are now grown madly disproportionable; that our Temples are not suitable to our Religion; that the trade, and very City, of London removes *westward*; that the walled City is but a fifth of the whole pyle; that the old streets are unfit for the present frequency of Coaches; and that the passage of Ludgate is a throat too straight for the body.' *

The

* In the illustrations of those positions which more directly regard the present subject, the Writer observes, that since the commencement of the *regular* Bills of Mortality in 1603, 'the *Increase* of the Ninety-seven Parishes

The amazing alteration that was made in the state of London by the *Great Fire* of 1666, and the vast extent of the ravages of that conflagration, have already been extensively detailed,*, and but little addition is here necessary. However disastrous to thousands

Parishes within the Walls, was not discernable, except where great houses, formerly belonging to Noblemen (before they built others near Whitehall) had been turned into *tenements;* on which account *Alhallows upon the Wall* had increased through the conversion of the Marquis of *Winchester's* house, lately the Spanish Ambassador's, into a new street; the same of Alderman *Freeman's*, (now Freeman's Court,) and *La Motte's*, near the *Exchange;* of the Earl of *Arundel's*, in *Lothbury;* of the Bishop of London's Palace, the Dean of St. Paul's, and the Lord River's House, now in hand, (Savage Gardens, Tower Hill;) as also of the Duke's Place, and others.—Of the sixteen *newest* Parishes without the Walls, *St. Giles's*, Cripplegate, had been most inlarged, next *St. Olave's*, Southwark, then *St. Andrew's*, Holborn, then *Whitechapel;* the difference in the rest not considerable.—Of the Out-Parishes, then called ten, formerly nine, and before that eight, *St. Giles's* and *St. Martin's* in the Fields were most increased, notwithstanding *St. Paul's* Covent Garden was taken out of them both.

'The general observation,' he proceeds, 'which arose from hence was, that the *City of London* gradually removed westward, and did not the *Royal Exchange* and *London Bridge* stay the trade, it would remove much faster: for *Leadenhall Street*, *Bishopsgate*, and part of *Fenchurch Street*, had lost their ancient trade; *Gracechurch Street*, had indeed kept itself yet entire, by reason of its conjunction with and relation to *London Bridge*. *Canning Street*, and *Watling Street*, had lost their trade of Woollen-Drapery to Paul's Church-yard, Ludgate Hill, and Fleet Street: the Mercery was gone out of *Lombard Street* and *Cheapside*, into Paternoster Row, and Fleet Street.—The reasons whereof were, that the *King's Court*, 'in old times frequently kept in the City,' was now always at Westminster. Secondly, the use of Coaches, whereunto the narrow streets of the Old City were unfit, had caused the building of those broader streets in Covent Garden, &c. Thirdly, where the consumption of commodity was, viz. among the Gentry, the venders of the same must seat themselves. Fourthly, the cramming up of the void spaces and gardens within the Walls, with houses, to the prejudice of *Light* and *Air*, have made men build new ones, where they less feared those inconveniences. Conformity in

* See preceding Volume, p. 406—442.

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sands that event proved at the time when it happened, there cannot be a doubt but that in its consequences it has been most *beneficial* to this City; far beyond indeed any other occurrence that has ever taken place since the period of its origin. All the interested restraints of civic policy, and every false and contracted consideration that had swayed the councils of successive Governments, were now forced to bend to the *necessity* of the case; and in the *extension of the Suburbs*, conjoined with the widening of the avenues, and the improvement in the modes of building, the healthfulness and comfort of a vastly increased population were at once augmented and secured. The 'marring of the City,' says Rolle, 'was the making of the Suburbs; and some places of despicable termination, and as mean account (such as Hounds-*ditch* and Shor-*ditch*), do now contain not a few Citizens of very good fashion.'* Westminster and Southwark were much enlarged

in building also, to other civil nations, hath disposed us to let our old Wooden dark houses fall to decay, and build new ones, whereby to answer all the ends above mentioned. When *Ludgate* was the only western Gate of the City, little building was westward thereof; but when *Holborn* began to increase, *New Gate* was made: but now both these Gates are not sufficient for the communication between the walled City, and its enlarged western Suburbs, as daily appears by the intolerable stops and embarrasses of Coaches near both these Gates, especially Ludgate.' *Observations*, p. 110—114.

* 'Burning of London,' Med. XXXVI. p. 144. The following quaint account of the 'Spoiling' of the *City Conduits* in the Great Fire, is given in the same work.

"As nature, by veins and arteries, some great and some small, placed up and down all parts of the body, ministreth blood and nourishment to every part thereof, so was that wholesome water, which was as necessary for the good of London, as blood is for the life and health of the body, conveyed by pipes, wooden or metalline, as by veins, into all parts of that famous City. If water were, as we may call it, the blood of London, then were its several Conduits as it were the Liver and Spleen of that City; (which are reckoned as the fountains of blood in human bodies,) for that the great trunks of veins conveying blood about the body, are seated therein,

enlarged about this period; and the neighbourhoods of Spittlefields and East Smithfield were greatly increased within a few years afterwards.

Though many extensive improvements were effected in the rebuilding of the City, the tenacious claims of the multitudes, who, from whatever cause, were unconquerably attached to the sites of their ancient dwellings, prevented the execution of either of the ingenious plans that had been devised for the more elegant and regular re-construction of the Capital.* While yet, however, as Philips said of Troy, the City lay *smoaking on the ground*, "it was determined to widen the more public streets, and

therein, as great roots fixed in the earth, shooting out their branches divers and sundry wayes: but, alas! how were these livers inflamed, and how unfit have they since been to do their wonted office? They were lovely streams indeed, which did refresh that noble City, one of which was always at work, pouring out itself when the rest lay still.—Methinks these several Conduits of London stood like so many little, but strong, forts, to confront and give check to that great enemy Fire, if any occasion should be. There methinks the water was as it were, intrenched and ingarrisoned. The several pipes and vehicles of water, that were within those Conduits, all of them charged with water, till by the turning of the cocks they were discharged again; were as so many soldiers within these forts, with their musquetry charged, ready to keep and defend those places. And look how enemies are wont to deal with those castles, which they take to be impregnable and despair of ever getting by storm; that is, to attempt the starving of them by a close siege—so went the Fire to work with those little castles of stone, which were not easy for it to burn down (witness their standing to this day;) spoiled them, or almost spoiled them it hath for the present, by cutting off those supplies of water which had wont to flow to them, melting those leaden channels in which it had been conveyed, and thereby, as it were, starving those garrisons which they could not take by storm.—As if the Fire had been angry with the poor old Tankard-bearers, both men and women, for propagating that element which was contrary to it, and carrying it upon their shoulders as it were in state and triumph; it hath even destroyed their trade, and threatned to make them perish by fire who had wont to live by water." *Med. XL. p.* 153–156.

* See preceding Volume, p. 436–440.

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and to clear away, as much as possible, those nuisances termed *Middle-rows*, with which the old City abounded. Aldgate Street had a middle-row; Cornhill, Cheapside, Newgate Street, Ludgate Street, and many others had middle-rows.* Some of these were temporary, consisting only of moveable stands, erected, or rather put together, on market days; the others were permanent, but in either case, they were considerable obstructions and impediments to the free passage of the streets. At this time it was also determined, that much of the ground-plot of the ancient City should be given to the public, and that many gateways that had formerly stood before those buildings which had courts, should be turned into the open streets. Yet it is a curious circumstance, that while the surveyors of those times were widening the larger avenues, they were crowding the intervening buildings much closer than before; as it is well known, that the houses of capital merchants, the City Halls, and many other edifices, stood in the centre of large gardens and courts, which were afterwards covered with inferior buildings. Indeed so much ground was covered after the conflagration, and so closely were the buildings within the walls of the new City connected, that it has been said to contain four thousand houses more than the old, and consequently a far greater number of inhabitants."†

Among

* The middle-rows in *Holborn* and *Broad St. Giles's* are now the only specimens remaining of these kind of avenues.

† Vestiges, &c. Eur. Mag. Vol. LII. p. 341, 342. After the Fire, "the streets of the City may be said to have been raised out of their own ruins: the accumulation of rubbish was immense; this it was found much easier to spread over in order to level, in some degree, the ground-plot which devastation had cleared, than to cart away the ashes it had left. Upon this *made ground* the houses that formed the new streets were erected; and it is a curious circumstance, that the workmen in digging through it, in order to form their foundations, found three different streets above each other; and that at more than twenty feet under the surface, they discovered Roman walls and tessellated pavements." Ibid.

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Among the numerous instances that might be added of this increase of dwellings within the City and its Liberties after the Fire, the following will be sufficient to prove the fact. *Exchange Alley* was occupied only by one single merchant's house and gardens, extending betwixt Cornhill and Lombard Street; *Sweeting's Alley* was the western boundary of another edifice of similar description; and *Swithin's Alley*, which now consists of about twenty-four houses, was also a single edifice. *Copthall Court*, in Throgmorton Street, was also a single house, inhabited by a Dutch merchant; and three other *Courts* in the same street were also built on the ruins of single houses. One great house, with warehouses attached, occupied nearly the whole of the ground on which *Prince's Street*, going through into Lothbury, was afterwards erected; and *King's Arms Yard*, Coleman Street, now occupied by large houses, the residences of merchants, was a tavern and stable-yard. *

Through the strong attachment of the Citizens to the particular spots which they had previously occupied, almost all the new streets and avenues took precisely the same direction as those of the old City: their respective widths, however, were generally increased, and in numerous places the inequality of the ground was remedied, so as to form more convenient thoroughfares. This was particularly the case in the vicinity of Thames Street, and its various passages to the north and south. The lower part of Ludgate Hill was elevated from six feet to eight feet seven inches, and the upper part 'abated' from ten to twenty inches. Cheapside,

* Of other edifices within the City Liberties, that have either had their sites built upon in the form of streets, courts, and alleys, or are divided into separate tenements, may be mentioned the house and garden of Sir James Langham, now *Crosby Square*; the house and garden of the Earl of Devonshire, now *Devonshire Square*, the magnificent mansion and fine garden of the Earl of Bridgewater, now *Bridgewater Square*; the palace of Prince Rupert, in *Barbican*; Thanet House, London House; the houses of the Earls of Shaftesbury and Westmoreland, and of the Duke of Lauderdale, and the Duchess of Suffolk, in *Aldersgate Street*; and Winchester House, in *Winchester Street*.

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side, 'about Wood Street,' was raised two feet, 'and so gradually eastward and westward.' Lombard Street was lowered nearly three feet; Gracechurch Street and New Fish-street were lowered about four feet near East Cheap, and Fenchurch Street, Cannon Street, and Watling Street, were all depressed to suit the declivity of the various avenues leading into Thames Street.*

In the year 1677, the Court of Common Council in London passed an Act for the better prevention of the spreading of Fires, by which, among various regulations respecting the keeping of buckets, engines, hand-squirts, &c. now mostly superseded by the establishments of the Fire-offices, it was enacted, that 'for the effectual supplying the engines and squirts with water, pumps should be placed in all wells; and *fire-plugs* in the several main-pipes belonging to the New River and Thames water-works.†

About this period, the buildings in *Hatton Garden* and its vicinity were erected on the grounds, &c. of Hatton House, which had been severed from the Bishopric of Ely in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Part of *Saffron Hill*, with *Vine Street*, &c. was built on the ground that had formed the Bishop of Ely's Vineyard. *Brook Street* and *Market*, and *Greville Street*, were subsequently erected on the house and gardens of Lord Brooke.

In the year 1674, a very judicious Act of Common Council was passed for the regulation of the City Markets, in respect to the standing and sale of butcher's meat and other provisions; and in 1678,

* For more minute particulars, see Strype's Stow, and Maitland's Hist.

† To this judicious regulation may be referred the origin of that plentiful supply of water which, on the occurrence of Fires, we now find in almost every street in the Metropolis. The measure itself was extended to all the Parishes within the Bills of Mortality, by an Act of Parliament of the sixth of Queen Anne, which enacted, that the respective Churchwardens should be empowered, at the parochial charge, to 'fix Stop-blocks, or Fire-cocks,' upon the several main water-pipes in the streets; also, to 'provide a large and Hand-engine, with a leathern pipe and socket to screw upon the Fire-cock.'

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1678, another Act of Council was made to regulate the Cloth Markets in Blackwell Hall, Welsh Hall, and Leaden Hall: the penalties, &c. under the latter Act, were assigned towards the support of Christ's Hospital. Three years afterwards, the weighing of goods and merchandize at the King's Beam, was also regulated by the Court of Common Council; and shortly after this, a new Act was made for the better regulation of Carts and Carmen, the measurement of Coals, &c. within the City.*

During the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second, several large ancient mansions belonging to the Nobility, in and near the Strand, were either separated into divers tenements, or pulled down, and had their sites, gardens, &c. covered with buildings. *Essex Street* and *Devereux Court*, arose from a house of the Bishops of Exeter, afterwards called Essex House, from the unfortunate favorite to Queen Elizabeth. Arundel House, a mansion of the Dukes of Norfolk, was the site of *Howard Street*, *Arundel Street*, *Norfolk Street*, and *Surrey Street*; so called from the family name and titles. *Bedford Street*, *Tavistock Street*, *Southampton Street*, &c. were built on the spot formerly occupied by Bedford House and its extensive garden, the residence of the Earls and Dukes of Bedford. York House, which had been magnificently rebuilt by George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, was sold by the second Duke, and had its site covered by the various avenues which bear his name and titles; as *George* Street, *Villiers* Street, *Duke* Street, *Of* Alley, and *Buckingham* Street. *Hungerford Market* was partly formed by the separation into tenements, &c. of the large house of Sir Edward Hungerford, K. B. The neighbourhoods of *Pall Mall* and *St. James's Street*, were also greatly increased during the above reigns; and *Soho Square*, then called Monmouth Square, arose about the same period.

About the year 1687, the Suburbs of the Metropolis were much increased, through the settlement here of between thirteen and

* In Mait. Lond. Vol. II. p. 462-471, all these Acts are inserted at length.

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and fourteen thousand French Protestants, who had fled from the bigotted intolerance of Lewis the Fourteenth. Many hundred families of these refugees fixed their abode in the neighbourhood of Long Acre, Seven Dials, Soho, &c. and the remainder in the vicinity of Spittle Fields, which was then a hamlet to Stepney Parish. In *Stepney* itself also, and in its various hamlets in the vicinity of the river Thames, a vast augmentation, both in the buildings and the population, was apparent through the whole course of this century.*

During the reigns of William the Third and Queen Anne, the Metropolis continued greatly to expand, particularly to the west. The *distant* villages, as they had once been, of St. Martin's in the Fields and St. Giles's in the Fields, were now incorporated with the Capital, which, as will presently be seen, began to stretch away towards the yet *remote* village of St. Mary le Bone. The increase was so abundant, that in the ninth year of Queen Anne, the Legislature deemed it expedient to pass an Act for the erection of '*Fifty New Churches*,' within the Cities of London and Westminster, and their respective Suburbs. This Statute was not grounded alone on the acknowledged insufficiency of places of established worship to contain the augmented multitudes of inhabitants, but likewise, as the Commission subsequently issued to effect the purposes of the Act, expressed it, 'for redressing the inconveniences and growing mischiefs' which resulted from the increase of Dissenters and the growth of Popery. By a statement laid before Parliament, during the progress of the Bill, it appeared, that the Metropolis and its Suburbs contained at that time about 200,000 persons more than could be accommodated in the Churches and Chapels belonging to the Establishment.

* "It is not improbable," says Mr. Lysons, "that the Statutes against new Buildings within three miles of London, were dispensed with in this neighbourhood, from the necessity of providing habitations for seamen, and other persons connected with the shipping." *Env. of Lond.* Vol. III. p. 446. This remark is corroborated by the exemption before noticed, (p. 71) from the Act made during the Protectorate.

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Among other improvements in London in the reign of Queen Anne, was the introduction of *Globular Glass Lamps*, with oil burners, in place of the lanthorns with candles and common lamps that had previously been used. The patent was obtained in July, 1708, by a person named Michael Cole, who in the following year first exhibited his globe lamp at the door of the St. James's Coffee-house; and afterwards offered to dispose of his right for the benefit of this Kingdom, as he resided in Ireland.* Among the larger buildings erected in the Metropolis in this reign, were *Arlington House*, now Buckingham House, in St. James's Park; and *Marlborough House*, in Pall Mall. The Parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, in the vicinity of *Cold Bath Fields*, was much increased about this period; as was also the neighbourhood of *Old Street*, near the present St. Luke's Church; the lower parts of *Shoreditch*; *Marlborough Street*, Soho, &c.

* Malm. Man. &c. Lond. p. 461-2; 4to. The docquet states, that a grant was made unto Michael Cole, Gent. his executors, &c. for fourteen years, "of the sole use and benefit in England and Ireland of his invention of a *new kind of Light*, composed of one entire glass of a globular shape, with a lamp, which will give a clearer and more certain light from all parts thereof, without any dark shadows, or what else may be confounding or troublesome to the sight, than any other lamps that have hitherto been in use." There was a proviso, however, that the "said invention should not be used within the City of London and its Liberties, to the prejudice of the proprietors of the Public Glass Lights, called *Convex Lights, now used* in the said City and Liberties thereof," till the determination of the term of twenty-one years, from the twenty-fourth of June, 1694. How very insufficiently the streets were lighted about the period of this invention, and before the regular lighting was made a parochial business, may be conceived from an Act of Common Council, passed in December, 1716, which enacted, that "all *Housekeepers* within the City of London, whose house, door, gateway, or fronts lie next to any street, lane, or public passage or place of the said City or Liberties thereof, shall in every *dark night*, that is, every night between the second night after each full moon, and the seventh night after each new moon, set or hang out one or more lights, with sufficient cotton wicks, that shall continue to burn from six o'clock at night till eleven o'clock the same night, on penalty of one shilling," &c.

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During this and the preceding reign, a great increase had likewise been made in the Parish of *St. Andrew, Holborn*, on thirteen acres and one rood of meadow land, which had been purchased in the reign of Queen Elizabeth for *one hundred and eighty pounds*, by Sir William Harpur, Knt. Lord Mayor of London in 1561, and invested by him in the Corporation of Bedford, for the support of a School, &c. in that town, of which he was a native. The annual rental of the devised land till the year 1668, was about forty pounds; but the Corporation then let it on lease for the term of forty-one years, at the yearly rent of ninety-nine pounds; and six years afterwards a reversionary lease was granted for the further term of fifty-one years, at the improved rent of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum. In consequence of these leases a great number of houses were erected, and the following streets, &c. were all formed on the land above mentioned. *Bedford Row, Bedford Street, Bedford Court, Prince's Street, Theobald's Road, North Street, Earl Street, Lamb's Conduit Street, Queen Street, Eagle Street, Harpur Street, Green Street, Boswell Court, Richbell Court, Hand Court, Gray's-Inn Passage, Three Cup Yard*, &c. The *present rental* of this estate amounts to between six and seven thousand pounds annually.* The building of the present *St. Paul's Cathedral*, which had been commenced in 1675, was completed in 1710, exclusive of some of the ornamental parts, which were not finished till the year 1723.

At the commencement of the last century, the village of *St. Mary-le-Bone* was nearly a mile distant from any part of London, the most contiguous street being *Old Bond Street*, which scarcely extended to the present Clifford Street. Soon after the accession of George the First, however, some extensive plans were formed for increasing the buildings of this vicinity, and *New Bond Street, George Street, Conduit Street*, &c. were erected on part of a large tract of land, called *Conduit Mead*, belonging to

* For further particulars, see Beauties of England, Vol. I. p. 10--12.

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to the City of London; and upon which, near the present *Stratford Place*, Oxford Street, the Lord Mayor's Banquetting House formerly stood. *Hanover Square* and *Cavendish Square* were open fields in the year 1716, and almost the whole north side of *Oxford*, or *Tyburn Road*, was in a similar state; yet both those squares and various adjacent streets are named in Maps of the date of 1720, though they were not completely built till several years after that time, the general frenzy and subsequent distress arising from the South Sea Bubble, putting a stand to all improvement. As an inducement to proceed, the erection of *Oxford Chapel* and *Oxford Market* was projected, and those buildings were completed about 1724; but the latter was not opened till 1732, in consequence of the opposition of Lord Craven, who feared that it would affect the profits of *Carnaby Market*, which had been built a few years previously on the western part of the *Pest-House Fields*, so called from having been a burial place during the dreadful Plague in 1665. The north side of *Oxford Road*, to the vicinity of Mary-le-Bone Lane, was pretty generally built on about the years 1729 and 1730, and this avenue was then named *Oxford Street*. About the same period most of the streets connecting with Cavendish Square and Oxford Market were erected, as *Holles Street*, *Margaret Street*, *Welbeck Street*, *Wimpole Street*, *Prince's Street*, *Bolsover Street*, *Castle Street*, *John Street*, *Market Street*, *Vere Street*, and *Henrietta Street*. The ground was also laid out for several others, as *Harley Street*, *Wigmore Street*, *Mortimer Street*, &c.; yet there still remained a considerable void between the new buildings and the *village* of *St. Mary-le-Bone*, which stood contiguous to the Church: this space was occupied as pasture fields.* The buildings in *Berkeley Square*, and of several streets in its vicinity, which had been commenced in the time of Queen Anne, were carried on progressively through the whole reign of her successor; as were also the

* Lysons' Env. of Lond. Vol. III. p. 258.

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major part of the fifty new Churches which had been ordered to be built by the Legislature in the ninth year of that Princess.

In the year 1730, the increase of the population of the Suburbs, and consequently of the buildings, was become so considerable, that the Legislature enacted the erection of the three Parishes of St. George, *Bloomsbury*, St. Anne, *Limehouse*, and St. Paul, *Deptford*; even thus early the latter parish was nearly connected with Southwark by ranges of houses, and wharfs along the river side.

Between the years 1734 and 1737, a great improvement was made by the City in the arching over a part of *Fleet Ditch*, which had now become a filthy and dangerous nuisance, and well deserved the character which Pope has given of it in his Dunciad, wherein Dulness is described as speaking thus to her children.

> ——— By Bridewell all descend,
> (As morning prayer and flagellation end)
> To where FLEET DITCH, with disemboguing streams,
> Rolls the large tribute of dead dogs to Thames;
> The King of Dykes! than whom no sluice of mud,
> With deeper sable blots the silver flood."

The part arched over at that period extended from Holborn Bridge to the commencement of the present Bridge Street; the void space was then raised to the height of the adjacent ground, and was made the site of Fleet Market.

In the year 1736, the City having been greatly annoyed by street robberies, burglaries, and other nocturnal disorders, to which the insufficiency of the lighting had contributed, application was made to Parliament, and a new Act was passed "for the better enlightening the streets," &c. under which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty were empowered to levy the necessary assessments for erecting "a sufficient number of such sort of *Glass Lamps* as they shall judge proper, to be fixed in such places as they shall think fit, to be lighted and kept burning from the setting to the rising of the sun throughout the year."

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The Committee appointed to carry the Act into execution, and which consisted of two Aldermen and eight Common Councilmen, made a Report, in which it was stated, that "the number of houses then inhabited and chargeable [that is, such as were subjected to the poor-rates], was in all, 14,014; of which 1287 were under the rent of 10l. per annum; 4741 of 10l. and under 20l.; 3045 of 20l. and under 30l.; 1839 of 30l. and under 40l.; and 3092 of 40l. and upwards:" and that "the number of lamps required was 4200, exclusive of those wanted for public buildings and void places, to be fixed at twenty-five yards distance on each side of the way in the high streets, and at thirty-five in the lesser streets, lanes," &c. This was the origin of defraying the charges of Lighting the Metropolis by parochial assessments; and almost every street and avenue are now lighted in a similar manner under different Acts of Parliament. The entire number of lamps thus lit on every evening, within the Bills of Mortality, amounts to about 30,000.

In the year 1737, another Act of Parliament was obtained for regulating and increasing the *City Watch*, &c. and through the arrangements subsequently made, the preservation of order in the different Wards was entrusted to thirty-two beadles and nine hundred and thirteen watchmen. In the same year an Act of Parliament was passed for restraining the number of *Playhouses*, and subjecting all theatrical pieces intended for the stage to the inspection of the Lord Chamberlain. About this time, also, the building of *Grosvenor Square*, and of various streets in its vicinity, was carrying on with much assiduity.

The great augmentation in the buildings and population of Westminster, and the many accidents and inconveniencies that had resulted from the crossing of carriages, &c. at the ferries, led to the passing an Act for the erection of a *Bridge* from New Palace Yard to the opposite shore in Surrey, and on the twenty-ninth of June, 1738-9, the first stone of the new fabric was laid; but it was not till the year 1750 that the Bridge was opened for public accommodation. The several Statutes under which this

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edifice was constructed, provided also for the building the three spacious streets, named *Bridge Street*, *George Street*, and *Parliament Street*, in place of the narrow, dirty, and inconvenient avenues that had before occupied their sites. By the last of the Acts alluded to, passed in the same year that the Bridge was opened, the Commissioners were empowered to "open and widen the road from the stones end, [*i. e.* near the foot of the Bridge] Lambeth, to the [Fishmongers] Almshouses at Newington;" to make a new road (now the *Borough Road*) "from a place called Symond's Corner, [near the Obelisk] across St. George's Fields, to the stones end in Blackman Street;" and to make "another new road (now the *Greenwich Road*) from the said Almshouses at Newington, into the Kentish Road, near the Lock Hospital," at the end of Kent Street, and to extend the same into the Grange Road, Bermondsey." They were also empowered to make a new road (now *York Place*, *Walcot Place*, &c. from near the present Asylum to Kennington Common. All these works have since been executed; and with very little exception, the whole line of each road is now skirted on both sides with houses and other buildings.

In the year 1743, it was judged necessary to erect the hamlet of *Bethnal Green* into a Parish, the houses at that time having increased to about 1800, and the number of inhabitants to 15,000; since then a vast additional increase has taken place both in the buildings and the population of this district.

At the latter end of the year 1754, the Court of Common Council passed a resolution for pulling down the houses on London Bridge, which, from the vastly increased traffic of the City, were now found to be extremely inconvenient, and in many respects dangerous. This resolution was carried into effect under the authority of an Act of Parliament, about 1756; and in the three or four succeeding years a very large sum was expended in repairing the Bridge itself.

In the year 1755, an Act was obtained for making a new road from Islington to Paddington. This avenue is connected with

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with the road from Moorfields, called the City Road, and running through Pentonville, Battle Bridge, Somers Town, &c. skirts the northern outlets of London at a very convenient distance.

During the long reign of his present Majesty, George the Third, the buildings, improvements, and population of London, have increased in a degree very far beyond that of any former period of similar duration; and, though every successive war in which the nation has unhappily been involved within the past fifty years, has, for a time, impeded the regular progress of the augmentation; yet, after some lapse, the increase has gone on with additional celerity. It may be affirmed with truth, perhaps, however paradoxical it appears on a first view, that owing to those very hostilities, the Metropolis has become so extended as it is; since the vast resources that have been brought into action through the consequent financial arrangements, and the creation of a paper currency beyond all parallel, have been the means of enabling individuals to expend a much greater capital than could otherwise have been done; whilst, on the other hand, the multifarious operations attendant upon the war, have obliged the Government, as well as the different Commercial and trading Companies, to employ a far superior number of persons in London than at any preceding time: the vast increase in the commerce of the Metropolis within the same period, has been also a means of augmenting the population and extending the suburbs.

An Act of Parliament was obtained by the City early in 1760, for making "such alterations in regard to the avenues leading into it as should be thought necessary, and would tend to its advantage." Under this Act the Corporation was empowered to make various new openings, and to improve and enlarge a number of streets and passages. Since the accession of the King, who succeeded to the crown in the October following, the most material of these improvements have been effected; yet some others of essential convenience still remain unexecuted.*

The great utility of the Bridge at Westminster, and the very

* See Hughson's Lond. Vol. I. p. 448—450.

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evident advantages that had resulted to that division of the Metropolis in consequence of its erection, led to the building of *Blackfriars Bridge*; the first stone of which was laid on the thirty-first of October, 1760, and it was opened to the public in 1769. The construction of this fabric has been attended with correspondent improvements on both sides of the River. On the London side, a fine avenue has been formed by the arching over, &c. of the filthy Canal of Fleet Ditch, from Fleet Bridge to the Thames, and by erecting the noble mansions in *Bridge Street* and *Chatham Place*; and, on the Surrey side, an equally important, though not so stately a thoroughfare, has been obtained by the making of the New Road to St. George's Fields, now skirted by the houses of *Albion Place, Albion Street, Great Surrey Street, Burrows Buildings, Temple Place,* &c. The Act of Parliament for empowering the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of London, to make the latter Road, was passed in 1769; and under the same statute, the area surrounding the Obelisk in St. George's Fields was laid out, and two new Roads from thence formed; viz. the one named the *London Road*, leading to the Elephant and Castle at Newington Butts, and the other called the *Lambeth Road*, extending to the avenue in front of the House and Tea Gardens, then distinguished by the sign of the Dog and Duck, but now converted into the School for the Indigent Blind. In the same year the foundation was laid of that munificent Charity, the *Magdalen Hospital*; and, since that time, a very extended portion of *St. George's Fields* has been covered with buildings. Shortly before this, some further improvements were made in and about the City, by the pulling down of the City Gates, and part of the Wall between Moorgate and Cripplegate, together with all the houses on that side of *Fore Street*, which was subsequently widened twelve feet.

After the general Peace, signed at Fontainbleau, in 1763, the buildings in Westminster and St. Mary-le-bone were rapidly extended; and numerous improvements made in the Paving, Lighting, &c. of different parts of the Town. In the Parish of St. Mary-

Mary-le-bone, especially, as a late writer has remarked, "houses rose like exhalations," and the increase of this neighbourhood was quickly followed by a great augmentation in the adjacent parts of St. Pancras.

The *new Paving* of the Metropolis, according to the *present* mode, commenced about 1763; in the spring of which year, the Commissioners for Westminster issued proposals to contractors for the supply of "*Edinburgh* stones, or stones of the like quality, of four and five inches thick (and a few of six for the kennels) and not less than nine inches deep" for the Carriage-ways, and for "the best Purbeck pavements, and a curb of Purbeck or Moorstone, twelve inches broad and seven thick," for the footways of the avenues named "Parliament Street, Charing Cross, Cockspur Street, and Pall Mall." St. James's Street, and various others in the vicinity were also new paved about the same period; and this improvement was soon progressively extended through most parts of the Metropolis. Before this the streets were extremely inconvenient to passengers, the stones (mostly Guernsey pebbles) being round or nubbly, the kennels in the midst, and no level footway as at present for the pedestrian. The first alterations in Westminster were made under the enactments of an Act of Parliament that had been passed in the Session of 1762; and the removal of the enormous *Signs*, &c. that hung across the streets or over the footways, and, together with their posts and iron scroll-works, impeded as well the circulation of the air as the progress of the passenger, was begun, about the same time, by force of the same authority.*

In

* "The extravagant use of *Signs*," says Mr. Malcolm, "had been complained of early in the century, when they were described as very large, very fine with gilding and carving, and very absurd. *Golden* perriwigs, saws, axes, razors, trees, lancets, knives, salmon, cheese, blacks' heads with gilt hair, half-moons, sugar-loaves, and Westphalia hams, were repeated without mercy from the Borough to Clerkenwell, and from Whitechapel to the Haymarket." At this period not a few of the sign-irons weighed from four to five hundred pounds, and some of them even a great deal more. *Man. &c. of Lond.* p. 468.

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In the year 1764, another important Act of Parliament was passed for "the better regulating of Buildings, and to prevent mischiefs that may happen by fire within the weekly Bills of Mortality." By this statute, so much of a former Act for regulating Buildings made in the second of George the First, as related to *Party-walls*, was extended to all cases whatsoever, "within the City and Liberties of Westminster, and the Parishes of St. Mary-le-Bone, Paddington, Chelsea, and St. Pancras." The clauses of this Act are extremely appropriate and judicious, and it is to be lamented that greater attention is not given to have them duly executed.* By one of them it is enacted, that "all houses or other

* The following are among the enactments:—

"That all Party-walls, to be erected or built within the said City or Liberty of Westminster, and the Parishes, Precincts, and Limits aforesaid, shall be two bricks and an half thick at the least in the cellar, and two bricks thick upwards to the garret floor, and from thence one brick and an half thick at least, eighteen inches above the roofs or gutters which adjoin to such party wall; and that the same shall be built of stone, or of good sound burnt bricks, and none other.

"And that no timbers, except the timbers of the girders, binding joists, and the templets under the same, shall be laid into the Party-walls erected or built, or to be erected or built, within the said City or Liberty of Westminster, and the Parishes, Precincts, and Limits aforesaid; and that no timbers of the roof be laid into such party-walls, (except the purloins or kerb thereof,) and that the ends of girders, and binding joists, lying within such party-walls, shall not exceed nine inches; and that none of the ends of the girders, or binding joists, in adjoining houses, shall meet, or be laid opposite to each other; and that the sides thereof shall be, at least, fourteen inches distant from each other; and that there shall be nine inches, at least, of solid brick-work left at or between the ends of all lentils, wall-plates, and bond-timbers, which may or shall be laid in or upon the walls of the fore and back fronts of all houses which shall adjoin to each other, on the penalty of fifty pounds on the head builder.

"That no timber or timbers whatsoever shall be laid or placed under the hearth or hearths of any room or rooms, or within nine inches of any funnel or flew of any chimney or chimnies, of any house or houses within the limits aforesaid; and that no timber buildings whatsoever shall be built adjoining to any house or houses, so as the timbers thereof shall be let into any wall of any

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other buildings," within the precincts or places above-mentioned, "shall be built of *stone*, or of good *sound, hard, well-burnt*, bricks, and *none other*; both in the fore-front and back-front thereof," &c. How greatly this wise provision is daily eluded, is apparent to the most common observer; for the bricks that are frequently used in new buildings are composed of such heterogeneous materials, that the adhesion of the particles is utterly insufficient to enable them to withstand the action of the atmosphere through any extended period; and in more than one instance of recent occurrence, houses have been known to fall before they were finished, merely from the pressure of their own weight.*

Among

any such house or houses already built, or hereafter to be built, within the limits aforesaid, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

"That after any party-wall or party-walls shall be erected or built pursuant to the directions of this Act, no person or persons whatsoever, who shall build against such party-wall or party-walls, shall, on any pretence whatsoever, cut into or wound the same, for the convenience of making a chimney or chimnies, or for any other purpose whatsoever; nor shall lay into the same any other timbers than are allowed by this Act to be laid into new party-walls, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

"That every master-builder, who shall erect or build any house within the limits above-mentioned, shall, within fourteen days after the same shall be covered in, cause the same to be surveyed by one or more surveyor or surveyors; and such surveyor or surveyors shall make oath, before one of his Majesty's Justices of the peace for the said County of Middlesex, or City of Westminster, that the same hath been (to the best of his or their judgment and belief) built and erected agreeable to the several directions in this Act contained; which affidavit shall be filed with the clerk of the peace for the said County of Middlesex, within ten days after the making thereof; and if any master-builder shall make default in the premises, by neglecting to cause such survey to be made, or such affidavit to be made and filed as aforesaid, such master-builder shall, for every such neglect or default, forfeit the sum of fifty pounds."—

* It is unfortunate, perhaps, that most of the buildings in and near London, are erected on *leasehold* tenures, and those granted for no very extended terms; from sixty to ninety-nine years being the general length of the

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Among the Improvements that became general in London within a few years after this period, was the affixing the names of the Squares, Streets, &c. at their respective corners; the painting of the numbers of the houses on the Doors; the removal of projecting water-spouts, pent-houses, and other obstructions, and the lessening

the periods. The houses are in consequence, and particularly since the vast increase in the prices of building materials, run up merely to last out the term; and the contracting builders have become pretty shrewd judges of the degree of the instability necessary for that purpose.

This complaint, however, of the unsoundness of the bricks, is not altogether of modern origin. Nearly fifty years ago, viz. in June, 1764, the London Chronicle thus satirically notices the dangerous practice "of the *present* method of making bricks."

"If you go to the remains of London Wall, or examine any *old* brick building, you will find it more difficult to pull it down, than it was for the Architect to raise it: but let any person attend to the continual accounts given in the Papers, of the *number* of *half-built houses* that *tumble down before they can be finished*, and he will tremble for those who are to inhabit the many piles of new buildings that are daily rising in this Metropolis. When we consider the practice among some of the brick-makers about the town, we shall not wonder at this consequence, though we must shudder at the evil. The increase of buildings has increased the demand, and, consequently, the price of bricks. The demand for bricks has raised the price of brick-earth so greatly, that the makers are tempted to buy the *slop of the streets*, *ashes*, *scavengers dirt*, and every thing that will make the brick-earth, or clay, go as far as possible. It is said, the price of the brick-earth is more than doubled within these two or three years. The scavengers, unwilling to be behind with the Landholders, have doubled the price of ashes, trebled the price of cinders, and charge a considerable price for the filth, mud, and what they call the slop of the streets. This slop makes nearly one half of the composition that is to raise the enormous and very numerous buildings, which are to unite London with Highgate, Bromley, Romford, and Brentford, within these five years; unless, what seems very possible, the bricklayers, carpenters, and masons, with all their labourers and workmen, are overwhelmed in the ruins of their own buildings before the plan is finished. The Legislature has provided for our safety against the rogueries of the Builders; but unless the materials of which the bricks are made shall be taken into consideration, London may shortly resemble Lisbon, without the intervention of an Earthquake."

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lessening of protruding cellar windows, many accidents having happened to passengers and children from the insecurity of the flaps. The convenient fashion of denoting the names of the occupiers of houses, by engraved brass-plates or otherwise, was also adopted about the same time.

About this period, likewise, the buildings in St. Mary-le-Bone and its neighbourhood were carried on with great spirit. The building of *Portman Square* was begun about 1764, by the erection of the north side, yet it was nearly twenty years before the whole was finished. *Suffolk Street*, *Berners Street*, and several others, in the neighbourhood of *Middlesex Hospital*, which latter building stood in the fields when erected in 1755, were also now in progress; as was *Charlotte Street*, next Percy Street, &c. *Percy Chapel* was built in 1769.

In the years 1765 and 1766, some further and necessary measures for the regular paving of London were made the basis of two new Acts of Parliament; by the first of which, the Commissioners for "paving, cleansing, and lighting the Squares, Streets, and Lanes, within the City and Liberty of Westminster, and parts adjacent," were empowered to collect *Sunday* Tolls, at various turnpikes (named in the Act) on the outskirts of the Metropolis, for the furtherance of the work; and by the other, "the sole power and authority of pitching, paving, cleansing, and enlightening the Streets, &c." of the City and Liberties of London, was vested in "the Mayor and Commonalty," and the "execution thereof" entrusted to the Commissioners of Sewers, "appointed by the Common Council." The preamble to the latter Act states, that the several Streets, &c. in the City and its Liberties "were in general ill paved and cleansed, and not duly enlightened;" that "they were also greatly obstructed by posts, and annoyed by signs, spouts, and gutters, projecting into and over the same, whereby, and by sundry other incroachments and annoyances," they were "rendered incommodious, and in some parts dangerous."* For carrying the purposes of this Act into execution

* How inconvenient the public thoroughfares of the City must have been at

execution, a yearly rate, not exceeding one shilling and sixpence in the pound, was directed to be levied on all Householders, &c. and *Sunday* Tolls ordered to be taken at the several Turnpikes of Mile End, Bethnal Green, Hackney, Kingsland, Ball's Pond, Holloway,

at this period will be seen by the following extract from a 'Representation' made to the Court of Common Council by the Commissioners of Sewers and Pavements.—

"We think it incumbent on us to represent to this honourable court,

"1. That the pavements are in general rough and irregular, and in many of the principal Streets very defective and bad, chiefly owing, as we conceive, to their being partially, and at different times, and with different materials, repaired by the several inhabitants themselves, to the frequent breaches made therein by the different Water Companies, and to their slight and insufficient manner of patching up the same.

"2. That the prevailing method of placing the Channels in the middle of the streets, which are generally made very deep, and in many cases (sometimes necessarily) attended with cross Channels, renders the Coach-way very disagreeable and unsafe to passengers, as well as highly detrimental to horses and carriages.

"3. That the too common practice of the lower sort of inhabitants and servants, throwing ashes, rubbish, broken glass, and earthen ware, offals, and other offensive things, into the streets, stops the current of the channel, makes the highway very inconvenient, and sometimes dangerous to each horse and foot passenger, and even to the health of the neighbouring inhabitants.

"4. That the passage of some of the greatest thoroughfares is often obstructed by the loading and unloading of stage coaches, stage waggons, and country carts, and by the washing of butts, casks, and barrels, in the highway.

"5. That the footways, by not being raised above the level of the streets, are much annoyed with mud, and frequently overflowed with water, which renders them disagreeable and slippery, are moist and very dangerous in frosty weather; a nuisance every day accumulated by the neglect of the householders to cause their servants to scrape and sweep away the mud from before their houses,

"6. That posts, intended for the security of the passengers, do but in part answer that intention, considerably lessen the passage on both sides, in streets already too narrow, and by their irregularity and aptness of decay, offend

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Holloway, St. John's Street, Goswell Street, and the New Road, commonly called the City Road. Another Act was passed at the same time, confirming and *amending* all former Acts granted to the City for widening the streets, &c. and extending the provisions

offend the eye, at the same time that they occasion expense which might be entirely saved by raising the footway a little higher.

"7. That several of the footways are encumbered with goods and packages, and others of them straightened by the unwarrantable projection of shop windows, bulks, and shew boards, or the more dangerous encroachments of vaults and cellar doors.

"8. That the daily increasing rivalship in the size and projection of signs in a great measure defeats the purpose of them, obstructs the free circulation of the air (so desireable in a large and populous city) in times of high wind often proves dangerous; and in rain, always an annoyance to foot passengers; and at night, more or less intercepts the light of the lamps.

"9. That foot passengers are likewise greatly annoyed in rainy weather, by the water conveyed from the tops of old houses through spouts projecting into the streets.

"10. That for want of the streets and courts being properly marked and distinguished, and the houses regularly numbered, strangers are often put to great trouble and difficulty to find their way to places and persons they have occasion to resort to.

"From this view of the many nuisances and defects which lessen the beauty, neatness, and convenience of this great and famous Metropolis, we humbly conceive that every person (not bigotted to ancient forms and customs, or biassed by narrow considerations of immediate interest) must be convinced of the necessity of a speedy reformation, without which the little of our retail trade that remains will be in time totally lost, our wards and parishes depopulated, and the burthen of our offices and taxes proportionably increased."

Among the general powers granted by the Act of Parliament, in consequence of this Report, were these:—"They" (the Commissioners) "may cause all or any of the streets, lanes, squares, yards, courts, alleys, passages, and places, to be new paved or repaired, when and as often and in such manner and with such materials as they shall think fit; and for such purposes may from time to time cause to be dug, carted, and carried out of, or brought into the same, or any of them, such gravel, stones, and other materials, as they shall judge necessary; and may likewise cause the ground thereof to be raised or lowered, the course of the channels running in, or through

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sions of the Act for the better prevention of Fires by Party-walls, through the City and its Liberties. The paving, cleansing, lighting, and watching of the Borough and Liberties of Southwark were also provided for by another Act of Parliament, the provisions of which

through the same, to be turned or altered; and the water pipes which now lie, or which hereafter shall be lain under ground, to be taken up and new lain, in such places, manner, and form as they shall judge best; and may cause such posts as they shall think useless, or inconvenient, to be taken up and removed; and likewise all steps, bulks, shew-glasses, and shew-boards, incroaching upon the footway; as also all steps and doors, opening or leading to the footways into vaults or cellars, to be removed or altered.

"The Commissioners are also hereby impowered to have taken down and removed all signs, or other emblems, used to denote the trade, occupation, or calling of any person or persons; together with the sign-posts, sign-irons, pent-houses, shew-boards, spouts, and gutters, and all other incroachments, projections, and annoyance whatsoever, within the said City or liberties; and for the future all signs, &c. are to be fixed on the fronts of the houses, and not otherwise; and every person offending contrary to these directions, for every such offence, is to forfeit and pay the sum of five pounds, and the further sum of twenty shillings for every day such offence shall continue." The following are some other of the clauses of the Act.

"No lime is to be slacked in the foot or carriage way of the streets, &c. nor in any house, but only on vacant sites, where any house or houses are totally pulled down in order to be rebuilt, on the penalty of forty shillings.

"The penalty of driving any bier, wheel or wheels, sledge, wheel-barrow, or other carriage whatsoever, or wilfully riding, leading, or driving any horse, coach, or any other carriage whatsoever, upon any part of the foot pavements, is ten shillings for the first offence, twenty shillings for the second, and forty shillings for the third, and every other time of offending. Any person whatsoever, without any other warrant, who shall see any such offence committed, may seize the offender, and convey him to the custody of a justice of peace, before whom he must be convicted upon oath.

"The names of streets, &c. are to be put up, painted, engraved, or described in stone or otherwise, at or near each end, corner, or entrance, of each of the streets, &c. and the houses are to be numbered, in order for the distinguishing them; and the penalty of maliciously defacing or obliterating the same, for every such offence forty shillings.—The footways are to be cleaned daily by the occupiers of houses or tenements, under the penalty of two shillings."

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which were pretty similar to those for the new paving, &c. of London and Westminster.

From this time till the commencement of the American War, in 1775, the Metropolis was in a state of rapid enlargement.—The present spacious prison of *Newgate* was constructed in the year 1770. About the same time the noble pile of building, named the *Adelphi*, was begun by the brothers John, Robert, James, and William Adams, Architects, on the site of Durham Yard, in the Strand; and within a year or two afterwards the same ingenious architects commenced the building of *Portland Place*. The streets adjoining, together with *Bentinct Chapel*, and part of its neighbourhood, were raised about the same time; and the continuation of *Harley Street*, and *Mansfield Street*, were built on ground where had formerly been a bason of water. In 1774, *Titchfield Chapel*, with various buildings in its vicinity, were erected. *Stratford Place* was built, and the Crescent, now *Cumberland Place*, originally intended for a Circus, was begun about the same year: so also was the magnificent pile of public offices, &c. called *Somerset House*.

Another important Act for the regulation of buildings in London and its vicinage was passed towards the end of the year 1774. All the laws hitherto made had been found insufficient, and the Legislature, in consequence, enacted a very ample set of regulations, whereby all future buildings, of whatever nature, were to be distributed into seven classes, and very minute directions were given for thickness, materials, &c. of every part of every wall in every class within the Bills of Mortality. By this Act the Magistrates are directed to appoint Surveyors, who are to see that all buildings are executed according to law. The Act also directs that *ruinous houses* shall be *pulled down;** that fire-cocks shall

* It is much to be lamented that the Magistracy do not more particularly attend to the enforcement of this clause. Hardly a year passes but several lives are lost by the falling in of *old houses*, which either the avarice or negligence of the landlords permits to remain occupied long after they have

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be placed in the water-pipes, with conspicuous notices of their situations; that fire-engines, and also proper ladders to assist persons in escaping from fire, shall be kept in every Parish, and certain rewards paid to the Engine-keepers and Turncocks who should be the first, second, and third, in affording assistance, when necessary.

The progress of the war checked the current of the building speculations, but did not entirely impede it; and towards the close, and after the termination of hostilities, it rushed forward with additional vigour. *Manchester Square* was commenced in 1776, by the building of Manchester House, but was not finished till twelve years afterwards: *Portland Chapel* was built in the same year. *Fitzroy Chapel* was built in 1778, and *Portman Chapel* in 1779: the eras of these Chapels point out the increasing population of their respective neighbourhoods. In 1779, also, the foundation of the *New Sessions House*, on Clerkenwell Green, was laid.

The village of St. Mary-le-Bone may be said to have become an integral part of the Metropolis in the year 1770, when the several regulations for paving, lighting, watching, &c. for the names of the streets, and the numbers of the houses, and for regulating weights, and measures, were extended throughout the whole parish. Mary-le-Bone Gardens, which had long been a place of public amusement, were shut up about the year 1778; the ground was soon afterwards leased out to builders, and quickly occupied by *Beaumont Street*, and parts of *Devonshire Place*, and *Devonshire*

have become decayed beyond repair. Many fatal instances might be selected, yet one alone, of the most recent occurrence, will suffice. Two Houses in *Ironmonger Row*, near St. Luke's Church, Old Street, fell down in the early part of the present month (April), and crushed *four persons* to death, a mother and three children! These Houses belonged to the rich and flourishing Company of Ironmongers, and, together with the whole row, which consists of between forty and fifty houses, nearly in a similar state of dilapidation, were built in the year 1719. Many other houses in the same neighbourhood, in King Street, Henry Street, and Old Street Square, are in an equal state of decay.

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Devonshire Street. The stables of *Devonshire Mews* occupy the site of the ancient manor-house of St. Mary-le-Bone.

From the year 1780, till the breaking out of the Revolution War, and, generally speaking, with the exception of a few years at intervening periods, till the present hour, the outskirts and Suburbs of London have continued to increase with astonishing rapidity; the extension, indeed, has far exceeded all prior example. Contiguous villages have been connected, and, as it were, incorporated with the Metropolis; masses of buildings, sufficiently large to bear the name of towns, have sprung up in its vicinity, and are now all but united with it; elegant squares and stately streets have added to its splendour; and new institutions, combining science with utility, and commercial advantage with architectural adornment, have, at the same time, augmented its extent, and increased its riches and magnificence.

About the year 1780, the buildings of the extensive Chapelry of *Pentonville*, an adjunct to St. James's Clerkenwell, were begun, by the erection of Penton Place. The White Conduit House and two or three other buildings were the only edifices then standing in this wide-spreading neighbourhood. The Chapel was completed about 1788; and since that period several respectable streets, &c. have been progressively erected in this Suburb, and various others are building in the fields towards the north.

Another extensive district was commenced about the year 1786, on the north side of the Paddington road, on the fields between Battle Bridge and the upper extremity of Tottenham Court Road. This has the name of *Somers Town*, and consists of many respectable streets and places, though the breaking out of the Revolution War prevented the whole of the proposed plans from being carried into execution. Judd Place, Charlton Street, Welstead Street, and the Polygon, may be regarded as the more respectable; but various other avenues and streets have been recently built, and others are now in rapid progress extending towards Camden Town.

Camden Town was commenced in the year 1790 or 1791, and though not at present entirely connected with the Metropolis,

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bids fair to be so in a very short period, as several streets are now building on the fields skirting the west side of the Hampstead Road, beyond St. James's Chapel; and various others are in a course of rapid extension from the north and north-west sides of Somers Town. Since the same period, also, almost the entire mass of buildings that constitutes the upper part of *Tottenham Court Road*, together with its wide-spreading neighbourhood on the west, as *Warren Street*, *Hertford Street*, *Fitzroy Street* and *Market*, *Grafton Street*, *Conway Street*, *London Street*, *Howland Street*, *Cleveland Street*, *Buckingham Street* and *Place*, *Carburton Street*, *Upper Titchfield Street*, *Norton Street*, &c. *Fitzroy Square* was begun in 1793, but only two sides have been finished, the breaking out of the war in that year having led to a long delay in the completion of this neighbourhood.

So extremely extensive have been the building plans in this quarter of the town, that even the distant village of *Paddington* is now completely united with the Metropolis, and is itself in a state of very rapid enlargement. The increase of buildings in that parish was begun about the year 1790, by the erection of nearly a hundred wooden cottages, at a little distance to the north of Tyburn Turnpike. Since that time almost all the various streets and avenues connecting with *Lisson Green* and the *Paddington Road* have been erected, and various others are now building; each side of the above road to the neighbourhood of Devonshire Street, eastward, has also been progressively skirted with houses, many of which are large and respectable mansions.

About the year 1794, the *House of Correction* for the County of Middlesex was built, in the vicinity of Cold Bath Fields, Clerkenwell; and in the ten or twelve years preceding and subsequent to that period, the buildings of *Spa Place*, *Wood Street*, and the *Vineyard*, together with some others connecting with Rosoman Street, in the same parish, were erected. During the same space of time, likewise, the building of *Finsbury Square* was completed, and several streets and other avenues in its vicinity raised, particularly along the line of the City Road, which now began to be skirted

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skirted with dwellings on each side. Within the last ten years, also, the buildings of this neighbourhood have been greatly extended, and various fields and vacant plots of ground have been entirely covered with houses. On the south side of Old Street, the principal of the streets, &c. thus built are *Artillery Place*, *Wilson Street*, *Paul Street*, *Tabernacle Walk* and *Row*, *Castle Street*, *Leonard Street*, *North Street*, and *St. Agnes le Clere*. Several cross streets in the vicinity of the *Curtain Road* (both sides of which are now bounded with houses), and others connecting that road with the Shoreditch Road, have likewise been erected within the same period. On the north side of Old Street, also, along and in the vicinity of the City Road, the augmentation has been very extensive; especially within the last five or six years, during which time *Windsor Place* and *Terrace*, *Nelson Street*, *Providence Street*, *Trafalgar Street*, &c. have been built, and several others, as *Moffatt Street* and *Terrace*, *Union Street*, *Nile Street*, and *Allerton Street*, are now building. Several small streets, in the vicinity of *Ratcliff Layer*, have also been completed, and others are now in progress.

Of equally recent date are most of the new buildings from Compton Street, Clerkenwell, on the south, to Rawstorne Street, on the north, and to St. John Street and Goswell Street Road, on the west and east. Within the space thus bounded, *Northampton Square*, and the various streets opening into it, as *Upper* and *Lower Ashby Street*, *Upper* and *Lower Charles Street*, and *Upper* and *Lower Smith Street*, together with *Spencer Street* and *Row*, *Goswell Terrace*, *Wynyatt Street*, *Perceval Street*, *King Street*, &c. are all now finished, or in a course of completion.

But the most comprehensive and splendid of all the plans that have been adopted of late years for enlarging the Capital has been carried into execution in the *Foundling Fields*, and on the estates of the Duke of Bedford and others, extending northward from Bloomsbury Square, over what were called the *Long Fields*, to the vicinage of the City Road, near Somers Town. These

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buildings, which for the most part consist of respectable and stately mansions, were begun near the Foundling Hospital, in *Guildford Street*, *Doughty Street*, &c. and since that period have been carried on almost unceasingly to the present time. Bedford House, which formed the northern side of Bloomsbury Square, was pulled down in 1800, and *Bedford Place*, *Montague Street*, and the west side of *Southampton Row*, were all built about three years afterwards, on the site of that mansion and its gardens. *Russel Square*, which was commenced about the same time, has been recently completed by the erection of the houses at the north-west angle. *Keppel Street* is now finishing; so also is *Montague Place*, which connects with *Bedford Square*: the latter, with its avenues, *Charlotte Street*, *Caroline Street*, *Bedford Street*, and *Gower Street*, were mostly erected between the years 1778 and 1786. All these lie to the westward of Russel Square; on the east and north-east, the buildings of *Upper Guildford Street*, (excepting *Baltimore*, or *Bolton House*) *Bernard Street*, *Great Coram Street*, *Tavistock Place*, *Marchmont Street*, *Hunter Street*, *Brunswick Square*, *Grenville Street*, and *Landsdown Place*, have all been erected since the year 1801; together with the east sides of *Woburn Place* and *Tavistock Square*: the western side of the former is now building, and the area of the Square has been laid out and planted about two or three years. *Mecklenburgh Square*, of similar dimensions to Brunswick Square, has been recently commenced, on the east side of the Foundling Hospital, by the houses on the south; and the east side is now building: *Caroline Place*, which leads into this Square, and corresponds with Landsdown Place, has been finished only a year or two. A very extensive neighbourhood is likewise raising between these Squares on the south, and Somers Town on the north, which promises ere long to fill up all the recently open pasture fields between the Bedford estate westward, and Gray's Inn Lane Road eastward. Of the various places erected here within the last three years, or now building, *Burton Crescent* demands the preference; the principal of the others are *Mabledon Place*,

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Place, Tonbridge Place, Judd Street, Speldhurst Street, Bidborough Street, Leigh Street, Hadlow Street, Hunter Street North: Lucas Street, Wellington Square, Sidmouth Street, and others, are also in progress. The north side of another Square, to be named *Euston Square,* and of which the Bedford Nursery, with the City Road running through the midst, will form the centre, is now building; as are several streets, and the continuation of others, on the opposite side of the City Road, nearer to Tottenham Court Road, as *Euston Street, Upper Thornhaugh Street, Grafton Street East,* and *Carmarthen Street.* To the southward of these, the *North* and *South Crescents, Alfred Place,* &c. with a line of houses for shops in *Tottenham Court Road,* have been just erected on ground belonging to the City of London.

In the neighbourhood of *Bethnal Green,* and on the roads branching off towards *Hackney,* a great number of new houses have also been built, during the last ten or twelve years, and several fields have been successively covered with dwellings: various new streets and avenues in that quarter are likewise now building.

A vast accession to the Suburbs of the Metropolis has likewise been made in the vicinity of *Whitechapel, Mile End,* and *Mile End Road,* within a similar space of time; and the whole line of distance, from Whitechapel to Bow, is now almost all skirted with buildings on each side, independent of various avenues which branch off to the right and left, at intermediate angles. The village of *Stepney* has likewise been connected with Mile End by a continuity of building, and a *New Road* (partly skirted with houses) has been made from Whitechapel to *Radcliffe,* between which and Wapping, the warehouses and basin of the *London Docks* cover a very extensive plot of ground; and considerable improvements and alterations have taken place in that vicinity since the construction of the Docks, which were made under an act passed in 1800, and first opened for public use in January, 1805. Another new road, called the *Commercial Road,* has been recently made from Church Street, Whitechapel, to the *West India Docks,* in the Isle of Dogs, and the *East India Docks,*

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at Blackwall; these Docks have added greatly to the buildings and population of *Stepney* and *Poplar*, and many new streets, &c. have been just built, and are now building in those districts.

The recent improvements in the more interior parts of the Capital, have much increased the general convenience, though from the state of property and other circumstances they have not been carried on either so rapidly or on so enlarged a scale as in the Suburbs. Since the year 1789 a great augmentation has been made to the *Bank*, by extending it into Lothbury, &c. and a new thoroughfare *(Prince's Street)* has been formed on the western side. In the year 1795, the City obtained an Act of Parliament for enlarging the entrance from the Strand; and for making a new Street from Newgate to Fleet Market, instead of the former incommodious avenue down Snow Hill. Since that period the two spacious streets, named *Picket Street*, and *Skinner Street*, with other improvements, have been made under the authority of the above Statute.

During the last five or six years, considerable alterations have been effected at *Westminster*, in the vicinity of the Abbey Church and the Houses of Parliament. These, however, have hitherto been principally confined to the *pulling down* whole streets of buildings, in forming a new front to the House of Lords, and in levelling and planting a spacious area on the northern side of Westminster Abbey.

On the Surrey side of London numerous alterations and improvements are now in progress, particularly in the parts contiguous to the river opposite Somerset House and the upper end of the Strand. The driving of the piles for the *Strand Bridge* was commenced a short time ago at Cuper's Gardens, from whence a new road is to be made across Lambeth Marsh, to the Obelisk, in St. George's Fields; and various collateral streets, and avenues, have been planned, and some of them are now building to fill up the extensive intermediate space between the Thames and the two roads from Westminster and Blackfriars' Bridges, which also meet at the Obelisk. On the east side of Great

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Great Surrey Street, a new Square, named *Nelson Square*, is near completion; and numerous streets and avenues are building between *Newington Causeway*, the *Greenwich Road*, and *Kent Street*: the *Lock Fields*, and several other parts of Newington parish are likewise very rapidly covering with houses.

PARTICULARS OF THE CIVIL, MILITARY, AND ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY OF LONDON AND ITS LIBERTIES; INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF THE CITY CHARTERS, MAGISTRACY, LAW COURTS, BISHOPS OF LONDON, &c.

THE City and Liberties of London are under three distinct modes of government, *Civil*, *Military*, and *Ecclesiastical*. The Civil divides it into Wards and Precincts, under a Lord Mayor, twenty-six Aldermen, two Sheriffs, two hundred and thirty-six Common Councilmen, a Recorder, a Chamberlain, a Common Serjeant, a Town Clerk, and various subordinate officers; the Military is under the authority of a Lieutenancy, vested in the Mayor, Aldermen, and principal Citizens, the City being by charter a County corporate and Lieutenancy in itself; and the Ecclesiastical is directed by a Bishop, Archdeacon, and subordinate Clergy.

The CIVIL GOVERNMENT of the City bears a general resemblance to the legislative power of the Empire; the Lord Mayor exercising the functions of Monarchy, the Aldermen those of the Peerage, and the Common Council those of the third branch of the Legislature. The laws for the internal regulation of the City are wholly framed by these officers acting in Common Council; and the administration of them is also exclusively in the Corporation.

During the early part of the Roman domination in Britain the government of London must have been purely military; but when

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when the power of the Romans became consolidated, and the growing City was advanced to the rank of a Colony, it was then assimilated to that of 'Imperial Rome.' The precise nature of its civil institutions at that period, however, cannot be ascertained; for though the constitutions, courts of justice, presiding officers, &c. of all colonial towns, were, generally speaking, copied from those of Rome, and the inhabitants regarded as Roman Citizens, yet the particular laws under which they lived were unquestionably varied according to the state of local circumstances. The chief Magistrate was the *Præfect*, who had his appointment immediately from the Imperial City, and was subject to be removed every year.

After the conquest of England by the Saxons, the ancient privileges of London were doubtless greatly altered; yet the importance of its situation and increasing strength would soon demand an accession of liberty; and it was the custom of every Saxon Burgh and City to have its own particular constitution, the regulations of which were carried on by one or more subordinate Magistrates, under the protection of the Lord of the Soil, who in this instance was the King himself. The principal Magistrate in the Saxon times was called the *Port-gerefe*, or *Port-reve*; that is, the guardian or ruler of the City: and a Charter of Edward the Confessor is quoted by Stow as extant in the 'Book of St. Alban's,' which is directed to Alfward, the *Bishop*, Wolfgare, the *Port-reve*, and the *Burgesses* of London. This Charter must have been granted between the years 1041 and 1044, as Edward was chosen King in the former year, and Bishop Alfward died in the latter. After that period the mention of Port-reves, as Governors of London, occur frequently in existing documents; but scarcely any thing is known of their particular functions, nor yet of the peculiar municipal arrangements of which they had the superintendence. The cause of this may partly be gathered from the following passage in Fabian: "These Governors of old time, with the lawes and customes then used within this Cittie, were registered in a booke called the Doomesday, in the *Saxon tongue:*

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tongue: but of later daies, when the said lawes and customes were chaunged, and for that also the saide booke was of a small hande, and sore defaced, it was lesse set by, so that it was imbeseled and lost." These Port-reves, like the Roman Præfects, appear to have been changed every year, and most probably by the sole authority of the King.

After the subjugation by the Normans, London appears to have been governed for some time by a Port-geref, or *Port-reve*, and a *Provost* conjointly. In the reign of Stephen, the Empress Maud, as Queen of England, appointed Godfrey Magnaville, Earl of Essex, to be *Port-reve* and *Sheriff* of London and Middlesex; and the same offices had also been held by his grandfather. Under the same reign also, the names occur of Gilbert Becket, as *Port-reve*, and Andrew Buchevet, as *Provost* of London; but after the accession of Henry the Second, the name Provost would seem to have been dropped, as four different persons are recorded in succession as Port-reves, whilst the former title is not mentioned: it is probable that these latter Port-reves were continued in office many years, or perhaps for life. In some records relating to this period, the principal Magistrates of London are called Sheriffs (Vice-comites), Domesmen, and Aldermen; yet it is doubtful whether those titles succeeded each other, as belonging to the same office of Magistracy, or whether they belonged to co-existing offices. The most explicit account of the state of the Corporation about King Stephen's or Henry the Second's reign, is contained in Fitz-Stephen's '*Descriptio Nobilissimæ Civitatis Londoniæ,*' which says, that 'Like ancient Rome, our City is distinguished by wards and several limits; it hath Sheriffs every year, answerable to their Consuls; it hath Aldermen, enjoying the dignity of Senators, besides inferior Magistrates; there are several places and courts for matters deliberative, demonstrative, and judicial; and upon set days, also, they (the Citizens) have their Common Council and great Assemblies.'

In

In the first year of Richard the First (anno 1189) the "City," says Stow, "obtained to be governed by two *Bailiffs*, which Bailiffes are in divers ancient deeds called *Shrives*," i. e. Sheriffs; the names of the first of whom, according to the same author, were Henry de Cornhill and Richard Reynere: these persons entered into their office on the Feast of St. Michael. In the same year, and probably at the same time, Henry Fitz-Alwyn Fitz-Leofstan was, according to the above author, appointed the first MAYOR of London; and he continued to hold that post till his death, about twenty-four years afterwards.* This was about 1213; and in the following year, the then Monarch, King John, as a means of conciliating the good will of the Citizens, granted by a Charter, dated from the *New Temple*, to the "Barons of the City of London," the liberty of choosing a Mayor, *annually*, out of their own body, or at their own pleasure to continue him in that situation from year to year.† Shortly afterwards it was expressly stipulated in that ever-memorable record of British freedom, *Magna Charta*, that "the City of London should have all its ancient privileges and free customs, as well by land as by water."

The liberty of electing a Mayor annually, was accompanied by the condition that he should be presented to the King, or, in his absence, to his justice; but in the thirty-seventh of Henry the Third, the Citizens obtained a new charter, permitting them to present their Mayor to the Barons of the Exchequer, "that he may be admitted by them as Mayor," when the King should not

* Fitz-Alwyn was descended from the celebrated Ailwyn, "Alderman of all England," and kinsman to King Edgar, who founded Ramsey Abbey. In the History of Ramsey, (*Vide Gale's XV. Scriptores*) Ailwyn is called both Duke and Earl.

† Stow has erroneously stated this Charter to have been given in the year 1209; but the Charter itself bears date on the *nineteenth* of May, in the *sixteenth* of King John. In many instances, however, after this period the Mayors were continued in their office for several years together.

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not be at Westminster. This was done to avoid the expense and inconvenience that had resulted from being obliged to repair to the King's residence, in whatever part of England he might have been, to obtain his approval of the person chosen Chief Magistrate.

The right of electing the Mayor (as well as of other officers) at this early period was completely popular, or, in other words, was resident in the Citizens at large, when assembled in general *Folk-mote*; yet his having been found productive of great disturbances, gave place to the more confined mode of election by delegates, (sometimes more, sometimes fewer) chosen out of each ward; and this select number was called the Commonalty. This method continued, with some variations at different periods, till the year 1475, when, by an Act of Common Council, the election of the Mayor and Sheriffs was vested in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, and the Masters, Wardens, and Livery-men of the City Companies, in whom it still continues, this right having been confirmed to them by Act of Parliament.

In the year 1354, Edward the Third granted to the City the liberty of having gold or silver *Maces*, "or silvered or garnished," carried before the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, every where within the City, its Suburbs and Liberties, and the County of Middlesex; and also, when going to meet the King, or his heirs, or other royal persons *without* the City, &c. It was probably at this period, when such a dignified privilege was conferred, that the Chief Magistrate of London was first entitled the *Lord* Mayor; and this conjecture receives corroboration from the circumstance of that officer being rated as an *Earl*, at four pounds under the levies of the Capitation Tax of 1379, (second of Richard the Second;) and every Alderman as a Baron, at two pounds.* In the year 1451, or 1452, the then Lord Mayor, Godfrey Fielding, Mercer, was made a *Privy Counseller* by Henry the Sixth. This is the earliest instance of a person of his rank being advanced to such an honour.

About the year 1463, or 1464, at a grand Entertainment given by

* Cott. Rec. p. 168, and Parl. Hist. Vol. I. p. 346, 358.

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by the new Serjeants-at-Law at Ely House, Holborn, the Lord Treasurer, Baron Ruthen, assumed the most honourable place at table; but the Lord Mayor (who, together with the Sheriffs, Aldermen, and many of the principal Citizens, had been invited,) disputed his right to that seat, insisting that, as the King's representative, he himself had a *pre-eminence* of all persons within the City and its Liberties; and, on the obstinate refusal of the Treasurer to relinquish the contested chair, he withdrew with his whole Company, whom he afterwards banquetted in an elegant manner in the City.

The person of the Lord Mayor was regarded as so sacred about this period, that, in 1479, Robert Byfelde, one of the Sheriffs, having presumed to kneel close to that Magistrate at St. Erkenwald's shrine, during the raging of a dreadful Plague, was complained of to the Court of Aldermen, and was fined fifty pounds towards the repairs of the City Conduits. Long before this period also, viz. in 1339, the person and authority of the Mayor were held so inviolable, that Thomas Haunsart and John le Brewere, who had forcibly resisted the Mayor and Sheriffs in their endeavours to suppress a riot, were immediately apprehended for the same, and brought to trial in Guildhall, where, on their own plea of guilty, they were adjudged to die; and "they were forthwith carried into West Chepe and there beheaded." This summary proceeding was fully approved of by the King, Edward the Third, who, on his return from France, granted his Letters Patent to the City Magistracy, to exempt them from being afterwards questioned for thus exercising, to employ the words of a late Statesman, 'a vigour beyond the law.'

Although the office of the Lord Mayor is elective, his supremacy does not cease on the death of the Sovereign; and when this happens, he is considered as the principal officer in the Kingdom, and takes his place accordingly in the Privy Council until the new King is proclaimed.* His power is very extensive; for he

* In the invitation sent by the Privy Council to James of Scotland, after the demise of Queen Elizabeth, to come and take possession of the Throne, the

he is not only the King's representative in the Civil government of the City, but also first Commissioner of the Lieutenancy; perpetual Coroner and Escheator within the City and Liberties of London, and the Borough of Southwark; Chief Justice of Oyer and Terminer, and gaol delivery of Newgate; Judge of the Court of Wardmote at the election of Aldermen; Conservator of the rivers Thames and Medway; perpetual Commissioner in all affairs relating to the River Lea; and Chief Butler to the King at all Coronations. No Corporation business is valid without his authority, and no election of a Mayor for the next year is legal without his presence, he being living.

Whosoever is chosen to fill the office of Lord Mayor, must be free of one of the twelve principal City Companies, and if not so before he is chosen, he must become so before he can be sworn. The election is made annually on Michaelmas Day, in Guildhall, when all the Alderman who have not passed the chair, but have served the office of Sheriff, are proposed in rotation, and two of them are returned by the Livery (by show of hands) assembled in Common Hall, to the Court of Aldermen, and the majority of that Court determine on which of the two the election has fallen. The usual custom is, for the Livery to nominate the two senior Aldermen under the chair; and the Court of Aldermen, in like manner, have commonly elected the senior of those two into office; yet either of them has a right to deviate from this method, and they have not unfrequently done so; the order of rotation being little regarded when a particular dislike has been taken to any of the Aldermen, or when the city has been divided into parties on political disputes. Soon after the election the person thus chosen, accompanied by the Recorder, and other officers, is presented to the Lord-Chancellor, as his Majesty's representative, for his approbation, "without which, the Lord Mayor elect has no legal power to execute his office;" but

the name of Robert Lee, the then Lord Mayor, stands foremost in the list, before all the great Officers of State, and the Nobility.

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but this being obtained, he is sworn in on the eighth of November, at Guildhall, and on the next day, the ninth, he is finally sworn before the Barons of the Exchequer at Westminster, after certain ceremonies,* and immediately enters upon his office.

This inauguration of the Chief Magistrate is attended by much civic festivity, and sometimes by considerable shew; but the manner in which the '*Lord Mayor's Day*,' as it is popularly called, is now kept, does not by any means equal the splendid pomp with which it has been celebrated in former periods. The custom, which is still continued, of going to Westminster by water, was introduced in 1453, by Sir John Norman, who built a magnificent barge for the purpose at his own charge, and his example being emulated by the twelve principal City Companies, who also built costly barges on this occasion, they all went in grand procession from the Vintry, or Three Crane Stairs.† At the present day, the general mode of procedure is as follows:

The Sheriffs and Aldermen, in their respective carriages, repair in the morning to the residence of the Lord Mayor elect, and attend him from thence to Guildhall, from which place, about noon, they all proceed to the Three Crane Stairs, where the Lord

* One of these ceremonies, and which is vulgarly called 'Counting the *Hob-nails*,' had its origin in a grant made in the nineteenth of Henry the Third, (Anno 1235) to Walter le Bruin, a farrier, of a piece of ground in the Parish of St. Clement's Danes, in the Strand, "whereon to erect a forge; he rendering at the Exchequer annually for the same, a quit-rent of Six Horse Shoes, with the nails thereunto belonging." This rent was twice paid there in the reign of Edward the First, "and is still rendered annually at the Exchequer at this time by the Mayor and Citizens of London: the said piece of ground having been granted to them some ages ago, though at present lost to the said Citizens." *Mad. Hist. Exch. and Mait. Lond. Vol. I. p.* 82. *Ed.* 1756.

† Fabian relates, that the Watermen were so highly pleased with the Lord Mayor's conduct, through the advantages which they reaped from it, that they composed a Song in his praise, beginning thus:

"Row thy Boat Norman,
Row to thy Lemman."

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Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Recorder, &c. go on board the City Barges, and head the procession to Westminster; the several City Companies, in their formalities, following in their respective barges; all the barges having bands of music, and being decorated with flags and pendants. When the ceremony is over at Westminster, the procession returns in similar order to Blackfriars Bridge, where the Lord Mayor lands, and is received by the Artillery Company, which takes the lead in the procession from thence to Guildhall, and is followed by the Company to which his Lordship belongs: the other Companies then follow, and afterwards the Lord Mayor's Officers and Servants, preceding the State Coach in which his Lordship is seated; his Mace-bearer and Sword-bearer being on stools fronting the doors. After him come the Sheriffs, Aldermen, Recorder, Chamberlain, &c. in their several carriages and splendid equipages. Sometimes the principal officers of the Crown, Noblemen, and others, who have been invited to the banquet at Guildhall, join in the procession; and the Princes of the blood Royal have, occasionally, honoured it with their presence. At Guildhall a sumptuous dinner is provided at the expense of the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, and about thirteen hundred persons generally sit down to table; after which, a grand ball concludes the festivities of the day. When the procession reaches Guildhall, the City Companies retire to their respective Halls, where also splendid entertainments are provided. The charges of the Lord Mayor's *Feast*, are commonly about 3,000l.; and from 10,000l. to 12,000l. is supposed to be the common average of the expense of the public dinners given within the City on this day.* On the first Lord Mayor's Day

* The State Coach is a large, old fashioned, carriage, sumptuously ornamented with gilding, carving, and painted pannels, and is drawn by four horses. Formerly different pageants were introduced into the procession by the more affluent Companies; but the more attractive part of the shew in modern times, is the Armourers Company, which is generally preceded by a man on horseback in bright steel armour: in some instances two or three persons on horseback, and in different kinds of armour, have accompanied the procession.

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after a Coronation, it has long been a custom for the Sovereign and Royal Family to partake of the Entertainment at Guildhall; and at these times, the Foreign Ambassadors, and principal Nobility and Gentry, likewise attend.

Since the year 1752, the place of residence of the Lord Mayor has been the Mansion House, where he lives in an elegant and princely manner. On all State occasions he is superbly habited, either in a knotted gown like that of the Lord Chancellor, or in one of crimson velvet, as when he precedes the King: on lesser ceremonials, his outer habit is either a cloth gown of scarlet, and velvet hood, or one of mazarine blue silk, according to the season, both being richly furred. He wears also a double chain of gold, to distinguish his office, or a rich collar of esses, with a costly jewel appendant; when on foot, his train is supported by a page, and the mace and sword are carried before him.

The principal officers belonging to the Lord Mayor, and forming part of the establishment for maintaining his dignity, are the Sword-bearer, the Common Hunt, the Common Crier, and the Water Bailiff, all of whom have considerable salaries and perquisites, and the title of Esquires. Besides those, there are in his retinue three Serjeant Carvers, three Serjeants of the Chamber, a Serjeant of the Channel, two Yeomen of the Chamber, four Yeomen of the Water-side, a Yeoman of the Channel, an under Water Bailiff, three Meal Weighers, two Yeomen of the Wood Wharf, a Foreign-taker, two City Marshals, and several others. The Sword-bearer and the Common Hunt purchase their offices; the Common Crier and the Water Bailiff are appointed by the Common Council.*

Many

* The *Sword-bearer* attends upon the Lord Mayor and carries the City Sword before him on all public occasions. The *Common Hunt* is now chiefly employed in attendance on the Lady Mayoress, and in officiating as Master of the Ceremonies at Public Balls, &c. But his original business was to take care of the City Hounds, and to attend on the Lord Mayor and Citizens in hunting upon those grounds over which they were privileged so to do either by prescription or charter. The *Common Crier* carries the Mace

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Many of the Lord Mayors of London have been renowned for their talents and general virtues; and there is not a single quality that can adorn the human heart, but what has been displayed by some or other of these Magistrates. The most disinterested public spirit and the noblest beneficence; the purest patriotism and the firmest integrity, have all united in the illustrious character of many that have filled the civic chair; and numerous are the instances in which this high office has been attained, and most *worthily* held, by those who at the outset of life, to use the language of a late eminent moralist, 'had to provide food for the day that was passing over them*.'

Mace on all public occasions, and attends with it in the Courts held by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council. He also summons the executors and administrators of freemen to appear and bring in inventories of the personal estates of the deceased, &c. The *Water Bailiff* superintends the preservation of the River Thames from all encroachments, and prevents the Fishermen from destroying the young fry by unlawful nets. For these purposes he has power to summon juries at stated times to enquire into all offences relating to the river and its fish; and these juries who are chosen out of each county that borders on the river, make their presentments accordingly. Both this Officer and the Common Crier attend also on the Lord Mayor on set days in the week.

* The following are the names of all the Lord Mayors of London, from the earliest accounts to the present time; from the best authorities.

Years.	
1189 to 1212	Henry Fitz Alwyn
1213	Roger Fitz Alwyn
1214	——— Serle
1215	William Hardell
1216	James Alderman, Simon Basing
1217 to 1222	Robert Serle
1223 to 1226	Richard Renger
1227 to 1231	Roger Duke
1232 to 1237	Andrew Bockerell, or Bukerell
1238	Richard Renger
1239	Wyllyam Joynour
1240	Gerarde Bat
1241 1242	Reginald Bongey
1243	Rauffe Ashwy
1244	Michael Tony

1245

The ennobled families of Cornwallis, Capel, Coventry, Legge, Cowper, Thynne, Dudley and Ward, Craven, Marsham, Pulteney, Hill, Holles, Osborne, Cavendish, Bennet, and many others, have sprung either directly or collaterally from those who have

Years.	
1245 to 1246	John Gysors
1247	Pyers Aleyne, or Pet. Fitz-Alwyn
1248	Michael Tony
1249	Roger Fitz-Roger
1250	John Norman, or John Gisors
1251	Adam Basing
1252	John de Tholezan
1253	Nicholas Batt
1254 to 1258	Ralph Hardell
1259	John Gysours
1260 to 1261	William Fitz-Richard
1262 to 1265	Thomas Fitz-Thomas
1266	William Fitz-Richard
1267	Alein de la Souch, or Zouch
1268	T. Wimborn
1269	Thomas Fitz-Thomas, Hugh Fitz-Ottonis, *Custos*
1270 to 1271	John Adryan
1272 to 1273	Sir Walter Harvey, *Custos*, H. Frowicke, *Mayor*
1274	Henry le Walleis
1275 to 1281	Gregory de Rokeslie
1282 to 1284	Henry de Walleis
1285	Gregory de Rokeslie
1286 to 1287	Rauffe de Sandwich, *Custos*, and Sir John Breton, *Custos*
1288 to 1293	Rauf de Sandwich, *Custos*
1294 to 1297	Sir John Breton, *Custos*
1298	Henry le Walleis
1299 to 1300	Elyas Russell
1301 to 1307	Sir John le Blount, or Blunt, *Custos*
1308	Nich. de Faryngdon
1309	Thomas Rumayne
1310	Gregory de Rockesley
1311	Sir John Gysours, or Gisors
1312	Sir J. Pounteney, or Pulteney
1313	Nich. de Faryngdon
1314	Sir John Gysours
1315	Stephen de Abyngdon
1316 to 1318	John de Wengrave
1319	Ham. Chyckwell
1320	Nich. de Faryngdon
1321 to 1322	Ham. Chyckwell
1323	Nich. de Faryngdon
1324 to 1325	Ham. Chyckwell
1326	Richard de Bettoyne
1327	Ham. Chyckwell
1328	John de Graunthum
1329	Symon or Rich. Swandland
1330 to 1331	Sir John Pounteney
1332	John Preston
1333	Sir John Pounteney

1334

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have been either Mayors, Sheriffs, or Aldermen of London; and indeed, it may be affirmed with truth, that a very enlarged portion of the Peerage of the United Kingdom, is related, either by descent or intermarriage, to the Citizens of this Metropolis.

 The

Years.	
1334 1335	Reynald at Conduyte
1336	Sir John Pounteney
1337 1338	Henry D'Arcey
1339 1340	Andrew Aubrey
1341	John de Oxynforde
1342	Symon Fraunciss
1343 1344	John Hamond
1345	Richard Lacer
1346	Geffery Wytchyngham
1347	Thomas Legge, or Leggat
1348	John Lewkyn, or Lovekin
1349	Wyllyam or Walter Turk
1350	Rich. Killingbury
1351	Andrew Aubrey
1352 1353	Adam Fraunceys, or Francis
1354	Thomas Legge
1355	Symon Fraunceys
1356	Henry Picard
1357	Sir John Stody
1358	John Lewkyn, or Lovekin
1359	Symon Doffelde, or Dolseby
1360	John Wroth
1361	John Peche
1362	Step. Caundish, or Cavendish
1363	John Notte
1364	Adam de Bury, and John Lewkyn
1365 1366	John Lewkyn
1367	James Andrew
1368	Symon de Mordon
1369	John Chychester
1370 1371	John Barnes
1372	John Pyell
1373	Adam de Bury
1374	Wyll. Walworth
1375	John Warde
1376 1377	Adam Staple, and Sir N. Brembyr, or Brembre
1378	John Philpott
1379	John Hadley
1380	Sir Will. Walworth
1381 1382	John Northampton
1383 to 1385	Sir Nicholas Brembye
1386 1387	Nicholas Exton
1388	Nicholas Twyford
1389	Wyllyam Venour, or Viner
1390	Adam Bamme
1391	John Hynde, Baldwin Radington
1392	Wyllyam Stondon
1393	Sir John Hadley
1394	Sir John Froysne
1395	Sir Willyam More
1396 1397	Adam Bamme, and Sir Rich. Whittington
1398	Sir Drew Barentyne
1399	Sir Thomas Knolles
1400	Sir John Fraunces
1401	Sir John Shadworth, or Chadworth
1402	John Walcot
1403	Sir William Askham
1404	John Hynde

1405

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The ALDERMEN of this City are of far more remote antiquity than the Mayors, and their office was unquestionably of Saxon institution. Among the Saxons the title of *Ealdermen* appears to have been an epithet of the highest dignity, and synonymous

Years.	
1405	Sir John Woodcock
1406	Sir Rich. Whittington
1407	Sir William Stondon
1408	Sir Drew Barentyne
1409	Richard Marlow
1410	Sir Thomas Knolles
1411	Sir Robert Chicheley, or Chichley
1412	William Waldren, or Walderne
1413	Sir William Cromer
1414	Sir Thomas Fawconer, or Falconer
1415	Sir Nicholas Wotton
1416	Sir Henry Barton
1417	Sir Richard Marlow
1418	William Sevenoke
1419	Sir Rich. Whittington
1420	William Cambrege, or Cambridge
1421	Sir Robert Chicheley
1422	Sir William Waldren
1423	Sir William Cromer
1424	John Mitchell
1425	John Coventrie
1426	Sir John Rainwell
1427	Sir John Gedney
1428	Sir. Henry Barton
1429	Sir Will. Estfield or Eastfield
1430	Sir Nicholas Wotton
1431	John de Welles
1432	Sir John Parveys
1433	Sir John Brokley, or Brokle
1434	Sir Robert or Roger Otley
1435	Sir Henry Frowyke
1436	Sir John Michell
1437	Sir William Estfeld
1438	Sir Stephen Brown
1439	Robert Large
1440	Sir John Paddesley
1441	Robert Clopton
1442	John Atherley
1443	Thomas Chatworth
1444	Sir Henry Frowyke
1445	Sir Simon Eyer
1446	John Olney
1447	Sir John Gedney
1448	Sir Stephen Brown
1449	Sir Thomas Chalton
1450	Nich. Wyfforde, or Wilford
1451	Sir William Gregory
1452	Sir Geffrey Feldyng, or Fielding
1453	Sir John Norman
1454	Sir Stephen Forster
1455	Sir William Marrowe
1456	Sir Tho. Canning
1457	Sir Geffrey or Godfrey Boleyn
1458	Sir Thomas Scot
1459	Sir William Hulyn
1460	Sir Richard at Lee
1461	Sir Hugh Wyche
1462	Sir Thomas Cooke
1463	Sir Matthew Philip
1464	Sir Rauf Josselyne, or Jocelyn
1465	Sir Ranf Verney
1466	Sir John Yonge
1467	Sir Thomas Owlgrave, or Oldgrave
1468	Sir William Taylour

1469

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synonymous with *Earl*, (though it is now no where to be found but in chartered societies;) and this, perhaps, may have been the cause why the Aldermen and Commonalty of London were denominated *Barons* after the coming of the Normans. That

 the

Years.	
1469	Sir Richard at Lee
1470	Sir John Stockton
1471	Sir William Edwards
1472	Sir William Hampton
1473	Sir John Tate
1474	Sir Robert Drope
1475	Sir Robert Basset
1476	Sir Ranf Josselyne
1477	Sir Humphry Heyforde
1478	Richard Gardiner
1479	Sir Bartilmew James
1480	Sir John Brown, alias John de Werks
1481	Sir William Haryot, or Harcot
1482	Sir Edmond Shaa, or Shaw
1483	Sir Robert Billesdon
1484	Sir Thomas Hylle, or Hill
1485	Sir Hugh Bryce
1486	Sir Henry Colet
1487	Sir William Littlesbury, alias Horne
1488	Sir Robert Tate
1489	Sir William White
1490	John Matthew
1491	Sir Hugh Clopton
1492	Sir William Martyn
1493	Sir Ranf Austry, or Ostrich
1494	Sir Richard Chawry, or Chawrie
1495	Sir Henry Colet
1496	John Tate
1497	William Purchase
1498	Sir John Percival
1499	Sir Nicholas Aldwyn
1500	John Reymington
1501	Sir John Shaa, or Shaw
1502	Sir Bartholomew Reed
1503	Sir William Capell
1504	Sir John Wyngar, or Wynger
1505	Thomas Knesworth
1506	Sir Richard Haddon
1507	Sir William Brown, and Sir Law. Aylmer
1508	Sir Stephen Jenyns, or Jennings
1509	Thomas Bradbury
1510	Sir Henry Keble
1511	Sir Roger Archiley, or Acheley
1512	Sir William Copinger, and Sir Richard Haddon
1513	Sir William Brown
1514	Sir Geo. Monoux, or Monox
1515	Sir William Butler
1516	Sir John Rest
1517	Sir Thomas Exmew
1518	Sir Thomas Mirfine
1519	Sir James Yardford
1520	Sir John Bruge, or Bruges
1521	Sir John Milborne
1522	Sir John Mundy
1523	Sir Tho. Baldry, or Baldrie
1524	Sir William Bailey
1525	Sir John Allen
1526	Sir Thomas Seymer
1527	Sir James Spencer
1528	Sir John Rudstone

1529

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the government by Aldermen is of Saxon origin, is almost demonstrable from the Charter granted by Henry the First, within thirty-five years after the Conquest, in which all strangers are commanded "to give custom to none but to him to whom the soke

Years.	
1529	Sir Ralph Dodmer
1530	Sir Thomas Pargitor
1531	Sir Nich. Lambard, or Lambert
1532	Sir Stephen Peacock
1533	Sir Christopher Askew
1534	Sir John Champneis
1535	Sir John Allen
1536	Sir Ralph Warren
1537	Sir Richard Gresham
1538	Sir William Forman
1539	Sir William Hollcis
1540	Sir William Roche
1541	Sir Michael Dormer
1542	John Cootes, or Cotes
1543	Sir William Bowyer, Sir Ralph Warren
1544	Sir William Laxton
1545	Sir Martin Bowes
1546	Sir Henry Hubbarthorne
1547	Sir John Gresham
1548	Sir Henry Amcotes
1549	Sir Rowland Hill
1550	Sir Andrew Jud, or Jude
1551	Sir Richard Dobbes
1552	Sir George Barne
1553	Sir Thomas White
1554	Sir John Lyon
1555	Sir Will. Gerard, or Garrard
1556	Sir Thomas Offley
1557	Sir Thomas Curtics
1558	Sir Thomas Leigh
1559	Sir William Huet, or Hewit
1560	Sir William Chester
1561	Sir William Harper

Years.	
1562	Sir Thomas Lodge
1563	Sir John White
1564	Sir Rich. Malorie, or Mallory
1565	Sir Richard Champion
1566	Sir Christopher Draper
1567	Sir Roger Martin
1568	Sir Thomas Rowe
1569	Alexander Avenon
1570	Sir Rowland Heyward
1571	Sir William Allen
1572	Sir Lionell Ducket
1573	Sir John Rivers
1574	Sir James Hawes
1575	Sir Ambrose Nicholas
1576	Sir John Langley
1577	Sir Thomas Ramsey
1578	Richard Pipe
1579	Sir Nich. Woodroffe
1580	Sir John Branche
1581	Sir James Harvie, or Harvey
1582	Sir Thomas Blancke
1583	Sir Edward Osborne
1584	Sir Thomas Pullison
1585	Sir Wolston Dixie
1586	Sir George Barne
1587	Sir George Bond
1588	Sir Martin Calthorp
1589	Sir John Hart
1590	Sir John Allot
1591	Sir William Webb
1592	Sir William Rowe
1593	Sir Cuth. Buckle, Sir Rich. Martin
1594	Sir John Spencer
1595	Sir Stephen Slany

1596

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soke appertains,"—that is, the *Alderman* or *Baron*, "or to his officers whom he shall there put;"—for anciently, the *Aldermanries*, or *Wards*, as they are now called, were held either by *inheritance* or by *purchase*. Then, also, the names of the Wards

Years.	
1596	Sir Tho. Skinner, Sir Henry Billingsley
1597	Sir Richard Saltonstall
1598	Sir Stephen Some
1599	Sir Nich. Mosley
1600	Sir William Ryder
1601	Sir John Gerard, or Garrard
1602	Sir Robert Lee
1603	Sir Thomas Bennet
1604	Sir Thomas Low
1605	Sir Leon. Hollyday
1606	Sir John Watts
1607	Sir Henry Rowe
1608	Sir Humphrey Weld
1609	Sir Thomas Cambell
1610	Sir William Craven
1611	Sir James Pemberton
1612	Sir John Swinnerton
1613	Sir Thomas Middleton
1614	Sir John Hayes
1615	Sir John Jolles
1616	Sir John Leman
1617	Right Hon. George Bolles
1618	Sir Sebastian Harvey
1619	Sir William Cockaine
1620	Sir Francis Jones
1621	Sir Edw. Barkham
1622	Sir Peter Proby
1623	Sir Martin Lumley
1624	Sir John Goare
1625	Sir Allen Cotton
1626	Sir Cuthbert Aket
1627	Sir Hugh Hammersley
1628	Sir Richard Deane

Years.	
1629	Sir James Cambell
1630	Sir Robert Ducy
1631	Sir George Whitmore
1632	Sir Nich. Raynton
1633	Ralph Freeman
1634	Sir Thos. Monson
1635	Sir Rob. Packhurst
1636	Sir Christ. Clethero
1637	Sir Edw. Bromfield
1638	Sir Richard Fenn
1639	Sir Maurice Abbot
1640	Sir Henry Garway
1641	Sir William Acton
1642	Sir Richard Gourney
1643	Sir Isaac Pennington
1644	Sir John Woollaston
1645	Sir Thomas Atkins
1646	Sir Thomas Adams
1647	Sir John Gayre
1648	Sir John Warner
1649	Sir Ab. Reynardson
1650	Thomas Toote
1651	Thomas Andrews
1652	John Kendrick
1653	John Fowkes
1654	Thomas Vyner
1655	Christopher Pack
1656	John Dethick
1657	Robert Tichborne
1658	Richard Chiverton
1659	John Ireton
1660	Sir Thomas Alleyn
1661	Sir Rich. Brown
1662	Sir John Frederick

1663

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Wards were changed, or altered, with those of their possessors or governors. The oppressions to which the Citizens were subjected under that mode of government, induced them to seek means of relief; and they at length succeeded in abolishing the perpetuity of

Years.	
1663	Sir John Robinson
1664	Sir Anth, Bateman
1665	Sir John Lawrence
1666	Sir Tho. Bludworth
1667	Sir Will. Boulton
1668	Sir William Peake
1669	Sir Wm. Turner
1670	Sir Samuel Starling
1671	Sir Richard Ford
1672	Sir Geo. Waterman
1673	Sir Robert Hanson
1674	Sir Wm. Hooker
1675	Sir Robert Viner
1676	Sir Joseph Sheldon
1677	Sir Thos. Davis
1678	Sir Fran. Chaplin
1679	Sir James Edwards
1680	Sir Robert Clayton
1681	Sir Patience Ward
1682	Sir John Moore
1683	Sir Wm. Pritchard
1684	Sir Henry Tulse
1685	Sir James Smith
1686	Sir Robert Geffery
1687	Sir John Peake
1688	Sir John Shorter, Sir John Eyles
1689	Sir J. Chapman, Sir Tho. Pilkington
1690 1691	Sir Tho. Pilkington
1692	Sir Thos. Stampe
1693	Sir John Fleet
1694	Sir Wm. Ashhurst
1695	Sir Thomas Lane

Years.	
1696	Sir John Houblon
1697	Sir Edward Clarke
1698	Sir Humph. Edwin
1699	Sir Francis Child
1700	Sir Rich. Levett
1701	Sir Thomas Abney
1702	Sir Will. Gore
1703	Sir Sam. Dashwood
1704	Sir John Parsons
1705	Sir Owen Buckingham
1706	Sir Tho. Rawlinson
1707	Sir Rich. Beddingfeld
1708	Sir Will. Withers
1709	Sir Cha. Duncombe
1710	Sir Samuel Garrard, Bart.
1711	Sir Gilb. Heathcote
1712	Sir Rob. Beachcroft
1713	Sir Richard Hoare
1714	Sir Samuel Stainier
1715	Sir Will. Humphreys, Bart.
1716	Sir Charles Peers
1717	Sir James Bateman
1718	Sir William Lewen
1719	Sir John Ward
1720	Sir Geo. Thorold, Bart.
1721	Sir John Fryer, Bart.
1722	Sir Will. Stewart
1723	Sir Gerard Conyers,
1724	Sir Peter Delmè
1725	Sir George Mertins
1726	Sir Fran. Forbes
1727	Sir John Eyles, Bart.
1728	Sir Edward Beecher
1729	Sir Robert Baylis

1730

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of the office, and brought it to an annual election. This was afterwards found to occasion great contention and many inconveniences; to remedy which, the Parliament, by an Act passed in 1394, ordered, That, in future, the Aldermen, when elected, should " continue

Years.	
1730	Sir Richard Brocas
1731	Humph. Parsons, Esq.
1732	Sir Francis Child
1733	John Barber, Esq.
1734	Sir William Billers
1735	Sir Edward Bellamy
1736	Sir John Williams
1737	Sir John Thompson
1738	Sir John Barnard
1739	Micajah Perry, Esq.
1740	Sir John Salter
1741	Humphrey Parsons, Esq. Dan. Lambert, Esq.
1742	Sir Rob. Godschall, Geo. Heathcote, Esq.
1743	Rob. Willimot, Esq.
1744	Sir Robert Westley
1745	Sir Henry Marshall
1746	Sir Richard Hoare
1747	William Benn, Esq.
1748	Sir Robert Ladbroke
1749	Sir William Calvert
1750	Sir Sam. Pennant, John Blachford, Esq.
1751	Fran. Cokayne, Esq.
1752	Tho. Winterbottom, Esq. Rob. Alsop, Esq.
1753	Sir Crisp Gascoyne,
1754	Edw. Ironside, Esq. Tho. Rawlinson, Esq.
1755	Steph. Theo. Janssen, Esq.
1756	Slingsby Bethell, Esq.
1757	Marshe Dickinson, Esq.
1758	Sir Charles Asgill
1759	Sir Rich. Glyn, Bart.

Years.	
1760	Sir Thomas Chitty
1761	Sir Matt. Blackiston
1762	Sir Sam. Fludyer, Bart.
1763	Will. Beckford, Esq.
1764	Will. Bridgen, Esq.
1765	Sir Will. Stephenson
1766	George Nelson, Esq.
1767	Sir Robert Kite
1768	Hon. Tho. Harley
1769	Samuel Turner, Esq.
1770	Will. Beckford, Esq. Barlow Trecothick, Esq.
1771	Brass Crosby, Esq.
1772	William Nash, Esq.
1773	James Townsend, Esq.
1774	Fred. Bull, Esq.
1775	John Wilkes, Esq.
1776	John Sawbridge, Esq.
1777	Sir Tho. Hallifax
1778	Sir James Esdaile
1779	Samuel Plumbe, Esq.
1780	Brackley Kennet, Esq.
1781	Sir Watkin Lewes
1782	Sir William Plomer
1783	Nathaniel Newnham, Esq.
1784	Robert Peckham, Esq.
1785	Richard Clark, Esq.
1786	Thomas Wright, Esq.
1787	Tho. Sainsbury, Esq.
1788	John Burnell, Esq.
1789	William Gill, Esq.
1790	William Picket, Esq.
1791	John Boydell, Esq,
1792	Sir John Hopkins

1793

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"continue in office during life, or good behaviour;" and such is still the law. The mode of election has been several times varied, but is now regulated by an Act of Parliament passed in 1725; by which, also, the modes of electing all the other City Officers are prescribed. The right of voting for Aldermen is vested in those freemen who are resident householders in the different Wards, paying scot and lot, and a rent of 10l. or upwards, annually.

The number of Aldermen is twenty-six; that is, one for each Ward. These Magistrates are properly the subordinate governors of their respective Wards, under the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor, and they exercise an executive power within their own districts. They hold Courts of Ward-mote for choosing the Ward officers, regulating the business of the Ward, redressing grievances, removing obstructions, &c. and in the management of these affairs, each Alderman is assisted by one or two deputies, who are appointed by himself out of the Common Council of his Ward. Those Aldermen who have passed the chair are Justices of the Quorum; and all the other Aldermen are Justices of the Peace within the City,*

The

Years.		*Years.*	
1793	Sir James Sanderson	1803	Sir Charles Price, Bart.
1794	Paul Le Mesurier, Esq.	1804	John Perring, Esq.
1795	Thomas Skinner, Esq.	1805	Peter Perchard, Esq.
1796	Sir Will. Curtis, Bart.	1806	James Shaw, Esq.
1797	Sir Brook Watson, Bart.	1807	Sir Will. Leighton
1798	Sir James Will. Anderson, Bt.	1808	John Ansley, Esq.
1799	Sir Rich. Carr Glyn, Bart.	1809	Sir Charles Flower, Bart.
1800	Har. Chris. Combe, Esq.	1810	Thomas Smith, Esq.
1801	Sir W. Staines	1811	Josh. Jonathan Smith, Esq.
1802	Sir John Eamer		

* Among other ancient customs, &c. relating to the Aldermen, extracted from the City Records, and printed in Strype's Stow, (Vol. II. p. 238.) are the following:—

"Neither Mayor, nor Alderman, nor their Servants, to hold a Brew-house, a Tavern, or a Bakehouse."—"An Alderman lined not his Cloak, which

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The office of SHERIFF, (*Shire-Reve*, or Governor of a Shire or County,) is of great antiquity, trust, and authority; and that London had its Sheriffs prior to the Conquest, is evinced by the circumstance of the Norman William's second charter being addressed to William the Bishop, and *Sweyn* the *Sheriff*. In all general cases the Sheriffs are the King's Officers; but the Sheriffwick of Middlesex having been purchased by the City from Henry the First, the Mayor and Citizens now hold it in fee,* and appoint two Sheriffs, annually, for London and Middlesex. Though the jurisdictions of these officers are, to a considerable extent, perfectly separate, yet if either of them dies, the other cannot act till a new one be chosen; for there must be two Sheriffs for London, which, by charter, is both a City and a County, though they make but one, jointly, for the County of Middlesex. Anciently these officers were chosen from the Commonalty, (and any Citizen is still eligible except he swear himself not worth 15,000l.) and many Aldermen who were never Sheriffs, were yet advanced to the Mayoralty; but a greater degree of regularity is now observed, and no Sheriff can be chosen Lord Mayor unless he has been elected an Alderman.

The mode of choosing the Sheriffs has been altered at different periods. Formerly the elder Sheriff was nominated by the Lord

which he ought to use in procession, therefore it was adjudged by the Court, that the Mayor and Aldermen should all breakfast with him."—This punishment was awarded, probably, as a penalty on his presumed covetousness. "One was imprisoned, and had his right hand cut off, because he made an assault upon an Alderman; another imprisoned for rebellion made to an Alderman; and another for opprobrious words spoken to an Alderman." Rebellion to an Alderman was made imprisonment for a year and a day, besides loss of freedom to the offender.—"The Aldermen were formerly required to gather the debts due to the King in their respective wards."

* The fee-farm rent, (300l.) anciently paid for this Sheriffwick, has been long since sold, or given away by the crown. It is now the private property of Sir William Rush, of Wimbleton, Bart. to whom it is paid half-yearly by the Sheriffs.

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Lord Mayor, who drank to him by name, as Sheriff for the ensuing year, and this nomination was, by custom, confirmed by the Commonalty; but the Commons succeeded in abrogating this custom, and for some time both Sheriffs were chosen by the Livery at large.* Sir John Parsons, however, Lord Mayor in 1704, revived the ancient method of nomination, under the authority of a then recent Act of Common Council. The present mode is, that the Lord Mayor drinks to fourteen respectable Citizens, two of whom are elected by the Livery on the following Midsummer Day; and they are obliged to serve, under a penalty of 400l. each, (and 13l. 6s. 8d. to the Ministers of the City Prisons,) 100l. of which is to be given to him who first agrees to fill the office. The Lord Mayor cannot properly nominate a commoner Sheriff, if there be an Alderman who has not served, though this is often done; but if the Citizen drank to pay the fine he is exempted for three years, nor can he be again drank to by any future Lord Mayor, unless he become an Alderman: no Alderman can be exempted from fine for more than one year, after a previous payment, without the consent of the Common Council. Whoever serves is obliged to give bond to the Corporation for 1000l. The Sheriffs enter upon their office on Michaelmas Day.

On the election of Sheriffs, all the Aldermen who have not served that office are put up in rotation, according to seniority; notwithstanding which, the Livery have the privilege of choosing whom they think proper, whether of that Court, or out of it

* Under the institutions of the wise Alfred, *all* Sheriffs were to be elected annually in their respective Counties; and this privilege obtained generally till the corrupt and arbitrary reign of Edward the Second, when, among other means of increasing the influence of the Court, the right of electing to this office was taken from the people, and vested in the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Judges, in whom, with some slight variations, and under the King's final approval, the choice of Sheriffs for all the other Counties has continued to the present day. *Lett. to the Lir.* p. 10. Ed. 1808.

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it, or of those persons, who having been drank to by the Lord Mayor as proper to be chosen, are also put in nomination on Midsummer Day. After the Sheriffs are elected, the Livery proceed to choose a *Chamberlain* for the City, and other officers, such as the *Bridge Masters*, the *Auditors* of the City and Bridge Accounts, and the *Ale-conners*. The Chamberlain, though subjected to the form of annual election, is never displaced, unless for some considerable crime.

Among the duties of the Sheriffs are, to serve the King's writs of process;* to collect the public revenue within their jurisdictions; to gather into the Exchequer all fines to the crown; to attend the Judges, and execute their orders; to impannel or summon Juries "of honest repute, and of good ability, to consider of and deliver their verdicts according to justice and the merits of the cause;" to see condemned persons executed; and in cases of resistance to their legal authority, or in public riots, &c. to raise the *Posse Comitatus*. They are also empowered to make arrests and serve executions on the river Thames; and to discharge the orders of the Court of Common Council in all cases of petition to Parliament, and of Address, &c. to his Majesty.

In the performance of these great trusts, but particularly in the due execution of all writs and processes, the summoning of Juries, &c. there are distinct official arrangements; one for the City and its Liberties, and another for the County exclusively. The City department is under the superintendence of the two *Secondaries* of the *Poultry Compter* and the *Giltspur Street Compter*, which are the Sheriffs' Prisons within the City. These Secondaries are generally eminent legal characters, who purchase their appointments of the Corporation, and are permanent *Under*-Sheriffs; and their orders, &c. are enforced by the Serjeants at Mace

* Where the King is party, the Sheriffs may break open doors, or may untile the house to obtain admittance, if entrance be denied; but not upon private process, except upon outlawry after judgment: but in every case where the outer door is open, or where admission can be obtained by stratagem, or without force, the Sheriffs may enter and execute their writ.

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Mace of the Sheriffs, who are admitted to their offices by the Court of Aldermen.

The department for the County, in which about 24,000 writs are every year addressed to the Sheriff, is on a far more extensive establishment; and for some years has been managed by the firm of Burchell, Sayer, Henchman, and Cator, who act as deputies to the Under-Sheriffs, receive and execute all processes, summon all Juries, and hear and determine all causes in the Sheriff's County Courts.* These persons employ thirty-nine officers or bailiffs, each of whom has one or more assistants, and on his entry into office is obliged to give a bond (signed by six persons) for 2,000l. as security for the due discharge of his office in money affairs: their duty is to make arrests and execute warrants on all writs directed to the Sheriff; to enforce his orders in the administration of Justice, &c.

By one of the provisions of an Act passed in the thirty-second year of George the Second, no person arrested can be conveyed to any County Gaol in less than twenty-four hours, without his own consent; and, with the approbation of the officer making the arrest, he may continue at liberty (the officer being responsible) till the return of the writ, or otherwise be securely lodged in the *Lock-up-Houses*, of which there are thirteen in the County, (all adjacent to the City,) and two within the City. When an arrest is made, it is at the option of the person arrested to go to which ever of these houses he may prefer; and they are all under the superintendence of the Sheriffs.

In all cases of election for Members of Parliament, either for the City or County, the writs are directed to the Sheriffs, who are the returning officers, and have an exclusive power to convene the voters,, preside at the poll, and adjourn from time to time as they judge expedient.

It has been already shewn that the Aldermen formed a part of the government of the City in the Saxon times; but there have been various opinions as to the share which the COMMONALTY, or

* Lett. to the Livery, p. 177.

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or Citizens at large, anciently possessed in the local jurisdiction. An attentive consideration, however, of the few facts which history has recorded, will leave little doubt upon the mind but that the great body of the Citizens was very early considered as an integral part of the City constitution. The Charter, before quoted, of Henry the First, expressly mentions the *Folk-mote*, an appellation evidently Saxon, and which may fairly be rendered the *Court*, or *Assembly* of the *People*. It also declares, that the *Citizens* "shall place as Sheriff whom they will, *of themselves*,"*—and also shall "place whomsoever, or such a one as *they will, of themselves*, for keeping the pleas of the crown, and of the pleading of the same,"—and "none other," it continues, "shall be *Justice* over the *same men* of London." That a different body is here meant, and in contradistinction to the Aldermen, is deducible from the very terms employed, as well as from another part of the charter, where the words, the 'Barons,' and the 'Citizens,' are certainly intended to designate different classes of the City community.

The general place of meeting of the Folk-mote was at St. Paul's Cross, in St. Paul's Church Yard; and whatever regulations might have been previously in force to circumscribe the too frequent recurrence of such a tumultuary assembly as the congregated inhabitants of London must have formed, after the City became populous, these general meetings were certainly not dis continued till after the reign of Henry the Third. It would seem even, from some remarkable proceedings that took place in the year 1257-8, that the Folk-mote was at that period regarded as the *supreme* Assembly of the City, and in which the Mayor and

* In Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer it is said, that the Citizens, anno 1139, purchased the right of appointing their own Sheriffs from King Stephen for one hundred marks of silver. Yet the above passage of King Henry's Charter shews that statement to be incorrect: probably the one hundred marks paid to Stephen was for a confirmation of the right before possessed.

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Aldermen themselves might be removed and degraded.* The people were called together by the tolling of a great Bell, which was hung in a Belfry, near the east end of St. Paul's Church;† and in this court capital offenders were declared outlawed.

When

* This will be illustrated by an outline of the proceedings that took place on this remarkable occasion; for though the cause of the dispute is stated differently by divers authors, yet in the general circumstances of the case they nearly agree.

The Talliages which, by the arbitrary commands of the King, had been frequently exacted from the Citizens, had given rise to some oppressions on the part of the City Magistrates; and whilst the King was resident at Windsor, in the year 1257, a certain Roll of accusations against those officers was found in the King's Wardrobe, sealed with green wax, "but none knew how it came thither." Fabian relates this to have been a Roll of fictitious crimes, and the pretended finding of it an unjustifiable artifice to fleece the Citizens; but Manwood and others represent, 'that all the folk and people of the City did complain of the Mayor and Aldermen for *mis-government*.' Be this as it may, the King immediately commanded his Chief Justiciary, John Mansell, to summon a *Folk-mote* in St. Paul's Church Yard, to read the accusations in the hearing of all the people, to inform them that the King would not suffer his City to be aggrieved, and to order the Aldermen, in his name, to summon their *Ward-motes*, "and that there the men of every ward, in the *absence* of the Aldermen, should *of themselves*, chuse thirty-six men before that time talliated," (i. e. who had been assessed to the Talliage,) for the purpose of making Inquiry into the truth of the complaints. This was done; but the persons chosen refused, at two subsequent meetings at Guildhall, before the Judges Mansell and Henry de Bathe, and others of the King's Council, to make any return *on oath*, alledging, that such a proceeding, unless in cases where life and limb or title of land were involved, would be contrary to the laws and privileges of the City. The King then commanded another *Folk-mote* to be assembled at Guildhall, where, says Fabian, "the *populace* being assembled, Mansell, in a plausible speech, acquainted them that the King intended, in an exemplary way, to *punish* all those who had in the least been concerned in oppressing the Commonalty, and asked them whether such

† Rot. de Quo. War. 14 Edw. II. no. 51, &c.

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When the great increase in the population of the City, and the intermixture of numerous non-freemen with its inhabitants, had rendered this mode of assembly inconvenient, and in some respects dangerous, they were gradually discontinued, and the Ci-

 tizens

such a proceeding would be acceptable to them?"—"The unthinking multitude," he continues, "neither discovering the fraud, nor considering the consequence of *such an approbation*, cried out *Yea! Yea!*" This point being gained, Mansell deposed the Mayor and Chamberlain, made the Constable of the Tower, *Custos* of the City, appointed new Sheriffs, and sealed up the Talliage Rolls. On the next day the Inquiry was commenced *on oath* by the thirty-six Inquisitors, at Guildhall, before the Chief Justice and other Commissioners, and was continued with much secrecy from the third of February till the feast of *St. Scolastica*, when the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Inquisitors, were summoned to attend at Westminster, where Mansell, having caused a part of the Inquisition to be read, told the Magistrates that "the City was oppressed and destroyed by them and their councils; that the Mayor and his Council had altered the last Talliage Roll to screen some people and to burthen others; and that such Roll had not been read, as usual, before *all the people*, properly assembled." The accused asserted their innocence, and demanded to be tried by a City Jury, but this was opposed by Henry de Bathe, and Mansell adjourned the Court till the following day, when the King himself being present, and speaking with some warmth, the Mayor, Ralph Hardell, and Nicholas Batt, a former Mayor, threw themselves upon his mercy; the others, with greater resolution, persisted in their demand of a trial, according to their own laws and customs, "which allowed them to be tried by twelve men of their own City, before the King."

On the following day the King commanded another *Folk-mote* to assemble at St. Paul's Cross, in order that 'the Populace might be so managed as to gain their denial of any such custom,' and this assembly met accordingly; and being 'very numerous,' the "accused Aldermen were apprehensive that, by the artful speaking of Mansell, the populace might be deluded to approve of the proceedings against them; therefore, rather than run the risk of that, they also threw themselves upon the King's mercy, saving to themselves and fellow Citizens the liberties and immunities of the City." Mansell then ordered them to appear before the King in Westminster Hall, on the next day; when the King, "who had taken advice with his Council in the Chapel of St. Stephen," placed himself "as Judge of this cause on the Bench," and commanded Henry de Bathe to pass sentence

of

tizens had recourse to the system of delegation. A certain number of representatives were then chosen out of each Ward, who, being added to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, constituted the *Court of Common Council.* At first the number returned for each Ward was only two; but the Citizens, afterwards considering that the collective assembly thus chosen was insufficient to represent their numerous body, it was determined, in the year 1347, that each Ward should elect Common Councilmen according to its relative extent, but that not fewer than six, nor more than twelve, should be returned from either. Since then the numbers have been increased so as to form the present aggregate of two hundred and thirty-six.

The Common Councilmen are chosen after the same manner as the Aldermen, with this difference only, that as the Lord Mayor presides in the Ward-mote, and is judge of the poll at the election of an Alderman, so the Alderman of each Ward is judge of the poll at the election of a Common Councilman. No act can be executed in their name without the concurrence of a majority of the

of degradation on the accused Aldermen, and to declare that 'they were dismissed from their *Bailiwicks* [i. e. Aldermanries], never to be restored, without the Royal permission.' The King afterwards permitted the Commonalty to re-elect such of the Aldermen (who, according to Fabian, paid *large sums* for this favour) as they thought proper, with the exception of six of them, who had been most resolute in demanding trial. A new Mayor and one new Sheriff were also chosen, and the Inquiry was continued for some time, till at length the King, "to put an end to all these troubles," commanded another *Folk-mote* to assemble at St. Paul's Cross, and there, in the presence of his Council and Chief Justice, he restored Arnold Thedman, one of the disgraced Aldermen, to his favour and Bailiwick, "being certified of his innocence." He also promised the Citizens to preserve all their liberties entire, and further granted them the valuable privilege, that, "for the future, every Citizen should have the liberty to *plead his own cause*, without being obliged to employ a *Lawyer* (except in pleas that might concern the Crown), that the wisdom of the Court being certified of the truth of the affair, *without any colouring*, they might decree equal and just judgment to the parties concerned." In the same Folk-mote the King announced his intention to cross the seas to his foreign dominions.

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the Court; but they cannot assemble without a summons from the Lord Mayor: it is his duty, however, to call a meeting of the Common Council whenever it shall be demanded on extraordinary occasions. The Common Councilmen are chosen annually, on St. Thomas's Day.

The RECORDER is appointed by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and holds his situation during life. This officer is always a learned and skilful lawyer, and particularly versed in the customs and privileges of the City. He is the principal assistant and counsellor to the City Magistracy; and takes precedence in the Courts before all men who have not passed the Civic Chair. He is also one of the Justices of Oyer and Terminer, and a Justice of Peace for the City; he speaks on the behalf of the City on all extraordinary occasions; reads and presents the Addresses to the King; and when seated on the Bench, delivers the sentences of the whole Court. The pay of the Recorder in the time of Edward the First was ten pounds annually, with an allowance of twenty-pence for 'every charter written,' and 'each testament enrolled' in the Court of Hustings. Through successive augmentations at various periods, his salary is now 2,500l. per annum, an additional 1000l. to commence from Christmas last, having been voted to him in a Court of Common Council, held on the 2d of May, 1811; but he is not allowed to practice, except in the concerns of the City: he usually sits at the Lord Mayor's table.

The *Chamberlain* is an office of great trust and honour. He is the City Treasurer, and receives all the money belonging to the Corporation, for which he accounts annually to the proper Auditors. All the bonds and securities taken by the City, with the counterparts of leases, &c. are in his custody; and he has the keeping of the monies, lands, and goods of the City Orphans: for these reasons he is obliged to give a very extensive security on entering upon his office. The *Town Clerk*, or City Registrar, as he may not be improperly styled, has the custody of the original Charters, Rolls, Records, &c. of the City, together with the books wherein the acts and proceedings of the Corporation are narrated. He attends the Courts of the Lord Mayor

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and Aldermen, to note down any extraordinary proceedings that may occur. Both the Chamberlain and this officer have several clerks and other assistants. The *Common Serjeant* has to attend the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on Court days, and must be in council with them on all occasions: he has also the letting and selling of Orphans' estates, and the general management of them before their passing the Court of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. The *City Remembrancer* attends daily at Westminster, during the sitting of Parliament, to report any proceeding of the House that may affect the interests of the City. He also attends the Lord Mayor on certain days, and likewise informs him of the times for going out with the Aldermen on City business. The three last officers are all appointed by the Court of Common Council.

In the election of City Officers in *Common Halls*, which are the general assemblies of the Livery in Guildhall, the business is carried on in conformity with the enactments of an Act of Parliament (already mentioned) passed in 1725. On the day of meeting, the Lord Mayor, attended by the Aldermen and Sheriffs, appears on the Hustings, and a Proclamation is made by the Common Crier for the Liverymen to draw near and give attention, according to their summons, and for all others to depart the Hall on pain of imprisonment. The Recorder or the Common Serjeant then declares to the Livery the purport of their assembling, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen retire, leaving the intermediate proceedings to the Sheriffs only. The candidates are then proposed by the Common Serjeant, and the will of the Livery being taken by a shew of hands, the Sheriffs determine as to whom the choice has fallen on; and if a poll be demanded, it is taken under their direction. They afterwards make a declaration of the majority to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who then return to the Hustings, and the Recorder or Common Serjeant informs the Common Hall who are the persons elected, and by his Lordship's order the meeting is dissolved.

Among the many valuable privileges that appertain to the City of London by *prescriptive* right, confirmed indeed by numerous Charters, the JUDICIAL FRANCHISE must be regarded as one of

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of the most important. The powers of the City Courts, however, for the recovery of debts, or of compensations for injury, 'by action or writ, according to the course of Common Law,' are far from being generally known.

The City Courts of ordinary jurisdiction are four in number, namely, the *Court of Hustings*, the *Lord Mayor's Court*, and the two *Sheriffs' Courts*. These Courts differ materially in the objects of their respective cognizance, as well as in the mode of holding pleas; which in one or more of those Courts is given by the Kings writ issuing out of Chancery, but in the others is derived from an original inherent right.

The COURT of HUSTINGS is the most ancient of the whole, and many circumstances concur to prove, that for a considerable length of time after its institution, it was the *only* Court of Law existing in the City of London; and that its powers during that period were analogous to those originally exercised by the County Courts; and that the principal Officers of the City, by whatever name distinguished, were then, as at present, the sole Judges in this Court.

In a fragment of a Statute of Edward the Confessor, preserved in Arnold's Chronicle, and in which the City of London is declared to be the 'head City of the Kingdom and of the Laws,' it is asserted, that 'the Court of Hustings was founded and built of old, after the manner, and fashion, and in memory of the ancient City of Troy; that it contains within itself the laws, rights, dignities, liberties, and customs royal of that great City; and that the most intricate accounts, and pleas of the Crown, and of the whole Kingdom are handled in it.' Its name is compounded of the Saxon words *Hus*, a house, and *ding*, or *dhing*, a cause or plea; that is, *Domus Causarum*, or the *House of Causes*, or Pleas: and that part of Guildhall where this Court is now held has the name of the *Hustings*.*

* In the Hist. of Ramsey Abbey, (vide Gale's *Quin-Dec. Scriptores*,) Chap. xxviii. is the copy of a Grant, in which the Countess Æthelgive gives

The Court of Hustings is the supreme court of law belonging to the City, and is also a Court of Record from immemorial usage. It seems probable, that when the increase of commerce and population rendered it inconvenient to transact the whole judicial business arising in the City, in one Court, that the least important part thereof, as it was then considered, viz. personal actions, was separated from its jurisdiction, and transferred to the Mayor's and Sheriffs' Courts, which were established for that purpose; but at what period it is impossible to tell, as the oldest records belonging to this Court, now extant, bear date in the reign of Edward the Second, at which time, in respect to matters cognizable therein, its jurisdiction was the same as at present.*

This Court is held before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, assisted by the Recorder; but it is not requisite that *all* those Magistrates should be present: a Court may be held by the Lord Mayor and the two Sheriffs, or by six Aldermen, and every proceeding had at a Court so held, is completely effectual and legal. The general *dies juridici* of this Court are Tuesdays; yet the proceedings, by a fiction springing from an alteration made to suit the convenience of its Judges, are still entitled to be had on Mondays; on which day, by the Charter of Edward the Confessor, this Court was to be held. There are, however, several particular

gives for the service of the Brethren in the Refectory 'two Silver Cups of twelve marks to the pound (weight) of the *Hustings* of London.' This, in the same sense as *Troy* weight is now used, was probably the standard weight for the Kingdom, and called the Hustings from the weights being kept under the controul of the Court of Hustings. Long after the Saxon times, namely, in the reign of Richard the First, anno 1198, the Sheriffs of London were commanded to provide measures, gallons, iron rods, and *weights*, for standards, to be sent to the several Counties of England. *Mad. Hist. of Exch.*

* Emerson's 'Treatise on the Courts of Law of the City of London,' p. 6. Probably the change was made in imitation of the division of the *Aula Regis*, into different judicatures, in the reign of King John; or otherwise in the time of Edward the First, when the entire judicial polity of the country was newly modelled.

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ticular Tuesdays, and certain Feast days in the year on which the Court is shut.

The Court of Hustings has exclusive cognizance of all actions, *real* and *mixed*, except ejectments, arising within its jurisdiction; and it holds pleas of all matters cognizable therein, except replevin and attaint: it has also an appellant jurisdiction in personal actions after judgment given in the Sheriffs' Courts. For these purposes, however, it is divided into two Courts, denominated the *Husting* of *Pleas of Land*, and the *Husting* of *Common Pleas*; and under these titles a Court is held weekly, alternately, excepting on the *dies non juridici*. A judgment given in either of these Courts may be reversed, if erroneous, but not by any of the Courts of Westminster Hall; an especial Court or Tribunal being necessary to that end, and which is appointed by Commission, or Letters Patent under the Great Seal. In these Courts, deeds and wills are enrolled, recoveries past, and writs of right, partition, dower, and replevins, determined.

The LORD MAYOR'S COURT, or, legally speaking, 'the Court of the Mayor and Aldermen,' is a Court of Record, and like the Exchequer Court at Westminster, has both an equitable and a legal jurisdiction, which it exercises by a primary inherent right. The authority of this Court is very extensive; for independent of its equitable power, it hath not only a concurrent jurisdiction with the Courts of Common Law in Westminster Hall, over all actions of a civil nature, arising out of the general law of the land, but it holds pleas in a variety of cases of very considerable importance, arising out of the *City Customs*, in exclusion of those Courts; it also determines all civil actions, arising out of *Acts of Common Council*, wherein likewise those Courts have no power.

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen are in law considered as the Judges of this Court; but the *Recorder* only is the acting or officiating Judge, and by custom is invested with full authority for carrying into execution the whole of its judicial powers. Under him is a *Registrar*, who has the custody of all records, and

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and enters all the pleadings of the parties litigant, &c.; this office forms a part of that of the Town Clerk, but is executed by deputy. There is also an officer called the *Secondary*, or Clerk of the Bails, belonging to this Court; six *Serjeants-at-Mace*, four *Counsel*, called the City Counsel or Common Pleaders, and who, as a qualification for their offices, must have been admitted Barristers of some one of the Inns of Court; and four *Attorneys*, each of whom must have been previously admitted into one of the Courts of Westminster Hall.* This Court was formerly held on Tuesdays only, but it is now held on any other day, and once or more weekly, according as the press of business may render it necessary: on the principal holidays, moveable feasts, &c. however it is closed, as it is likewise, for between three and four weeks, in August and at Christmas, excepting in cases of apprenticeship.

The proceedings of the Mayor's Court, in all actions arising out of the common law of the land, are in principle the same as in like cases in the Courts at Westminster; but the practice of this Court in bringing cases to a decision is far preferable, and differs in many respects from the former. A suit may be begun and ended here in the course of a fortnight or three weeks, and at the charge only of a few pounds. The proceedings are much more expeditious and simple, and are equally effective. The Juries for trying causes in this and the Sheriffs Courts, are chosen from the persons named in the Ward-mote lists, which are returned annually at Christmas by the respective Aldermen, and the persons so returned are bound to serve: a certain rotation being observed in the selecting of Juries from each Ward, according to the months of the year.†

Among

* The Attorneys of the Mayor's Court have the exclusive privilege of practising in the Court of Hustings; the Pleaders in that Court are also the four City Counsel.

† In *January*, the Jurors are chosen from the Ward of Aldgate, Portsoken, and Cornhill; in *February*, from Cheap-ward; in *March*, from Bassishaw and Cripplegate; in *April*, from Vintry and Bread-street; in *May*, from Tower

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Among the most essential *customs* of this Court, and wherein the Court of Westminster Hall cannot take cognizance, is that called *Foreign Attachment*, by which a creditor may attach the money or goods of his debtor in the hands of a third person, any where within the City; and if any one deserts his house or warehouse, leaving his goods behind, the same may be sequestered by any person to whom he is indebted. In one particular case, by custom also, this Court will sustain an action for *words* spoken, for which, an action will not lie in the Westminster Courts, that is, if any one call a woman a *whore*, which is not actionable at common law, nor is the party amenable to ecclesiastical censures, as the Spiritual Court has no jurisdiction in this case when the cause of complaint arises within the City. The reasons assigned for this custom are, that whoredom is an offence cognizable by the Ward-mote inquests; and that a charge of this kind subjects the accused to the punishment of carting and whipping. This Court likewise possesses the power of *disfranchising* any Citizen who can be proved guilty of any Act 'tending to prejudice the public good of the City;' but this right, for obvious reasons, is seldom exercised. Another peculiarity in its practice is, that a married woman, carrying on any trade in which her husband does not intermeddle, may sue and be sued as a *femme sole* merchant: in such actions the husband is named for conformity, but the wife alone can be taken in execution. The actions which arise out of the laws made for the regulation of trade, preservation of the City franchises, &c. by the Court of Common Council, are commonly called the *Chamberlain's* Actions, from being directed to be sued in the name of that Officer. The judgments given in the Mayor's Court can be reversed only in the same manner as those given in the Court of Hustings, viz. by Commis-

Tower and Billingsgate; in *June*, from Farringdon Without; in *July*, from Bridge-ward; in *August*, from Aldersgate, Coleman Street, and Broad Street; in *September*, from Farringdon Within and Castle Baynard; in *October*, from Queenhithe, Dowgate, and Walbrook; in *November*, from Langbourn and Lime Street; and in *December*, from Candlewick, Cordwainers, and Bishopsgate.

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Commissioners appointed under the Great Seal, with an ultimate appeal to the House of Lords.

In the Mayor's *Court in Equity*, cognizance is taken of all cases founded upon fraud, trust, account, or accident, that arise within the City and its Liberties. It likewise gives relief in all matters relative to portions, dowers, devises, bequests, &c. and can enforce the specific performance of an agreement, or make it void if entered into for an inadequate consideration. It can also decree the redemption or foreclosure of all mortgages of lands or tenements, within its jurisdiction, and reverse the decision of the Sheriffs' Courts. The House of Lords is supposed to be the only tribunal wherein an appeal will lie against any of the decisions of this Court.

The SHERIFFS' COURTS, though forming two distinct independent judicatures, and having each a separate prison, accord in every essential particular as to authority and practice. These also are Courts of record from immemorial usage, like those already described. Though possessing a primary inherent right as to all matters of which they take cognizance, they are inferior to the Mayor's Court; and all suits instituted in these may be removed into that Court. Each Court has its own Judge, who is appointed by the Court of Aldermen, and must be a Barrister of three years standing. Both Courts are held twice a week at Guildhall, excepting when the *dies non juridici* occur, and these are somewhat numerous. The actions are entered at the respective Court or Compter of each Sheriff, to each of which belong a Clerk of the Papers, four Clerk Sitters, and a Prothonotary. The Counsel are the four City Pleaders; but these Courts have their own Attorneys six in number, who, as well as the Clerks and Prothonotaries, are admitted by the Court of Aldermen: the Attorneys may practice in either Court. The objects of the jurisdiction of the Sheriffs' Courts are similar to those of the Mayor's Court, as to debts, trespass, covenant, &c.; but no action will lie in these Courts in cases of ejectment, apprenticiality, and disfranchisement.

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Besides these Courts, there are various others belonging to the City, as the *Court of Lord Mayor and Aldermen*, the *Chamberlain's Court*, the *Court of Conservancy* of the River Thames, the *Coroner's and Escheator's Court*, and the *Court of Requests*, or *Conscience*.

The COURT of LORD MAYOR and ALDERMEN is a Court of Record, wherein is lodged a great part of the executive authority, under which all leases and other instruments that pass the City seal are executed; the assize of bread ascertained; disputes respecting water-courses, lights, and party-walls adjusted; watermen's rates fixed with the approbation of the Privy Council; and many of the City Officers appointed, as, the Recorder, the Justice of the Bridge Yard, the Steward of Southwark, the Clerks of the Lord Mayor and Sitting Aldermen, the Keepers of the City Prisons, &c. This Court, also, has the power of suspending or punishing the City Officers for illegal conduct; and no person can be admitted to the freedom by purchase, or without its order, unless through serving a regular apprenticeship.

The CHAMBERLAIN'S COURT is held daily, to determine differences between Masters and Apprentices, to enroll and turn over the latter, and to admit all who are duly qualified to the City freedom.

The COURT of CONSERVANCY is held eight times yearly before the Lord Mayor, as such times and places as he may appoint within the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Surrey, for the better preservation of the Fishery of the River Thames, regulation of the Fishermen, &c. The Juries are summoned from the County in which the Court is held; and are upon oath to make inquisition of all offences committed in and upon the Thames River, from Staines Bridge on the West, to Yenfleet on the East.

The CORONER'S and ESCHEATOR'S COURTS are likewise held before the Lord Mayor, (who is perpetual Coroner and Escheator within the City) or his deputy; the former for making inquiry into the causes of sudden or violent deaths, arrests, deodands, &c.; the latter for inquisition into the fall of escheats, either by want of heirs or by forfeitures.

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The COURT of REQUESTS, or *Conscience*, had its origin in the ninth year of Henry the Eighth, when, on the first of February, (anno 1518) an Act of Common Council was made, empowering the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to appoint two Aldermen and four discreet Commoners, to sit twice every week to determine all cases of debt among Citizens, where the sum did not exceed forty shillings. This Act was to continue in force only two years, but having been found extremely beneficial in preventing expensive litigations among the poorer freemen, it was continued, by divers other Acts,' till the end of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; the number of the 'Commissioners were also increased to twelve. About that time, the cupidity of certain Attorneys and Solicitors, and the evil disposition of many Creditors, rendered it expedient to apply to Parliament; and, in the first of James the First, an Act of the Legislature was obtained, and the proceedings and authority of this Court made valid and effective. By another Statute, passed in the third year of James, the power of the Commissioners was extended so as to include, not only every Citizen and Freeman, but also 'every other person inhabiting, or that shall inhabit, within the City and its Liberties;' such person being either 'a Victualler, Tradesman, or Labouring man.' Since that, by another Act of Parliament, the jurisdiction of this Court has been extended to all sums below five pounds. The Commissioners are appointed every month, and any three of them compose a Court, which is now kept at an office in Guildhall Chapel, on every Wednesday and Saturday.

By the ancient privileges and laws of the City, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen assume the guardianship of all children of freemen under twenty-one years of age, after their fathers' decease; and that, equally in respect to person as to property: all the concerns that relate to these children are superintended by the COURT of ORPHANS, which is held occasionally at Guildhall before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. By this Court the Common Serjeant is authorized to take accounts and inventories of the estates of Freemen, and the youngest Attorney of the Mayor's Court, who

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who is Clerk to the Orphan's Court, is appointed to take security for their several portions, in the name of the City Chamberlain; the latter being a 'sole Corporation of himself' for the services of the Orphans; and all recognizances and bonds made to him individually, do, by the custom of London, descend to his successor.

The COURT of COMMON COUNCIL assemble in the Council Chamber at Guildhall, and may be described as the City Legislature: its general business being to make laws for the due government of the City and its Liberties. All the various Committees* for managing the affairs of the Corporation, are chosen out of this body; but no Commoner is eligible to serve on more than four Committees. The Common Serjeant, the Town-Clerk, the Comptroller, the Remembrancer, the Solicitor, the Bailiff of Southwark, the Comptroller of the Bridge House, the Water-Bailiff, and many subordinate officers are appointed by this Court.

As the Citizens of London cannot be impleaded out of their own boundaries, the *Courts of King's Bench* and *Common Pleas*, are consequently held within the City, at Guildhall, before the Lord Chief Justice, and the other Judges of the realm, during term time.

There is yet one other principal Court to notice, which is held within the City, namely, the *Court of Oyer and Terminer*, for the trial of criminals for crimes committed in London and Middlesex. This is held eight times yearly under the King's Commission, in Justice Hall, in the Old Bailey. The Judges of this Court are, the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen past the Chair, and the Recorder, who, on these occasions, are attended by the Sheriffs, and generally by one or more of the national Judges. Every kind of crime,

* Among these, is the Committee for Letting the City Lands, which consists of six Aldermen and twelve Commoners; and the Committee for transacting the affairs connected with the benefactions, of Sir Thomas Gresham, consisting of four Aldermen, (including the Lord Mayor,) and eight Commoners. The Governor, Deputy Governor, &c. for managing the City possessions in the province in Ireland, are also, by Royal Grant, appointed by this Court.

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crime, for which the law has provided, can be punished by this Court; the prisoners are tried by a Jury of Citizens for offences within the City, and by a Middlesex Jury for those committed in the County.

The *Courts of Ward-mote* and *Hall-mote* are of more confined operation; the former may be regarded as a relique of the Saxon Folk-mote, though with abridged powers, and only composed of the inhabitants of a single Ward. They assemble, occasionally, under precepts issued by the Lord Mayor, and are held before the Alderman of the Ward, or his deputy, to correct disorders, remove annoyances, and promote the general interest of each Ward respectively; but when the business of the Court is to elect an Alderman, the Lord Mayor presides. In every Ward a Ward-mote Court is held annually on St. Thomas's Day, for the election of the Common Councilmen and other officers. The *Courts of Hall-mote* are held by the City Companies, in their respective Halls, or places of meeting, for the transaction of the private affairs of each Corporation.

The numerous franchises and immunities of the City of London, will be best comprehended from a brief retrospection of the various CHARTERS that have been given by successive sovereigns, to the great confirmatory one granted by Charles the Second in the year 1663; wherein all its ancient privileges, liberties, rights, and customs, were for ever established, "in return for the late tokens of Loyalty discovered in the said City towards his Person and Government, by their effectual aid to restore him to the Crown."

William the Conqueror, in two Charters, confirmed briefly to the Citizens all the laws they enjoyed in the reign of King Edward (the Confessor), and decreed that every child should be his father's heir.

Henry the First, in a more extensive Charter, particularly notices the ancient customs and immunities of London, and grants to the Citizens, in perpetuity, the Sheriffdom of Middlesex; empowers them to chuse their own Sheriffs and Justices, and

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and "none other to be Justices over them;" exempts them from impleading without the Walls, from scot and lot contributions, dane-gelt, waging of battle, mulcts for murder, payment of tolls and customs throughout all England, &c. and orders that none of the King's household, or any other, should be lodged in the City by force; that no Citizen shall be adjudged in amerciaments of money, but of 100l.;" that there shall be no miskenning in the Hustings, nor in the Folk-mote, nor in any other place within the City; that the Citizens enjoy their lands, premises, bonds and debts, according to the laws of the City; and that they shall have their Chaces and hunt in the Chiltre, (that is, the Chiltern District in Bedfordshire and Herefordshire,) Middlesex and Surrey, in as full and ample a manner as ever their ancestors did.

In the Charter which is stated to have been granted by *Henry the Second*, and which is recited in Charles's confirmatory one, though there appears strong reasons for questioning its authenticity,* all the liberties granted or established by Henry the First's Charter are fully confirmed; with the further exemptions from all Bridtoll, (Bridge-toll); Childwite, (pecuniary fine for defiling or getting a bond-maid with child); Jeresgive, (toll or fine taken by the King's officers, on a person entering into office); and Scot-ale, "so as the Sheriff of London, or any other Bailiff, may take no Scot-ale."

Richard the First, in his fifth year, enlarged and confirmed all former privileges; and by a second Charter, granted three years afterwards, commanded that all Wears on the River Thames should be removed, and that none other should ever be put up within the Thames.

King John granted to the Citizens five Charters; the first confirmed the privileges bestowed by his immediate predecessors in nearly the same words†; the second ordered the removal of all Wears both upon the Thames and the Medway Rivers, and that

* See the preceding Volume, p. 119, 120.

† In Charles's confirmatory Charter, this is erroneously stated to be the third.

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none should in future be put up under the penalty of ten pounds; the third confirms the Sheriffwick of London and Middlesex "with all the customs belonging to it, both by land and water;" grants the Citizens power to remove the Sheriffs when they will," and makes *them* accountable to the Justices of the Exchequer, &c.; the fourth * abolishes and expels the Guild of Weavers from the City, "at the request of the Mayor and Citizens;" the fifth grants to the Barons of London the right of choosing a Mayor every year, or to continue him in office at their pleasure, and confirms all their liberties, both by land and by water, "saving to us our Chamberlainship."

Henry the Third granted no fewer than nine Charters, the first five of which bear date in his eleventh year, and were given on the consideration that the Citizens should pay him a fifteenth of their personal estates. The four first are only confirmations of former privileges, in regard to the Sheriffwick of London and Middlesex, the annual election of a Mayor, the removal of Weirs on the Thames and the Medway, and the general and ancient rights of the Citizens to be governed by their own laws. By the fifth the forest and warren of Staines, are dis-forrested and unwarrened; and all the inhabitants of Middlesex and their heirs, empowered to till and plough, and cut wood, &c. without loss or impediment; the sixth confirms to the City the purchase of Queenhithe, with all its liberties, customs, and appurtenances whatever, which had been recently bought from Richard, Earl of Cornwall, at the fee-farm of fifty pounds yearly; the seventh is confirmatory of former liberties, and admits of the Mayor's being presented to the Barons of the Exchequer in the King's absence from Westminster, it also abates seven pounds yearly, payable by the Citizens "on account of the Liberty of St. Paul's;" the eighth permits the Citizens to traffic and carry on trade in whatever part of the Kingdom they thought proper, without the payment of tolls and customs, and as well by sea as by land; the ninth restores to the City all its ancient rights and immunities, (which

* This is wrongly stated as the fifth in the confirmatory Charter.

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(which Henry had seized in the Barons' wars) confirming that no Citizen should be compelled to plead without the Walls, &c. "except for those things that shall happen to be done against our peace, which according to the Common Law of our Realm, are wont to be determined in those parts where the trespasses are committed, and except pleas concerning merchandizes, which are wont to be determined by the Laws of Merchants in Boroughs and Fairs; so that, notwithstanding, those plaints be determined in the Boroughs and Towns by four or five of the Citizens of London, who shall chance to be their present;" and, that they, (the Citizens) "may discharge themselves of the pleas of the crown according to their ancient customs, except only, that they shall not swear upon the graves of the dead, but that others be chosen to do that which the deceased should have done in his life." It likewise exempts them from all tolls for goods and merchandize, throughout all the sea-ports, as well on this side, as *beyond the seas*, excepting "every where our due and ancient customs and prices of wine." This Charter also provides against what is now called *forestalling*, under penalty and forfeiture of the goods bought, and pain of imprisonment and "great punishment;" and orders that none shall expose their wares for sale before the due customs be paid. It likewise gives permission to enroll the debts of Citizens on contracts and loans in the Exchequer, "for the better security of the same," one penny in the pound being paid for that privilege; reserves in all things "the Liberty of the Abbots and Monks of the Church of Westminster;" and declares, that "as touching Jews and Merchant-strangers," and other things not in the grant, relating to the City, "we and our heirs shall provide as to us shall seem expedient." This was the last Charter granted by this monarch, and bears date March the 26th, in his fifty-second year; namely, 1268.

Edward the First in a Charter bearing date in April, 1298, admitted the Mayor to be presented to the Constable of the Tower for approval, during the absence of the King and the Barons of the Exchequer from Westminster; it also exempted the

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Citizens for ever from Pannage, Pontage, and Murage; restored to them all their former liberties, freedoms, quittals, and free-customs, (which had long been seized into the King's hands), and ordered that the Sheriffs of London, for any offence, should be amerced in like manner as the other Sheriffs of the Realm.

In the reign of *Edward the Second*, the City Magistracy having assumed the whole authority of the Corporation in the appointment of officers, the imposition of arbitrary taxes, the withholding the rights of freemen, and many other acts contrary to the chartered and prescriptive rights of the whole body of the Citizens, it was determined, after much dispute, that certain Articles should be drawn up, and signed with the Common Seal, and the seal of the officers of the Mayoralty, declaratory of the rights of the Commonalty, and imperative as to what should be the future regulations respecting the appointment of the Chief Magistrates, the admission of freemen, &c. These Articles, after some corrections, were confirmed by the King in the year, 1318; they may be regarded as explanatory of former Charters, and are stated to have been confirmed by Richard the Second, in his general confirmation of the ancient liberties of the City, enacted by the Parliament in 1384; yet they are not mentioned in Charles the Second's confirmatory Charter. They direct, among other things, that the Mayor and Sheriffs shall be chosen by the Citizens; that the Mayor shall remain in office only one year together, "nor hold any other office during that time," nor "draw to himself the Sheriff's plea in the Chamber of London, nor hold other pleas than those the Mayor, according to ancient custom, ought to hold." That the Aldermen be removed from year to year on St. Gregory's Day, and not be re-elected; that all talliages or aids, after assessment by the "men of the Wards," elected for the purpose, shall not be increased, but by the joint consent of the Mayor and Commonalty; and that the proceeds shall be delivered into the custody of four honest men, Commoners of the City, to be chosen by the Commonalty, who shall be informed by them, to "what profit and for what uses these monies

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monies go;" that the Common Seal shall remain in the custody of two Aldermen and two Commoners, to be chosen by the Commoners, and "that it be not denied neither to poor nor rich when they need it," and that without fee; that judgments shall not be deferred in the Courts of the City; that the weights and scales of merchandizes, "the issues coming of which belong to the Commonalty," shall "remain in the custody of honest and sufficient men, to be chosen by the Commonalty;" that neither the Sheriffs nor their deputies shall take undue tolls or customs; that the Common harbourers in the City and its Suburbs, though not freemen, shall be subject to the contingent burthens for maintaining the said City; that the keeping of the Bridge with its rents and profits shall be committed to two other and sufficient men other than the Aldermen, to be chosen by the Commonalty, who shall also appoint the Chamberlain, Common Clerk, and Common Serjeant; that the two latter officers, with the Mayor and the Recorder, shall be content with their fees anciently appointed, and not take other fees; and that the goods of the Aldermen in all talliages, &c. shall be taxed as the goods of the other Citizens in their respective Wards. These Articles were all "approved and ratified" by the King, who also granted by the same Letters Patent, that "the Mayor, Aldermen, Citizens, and Commonalty of the Commoners of the City, for the necessities and profits of the same City, may among themselves, of their common assent, assess talliages upon their own goods within the City, as well upon the rents as other things, and as well upon the *mysteries* (Guilds or Companies), as in any other way they shall see expedient, and levy them without incurring the danger of us or our heirs, or our ministers whomsoever; and that the money coming from such talliages remain in the custody of four honest and lawful men of the said City, to be chosen to this by the Commonalty, and be laid out for the necessities and profits of the said City, and not otherwise." Many of the rights now exercised by the Court of Common Council are evidently grounded upon the above Articles. Another Grant or Charter given by Edward the Second, provides

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that the "*aid* of armed footmen," thankfully done of late "by the Mayor and the good men of the City of London," shall not be drawn into precedent either by himself or his heirs.

Edward the Third granted various Charters to the Citizens, two of which bear date in March, 1327, within two months after his accession. The first Charter is very ample, and besides confirming all the ancient privileges of the City, whether founded upon Charter or custom, revokes and annuls every usurpation upon them, that had been made from the earliest times, and in whatever manner. It grants also, that the Mayor and his Successors shall be Justices for the gaol delivery of Newgate, and named in every Commission thereof, and shall have the chattels of all felons convicted within the City and its Liberties; that the Citizens have liberty to devise their lands in London, in mortmain, or otherwise, as they were wont to do; that they shall not be accountable for those that took sanctuary in their churches, otherwise than of old; that the Sheriffs shall not be amerced for the escape of thieves, &c. any otherwise than as other Sheriffs on this side Trent; that all Merchant-strangers that come to England to sell their merchandizes and wares, shall dispose of them within forty days, and sojourn during that time with the Citizens; that neither the Marshal's Steward, nor Clerk of the Market of his household, shall exercise any powers within the City; that the Lord Mayor and none other, shall execute the office of Escheator; that the Citizens shall not be obliged to go, or send to war out of the City; that they shall, as they were wont, have their Keepers among themselves, to hold their pleas touching their covenants or contracts in the good fairs of England; that the Constable of the Tower shall not make any prizes of any victual, &c. coming to the City; that one writ of allowance of their Charters shall be sufficient for one King's time; that no summons, attachments, or executions, be made by any of the King officers within the Liberties of the City, but only by the City officers; that the Citizens shall only be "taxed as other Commons of the Kingdom," and not as Citizens; that they be

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be quit of talliage; that the Liberties of the City be not taken into the King's hands for any personal trespass or judgment of any Minister of the said City; that no purveyor or other officer of the King shall take any goods or wines without consent of the owners; that no markets shall in future be granted within seven miles in circuit of the City; and that all inquisitions, excepting those of the Tower of London, and the Gaol delivery of Newgate, shall thenceforth be taken in St. Martin's-le-Grand, in London, and not elsewhere. By the second Charter, the Village of Southwark, with its appurtenances, was granted to the Citizens, "to have and to hold to them, their heirs, and successors," being Citizens, in perpetuity, on payment of the accustomed farms (rents) yearly into the Exchequer. This Grant, as well as the former one, was made with the consent of the Parliament. The third Charter, dated in 1337, is confirmatory of ancient rights; the fourth, granted in 1342, contains an *inspeximus* of Henry the Third's Charter regarding the Mayor and Sheriffs, and likewise of the Articles for the better government of the City, confirmed by Edward the Second, and concludes with declaring that, though the Citizens have not hitherto fully used any of the liberties, acquittals, articles, or free-customs, contained in the said Charter and Letters," yet they may henceforth fully enjoy them, or any of them, for ever; the fifth allows the Mayors of London to have gold or silver maces carried before them;* the sixth was explanatory of the right of removing the Aldermen every year; and the seventh confirmed and established the liberties of the City, in respect to the residence of Merchant-strangers, the sale of their merchandize, wines, &c. upon condition that the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens, should govern the City to the King's honour, and the profit of the Realm.

Richard the Second, in his seventh year, with the consent of Parliament, confirmed all the Liberties and Franchises of the City by a new Charter, which recited most of those granted by preceding

* See before, p. 109.

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ceding Sovereigns, and that, "*Licet usi non fuerunt, vel abusi fuerunt.*"

Henry the Fourth, in his first year (anno 1399) granted the Citizens another Charter of confirmation, and vested the custody of all the gates and posterns belonging to the City in the Citizens; together with the office of gathering all the accustomed tolls and customs in Chepe, Billingsgate, and Smithfield; and also the tronage or weighing of lead, wax, pepper, allum, madder, and other like wares, for ever.

Edward the Fourth granted to the City four new Charters; the first, bearing date in 1462, renews all its ancient rights and free customs, and grants that the Mayor, Recorder, and such Aldermen as have been Mayors, shall be Justices of the Peace within the City and its Liberties; and also Justices of Oyer and Terminer for the trial, &c. of all malefactors within their jurisdiction; that, upon issue being joined in any place whatever, regarding the customs of the City, the Mayor and Aldermen shall be admitted to testify and declare, by the "word of mouth" of the Recorder, whether "such be a custom or not," and that such declaration shall be allowed as valid without further process; that all persons inhabiting within the City, excepting the "merchants of Almain, who have a house in the said City, called the Guildhall of the Almains," shall duly contribute towards all taxes, grants and talliages; that certain exemptions in regard to offices without the City, shall be allowed to all who have been at the cost and trouble of filling the respective situations of Mayor and Alderman; that the "Town of Southwark," with its appurtenances, and all waifs and strays, treasure trove, handiwork, goods and chattels of condemned traitors, felons, &c. goods disclaimed or found in the said town, with all escheats and forfeitures, shall belong to the Lord Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens, "as fully and wholly as we should have them if the same town were in our hands;" together with the assize of bread, wine, beer, and ale, and all other saleable victuals and things whatsoever; that they shall

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shall also have the execution and return of all writs, precepts, warrants, &c.; and that neither the King's Clerk of the Market, nor the Sheriff or Escheator of Surrey, shall, in any respect, intermeddle therein; that they shall have liberty to hold a three days fair, annually, with a Court of Pye-Poudre in the said town, with view of frank-pledge, and every thing thereunto appertaining, with power to arrest all felons, thieves, &c. and commit them to Newgate; and furthermore, that they shall have all manner of liberties, privileges, franchises, rights, &c. as "we ourselves should or might there have, if the same town were in our own hands;" the rights of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and "of other persons therein always saved," and the Citizens paying ten pounds yearly for the ancient farm thereof. By the second Charter the tronage and weighing of all wool brought to the City, or within three miles, were fixed at Leadenhall; by the third the City was licensed to purchase lands, rents, &c. in mortmain, to the value of 200 marks by the year, upon the release to the King of 1923l. 9s. 8d. then due to the City; by the fourth, in consideration of a like remission of the sum of 7,000l. and under the sanction of Parliament, the respective offices of package, portage, garbling, guaging, and wine drawing, were granted to the Citizens, with all fees, emoluments, &c. and also the office of Coroner within the City. This most important Charter, in respect to the revenue derived from it to the City, is dated in June, 1478.

Henry the Seventh, in his twentieth year (anno 1505) granted a Charter of Confirmation to the City, in respect to their lately acquired right of guaging, and to their more ancient privileges of buying and selling to the exclusion of Merchant-strangers, unless under particular restrictions.

Henry the Eighth granted two Charters; by the first, dated in his tenth year, he permits the removal of the inquisitions before taken in St. Martin's-le-Grand, to Guildhall, or any other place within the City; and, in the second, (anno 1531), he cancels an illegal Patent "relating to the great beam and common balance," declares,

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declares, that the keeping of the said beam and weights, &c. belong to the City by prescription, and ordains, that the weights and beams for weighing merchandize be, and ought to be, in the hands of persons chosen by the Mayor and Commonalty; and that they shall have the tronage of all wax, lead, pepper, allum, &c, as granted by Henry the Fourth.

Edward the Sixth, by a Charter dated in his fourth year (anno 1551) and in consequence of the payment of 647l. 2s. 1d. grants to the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens, a variety of messuages, tenements, closes, and parcels of ground, in the Borough of Southwark, St. George's Fields, and the Parishes of Lambeth and Newington, which had been purchased by Henry the Eighth from Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, but excepts the capital messuage and mansion-house, called Southwark Place, the Park, and the Antelope, with their gardens and appurtenances. He also grants to them the lordship and manor of Southwark, with all its appurtenances in Surrey, as fully as they had belonged to the late Monastery in Bermondsey; and also the manor and Borough of Southwark, with all its rights, the late parcel of the possessions of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, together with the rents and services arising from various Inns and tenements (specified in the Charter) in Southwark and Newington, which had likewise been parcel of the said See. These were all given to the Citizens in the most full and ample manner, together with all woods, &c. and the very "soil and ground" of "all and singular the said premises." By the same Charter, and in consideration of the further sum of 500l. all the rights of the City, in respect to the town and Borough of Southwark, which had been granted by Edward the Fourth and his predecessors, were confirmed and enlarged, and many new privileges conferred; and all of them to be held as fully as if the same "Borough or Town were or had remained in the hands of Us or our Heirs." It also ordains, that all and singular the inhabitants of Southwark, and of the Parishes and Precincts granted by the Charter, shall be under the Magistracy and government of the Mayor and officers of

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of London, as the Citizens and inhabitants of the said City be; and that the said Mayor, &c. have the same jurisdiction in Southwark as in London; that they shall hold pleas in London for matters in Southwark, and have cognizance of all manner of pleas, actions, plaints, and suits arising out of Southwark; that they may appoint two Coroners for Southwark; that the Mayor of London, for the time being, shall be perpetual Escheator, with full power to issue his precepts to the Sheriff of Surrey, to execute such things as belong to that office; and that the Mayor shall also be Clerk of the Market within the said Borough, Town, Parishes, and precincts. The only material reservations made by this Charter, are the rights, &c. belonging to Southwark Place, its gardens, park, and precincts; the King's Bench and Marshelsea, with their appurtenances, as long as they shall continue to be used as prisons; the rights of the Steward or Marshal of the King's House "within the verge;" and those of Sir John Gate, Knt. a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, in regard to certain premises granted to him during his life.

James the First granted three Charters to the City; the first was given for the prevention of disputes regarding the Conservatorship of the River Thames, and the measuring of coals, grain, salt, apples, pears, roots, and other wares and merchandize brought into the Port of London; all which privileges were, by this Charter, renewed and confirmed, and the Conservancy of the "Water of Thames" declared to have been from time immemorial vested in, and executed by, the Mayor and Commonalty, from Staines Bridge, in the County of Middlesex, to Yenland or Yenfleet, towards the sea, and in Medway, with all fees, profits, &c. thereunto belonging. The second Charter contains a full and general confirmation of all preceding ones, and extends the jurisdiction and liberties of the City through the several precincts of Duke's Place, St. Bartholomew's the Great and Less, Black Friars, White Friars, and Cold Harbour, with an exception as to the levying of certain taxes, fifteenths, &c. on the inhabitants of the Black and White Friars, who are likewise exempted from the

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the offices of Constable and Scavenger. It grants, further, that the Mayor, Recorder, and such Aldermen who have been Mayors, shall be Justices of Oyer and Terminer, that the Mayor and the Recorder be always of the *Quorum*; that no other Justice do intermeddle in the City or its Liberties, and that the Sheriffs be aiding and assisting to the said Justices. By the third Charter, which bears date in September, 1613, and in which London is styled the "Royal Chamber," the weighing and measuring of all coals brought into the Port of London are granted to the City, together with the fee of eight-pence per ton to be applied to the use of the Mayor and Commonalty. It also ordains, that no coal vessel be unladen till the Mayor have notice; that no coal be sold by retail in lighters, nor in any other vessel than that which brought them, nor unless upon some Quay or Wharf near the river Thames.

Charles the First, in a new and very extensive Charter, dated in his fourteenth year, October the 18th (anno 1638) confirms and restores to the Citizens every right, immunity, franchise, and privilege, which they had ever enjoyed, either from the Letters Patent, Charters, or Confirmations granted by his predecessors, or from use or prescription, excepting some few that are therein excepted. He then mentions two former grants, the first of the twenty-third of Henry the Sixth, which had given to the Citizens for ever, all soils, commons, preprestures, and improvements in all wastes, commons, streets, ways, and other places within the City and Suburbs, and in the water of Thames, with the profits and rents of the same, (the validity of which grant was doubted in consequence of an Act of general resumption passed subsequently in Parliament); and the second of the twentieth of Henry the Seventh, reciting and confirming various donations, confirmations, restitutions, ordinances, &c. (upon which questions had arisen through the force of the same statute); and then proceeds to confirm them both in all their most essential particulars.

He next grants, that the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, who have passed the chair, as well as the three senior Aldermen who

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who have not borne the office of Mayor, shall be Justices of the Peace within the City and its Liberties; and have power as well to punish all offences against the laws, as to commit to the gaol of Newgate all those who shall threaten to injure the bodies or burn the houses of any of his people, and refuse to give a sufficient security for the keeping of the peace, and for good behaviour. He likewise grants that four of the said Justices, the Mayor, or Recorder to be always one, may hold sessions to hear and determine on all "murders, felonies, poisonings, *witchcrafts, enchantments, sorceries, magic arts,* transgressions, false conspiracies, and other misdemenours; forestallings, regratings, ingrossings (probably forgeries), extortions, conventicles, &c." and have power to execute the laws in as ample a manner and form, as any other Justices or Keepers of the Peace in any part of the Realm. He grants, also, that the Mayor and Commonalty shall have the forfeiture of all recognizances, particularly those relating to bastard children, inmates, alehouses, and the non-appearance of prisoners at the sessions of gaol delivery; together with the fines and issues of jurors, and all others, except fines and issues royal. He likewise grants them all recognizances forfeited, and all fines, amerciaments, and penalties levied in regard to the Conservatorship of the River Thames; as well as all penalties imposed by the Commissioners of sewers. He further grants to them all buildings and erections of whatever kind, with all yards, conduits, water-courses, &c. that either have or may hereafter be made or inclosed on any waste ground or place, within the City and its Liberties, or in the river or water of Thames, or along the shore belonging to the same.

By the same Charter he grants to the Mayor and Citizens, all the fields named *Inward Moor*, and *Outward Moor*, (generally called Moorfields), lying in the several parishes of St. Giles, without Cripplegate; St. Stephen, Coleman Street; and St. Botolph, without Bishopsgate; together with the whole of *West Smithfield*, (with power to hold fairs and markets in the latter, and receive all manner of rents and profits thereunto appertaining), excepting only the streets, lanes, and alleys, "and waste or void

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void grounds," to hold for ever in free burgage, and not *in capite* or by Knights Service;* with remission of all issues, rents, &c. relating to the said premises, without any writ of *ad quod dammum*, and pardon of all intrusions and incroachments, except such as relate to Churches and Church-walls. He also confirms and amplifies the right of the City to the garbling of spices, and other merchandize and things, "which ought to be garbled," at any time arriving or coming to the City of London, and by what name or appellation soever they are known or at present called, or shall hereafter be called or known;" and whether they "have wont to be imported, or shall happen in time to come to be imported," together with all fees, profits, and benefits, attending the same; the garbling of tobacco only excepted: the fees for spices, &c. not hitherto garbled, to be fixed by the Lord Chancellor and other state officers.

He further grants to the Mayor and Citizens the office of guaging wines, oils, and all other guagable merchandizes, with all fees and emoluments whatever; such fees upon things not hitherto gauged to be fixed by the Lord Chancellor, &c. He also confirms the right of keeping the common balance and standard *avoirdupois*, and of all weights whatsoever, with all fees and profits; such fees upon articles not hitherto weighed, being settled as before by the Lord Chancellor, and other officers.

By the same Charter, the King erects the new office of Outroper, or Common Crier, for the City and its Liberties, and the Borough of Southwark, "to and for the selling of household stuff, apparel, leases of houses, jewels, goods, chattels, and other things, of all persons who shall be willing that the same be sold by public and open claim, commonly called *outcry*;" and grants it to the Mayor and Citizens, with power to execute it by deputy, and to

* In respect to this Grant, however, the Charter expressly states, that no person shall have permission from the Crown to erect any new building upon either of the fields called the *Inner Moor*, or the *Outer Moor*, or in *West Smithfield*, "but that the said separate fields and places, be reserved, disposed, and continued to such like common and public uses as the same heretofore and now, are used, disposed, or converted to."

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to take certain fees agreeably to an annexed schedule; all other persons within the City and its Liberties, and the Borough of Southwark being forbidden to sell by a similar outcry.*

He also grants that the widows of freemen, as long as they shall continue so, may exercise their husbands' arts and manual occupations, notwithstanding the Statute of the fifth of Elizabeth, or any other to the contrary; confirms the exclusion of any new market within seven miles of the City, as well as the ancient right of the Mayor and Aldermen to record their customs by the mouth of the Recorder, touching any deed, plea, cause, or business regarding the City, and their right to all treasure trove, waifs, estrays, &c. and empowers the Mayor for the time being to nominate two Aldermen for Justices of the Peace, the one to act and be inserted in all the commissions for the County of Middlesex, and the other for the County of Surrey.

The Charter then recites, that many sons of freemen, and others who had served an apprenticeship of seven years, have refused, or delayed to become freemen, though they have participated in the privileges, and obtained great profits, and avoided the serving of offices. The King therefore decrees, that no such person, resident in the City, or within ten miles, shall either directly or indirectly, exercise the business of a Merchant from the Port of London, and that no Society of Merchants whatever, trading beyond seas, shall admit such person to traffic or merchandise in foreign parts, without his becoming a freeman, and producing a testimonial, or certificate, to prove the same from the office of the Chamberlain; and that no freeman within the above distance of the City and its Liberties, shall take an apprentice for a less term than seven years; such apprentice to be bound

* How grievously must the nature of property and the due right of its possessors have been misunderstood when such a restriction could have been imposed over an extensive metropolis; and how greatly the course of events has out-run these impolitic restraints on the freedom of trade may be estimated from the advertisements in every newspaper, of the numerous *Public Auctions*, which have sprung from these *outcries* of our ancestors.

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bound and inrolled according to the custom of the City, and not otherwise. He also confirms the jurisdiction of the Court of Requests, as established by the act of the third of James the First, and ordains that there shall be a Clerk of that Court, to be named by the Mayor and Commonalty, whose office shall be to enter and register the warrants, processes, acts, orders, and executions of the said Court, with certain fees and wages; and a Beadle of the same, to summon persons to appear, &c. He likewise ordains, that in consequence of the number of robberies and burglaries, daily committed, there shall be an Office with a Register, to record particulars of all sales and pawns made by retail-brokers within the City and its Liberties, under the appointment and controul of the Mayor and Commonalty; and that the Citizens shall have liberty to hang out signs over the streets, &c. for the better distinguishing their houses, shops, and occupations.

The Charter next recites an act made by Henry the Eighth, in his twenty-eighth year, to the City, of the government of Bethlem Hospital, and all its manors, lands, tenements, and possessions, which it then fully confirms, "so that none of the appertaining revenues and possessions be ever converted to any other use, than to the charitable works now belonging to, or applied in, the same Hospital;" but, at the same time, it forbids the letting of any of the said possessions in reversion, or for a more extended term than twenty-one years. It also gives liberty to purchase five acres of land in St. Giles's in the Fields, (now a part of Tottenham Court Road, Alfred Place, &c.) notwithstanding the statute of mortmain, to be held *in capite* by Knight's Service, together with the right of building on the same land without further license.

In another Charter granted by Charles the First, in his sixteenth year (anno 1640) in consideration of the sum of 4,200l. the right of package, portage, scavage, and balliage, are fully confirmed to the City, as well in respect to cloths, wool, wool-fells, calves skins goat skins, and tin, as all other merchandize to be "packed, casked, piped, barrelled, or otherwise vesselled," and exported from the Port of London, together with all fees and profits, according

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according to a schedule annexed, arising from the same, but subject to the payment yearly into the Exchequer the sum of 3l. 6s. 8d. by equal portions, at the Feasts respectively of St. Michael the Archangel, and of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin. By the same Charter, various places between London Bridge and Blackwall, named therein, where goods and merchandizes had been fraudulently laden and unladen, are declared to be within the jurisdiction of the City, and the said goods subject to the customary payments. The Mayor, &c. are also empowered to erect an office or offices for the due execution of the above employments.

The Confirmation made by Charles the Second, full and ample as it was, could not preserve the rights and franchises of the City from the corrupt and arbitrary practices that were carried on in the latter part of his reign, under the tyrannical authority of the Duke of York. London in common with all the other Corporations in the Kingdom, was obliged to surrender its Liberties into the hand of despotism, under a writ of *Quo warranto*, for pretended malversations; but this forced forfeiture, which violated equally the natural rights of the community, and the chartered privileges conferred by a long series of monarchs, proved in its consequences the principal means of the deserved expulsion from the throne of the degraded race of the House of Stuart. Even James himself, in the extremity of his affairs,* was convinced that he had done wrong; and, when too late, he ordered the City-Charters to be restored: yet to give a complete and requisite *legal* effect to this restoration, the forfeiture having been obtained under the *forms of law*, one of the earliest acts of the Parliament after the Revolution, was to reverse and make void every proceeding by which the franchises of the City had been seized.

The preamble to this Statute declares, that "the Judgment given in the Court of King's Bench, in or about Trinity Term, in the thirty-fifth of the late King Charles the Second, upon an information,

* For particulars, see preceeding Volume, p. 461,
† Ibid, p. 474.

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mation, in the nature of a *Quo warranto*, against the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London, that the Liberty, Privilege, and Franchise of the said Mayor, &c. should be seized into the King's hands, as forfeited, was *illegal* and *arbitrary*;" it was therefore enacted, "that the said Judgment, and all the proceedings thereupon, shall be, and are hereby, reversed, annulled, and made void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, and that vacates be entered upon the folls of the said Judgment.*" Every right, charter, and immunity belonging to the City, were restored by the same Act, and all grants, &c. contrary to its Liberties, that might have been made by the two last Sovereigns, were declared null and void. The privileges of all the City Companies, which had been similarly violated, were likewise restored and confirmed to them in a full and ample manner, by the same Act. This was the last confirmation which the rights and franchises of the Citizens have received.

At what period the City became possessed of a regular MILITARY GOVERNMENT, distinct from that of the State, is uncertain; though from the various battles in which, as appears from history, the *Londoners* are particularly mentioned to have been engaged, it is most probable, that it was early in the Saxon times, or at least, as soon as the incursions of the Danes became frequent. In the time of the great Alfred, the '*Citizens*,' and others, brought the wife and two sons of the celebrated Danish Chief Hastings, prisoners to London, from the Castle at Beomfleofe, in Essex, which they had reduced;† and, in the time of Ethelred, *the Unready*, its inhabitants, repulsed the Danes, in several assaults, at different periods. Thrice also, in the reign of the brave Edmund *Ironside*, the *Citizens* successfully withstood the attacks of Canute; and, in the year 1066, after the defeat and death of Harold, the Londoners spiritedly refused to open their gates to the Conqueror, till the base example of submission had been first set by the Clergy, with the Archbishops of Canterbury

* Stat. at Lar. 2d Will. and Mary, 1690. † Stow's Ann. p. 104.

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terbury and York at their head, and followed by the principal Nobles and men of rank.

During the Barons' wars in the reigns of King Stephen, King John, and Henry the Third, the activity of the Citizens, and the military aids which they furnished, generally made the scale preponderate in favour of that party whose cause they espoused; yet the particular nature of their military establishment, and of the modes by which their levies were made in those times, are unknown. Both Henry the First and Stephen were indebted to the Citizens for their thrones, and the ever-memorable *Magna Charta* was wrested from the unwilling grasp of King John, chiefly by the assistance which the Londoners had rendered to the Barons.* They were foremost also in several bold attempts to rescue the Kingdom from the unmitigated despotism of Henry the Third: on one occasion (anno 1263) says Stow, who refers to the annals of Hyde Abbey, "the Citizens fortified the City with yron chains, drawne overthwarte their streets, munited the Cittie, and did marveilous things."

From various occurrences in the time of Edward the Second, it would seem that the City had then a respectable force of armed men, as well as the power of bringing them into immediate action in cases of emergency. We learn from Walsingham that, during the contentions in the year 1321, between the Nobility and the King, a Parliament was summoned at Westminster, for the purpose of deciding on the fate of the Spencers, and that the confederate Barons, being apprehensive of treachery, came

 attended

* Fitz-Stephen in his ancient Tract on London, says, *Urbs ista Viris est honorata, Armis decorata, multo Habitatore populosa, ut Tempore bellicæ Cladis sub Rege Stephano Bello apti, ex ea exeuntes qui ostentati, haberentur* 20,000 *Equitum armatos, et* 60 *mille Peditum æstimarentur.* "This City is honoured with her men, graced with her arms, and peopled with a multitude of inhabitants. In the fatal wars under King Stephen, there went out to a Muster men fit for war, to the estimated number of 20,000 Horsemen armed, and 60,000 Footmen." If there be no mistake in these numbers, as some writers have supposed, they would testify a far more extensive population at that early period than is generally believed.

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attended by a great number of troops, who were lodged in the suburbs round London. On this occasion the Mayor, to prevent any danger from accruing to the City through such an assemblage, appointed a guard of a thousand Citizens, completely armed, to be posted at the gates and other places from four in the morning till six in the evening, after which they were relieved by the night-watch; this also consisted of a thousand armed men, who remained at their posts, under the inspection of two Aldermen and certain officers, till the day-guard was again set.*

Shortly afterwards, an affront having been offered to the Queen at Leedes Castle, in refusing her admittance while journeying from Canterbury, "the King," says Stow, "herewith being offended, as being done in contempt of him, calling to him y^e *Commons* of Essex and *London*, besieged the Castle, which belonged to Bartholomew de Badlesmere, who having left his wife and children therein, was gone with the rest of the noble menne, to the ransacking of the Spencers' goods."† After some siege the Castle was forced to surrender at discretion, and Edward was so well pleased with the assistance which the Citizens had rendered him in this, and other instances, that he granted, by his Letters Patent, that "the aid of *armed footmen*," furnished by "the Mayor and good men of London," should not be prejudicial to them, nor drawn into consequent for time to come."‡

But the more decisive proof, perhaps, of the City having a regular and independent military establishment in this reign, may be found in the answer given to the King, on his demanding a supply of men and money from the Citizens in the year 1326, after the Queen had taken part with the associated Barons. Their words were, that, "they would shut their gates against all foreign Traitors, but they would not go out of their City to fight, except they might, according to their liberties, return home again the same day before the sun set."§ Soon afterwards, the Londoners seized the keys of the Tower, by force, from Sir John de Weston,

* Fabian's Chron. P. 7.
† Howe's Stow, p. 220.
‡ See preceding Volume, p. 148.
§ Stow's Ann. p. 338.

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Weston, whom the King had appointed Governor; and by their decided conduct, (mingled, indeed, with many proceedings of lawless violence) had considerable influence on the events that led to the dethronement of the ill-fated sovereign.

During the French wars, in the reign of Edward the Third, (*circa*, anno 1346) the City supplied the Royal army with one hundred men-at-arms (that is, clothed in armour and on horseback) and five hundred armed foot-soldiers. About this time the practice of *Archery*, for which the English had long been famous, and which had given them a great superiority over their Continental enemies, appears to have been getting much into disuse; but Edward, who well knew the utility of the exercise, directed a Letter to the Sheriffs of London, in his thirty-ninth year, commanding them to make proclamation that every one, "strong in body," within the City and its Liberties, should, in their recreations, use "bows and arrows, or pellets, or bolts, and learn and exercise the art of shooting." The reason for this command will be found in the King's own words: "because the people of our Realm, as well of good quality as mean, have commonly in their sports, before these times, exercised the skill of shooting arrows; whence it is well known that honour and profit have accrued to our whole Realm, and to us, by the help of God, no small assistance in our warlike acts." *

Stow's account of the Insurrection headed by Wat Tyler, in the reign of Richard the Second, furnishes some incidental notices, from which it may be inferred, that a certain portion of the Citizens was regularly trained to arms. After Wat Tyler had been mortally wounded in Smithfield, and had fallen from his horse, Walworth, the Mayor, rode speedily into the City and demanded succour for the King, "when the Citizens," says the historian, "in whose hearts the love of the King was engrafted, *sodainely, seemely arrayed*, to the number of a thousand men, tarryed in the Streetes for some one of the *Knights* to lead them—and by fortune Sir Robert Knowles came in that instant, whom they all

 requested

* Rot. Claus. 39th of Edward the Third.

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requested to be their leader, least comming out of order, and not in *good array*, they mought easily be broken; who gladly brought part of them: Sir Parducase Dalbert, and other Knights brought the rest to the King's presence"—"The King, and those that were with him, Knights and Esquires, rejoycing at the unhoped-for comming of the Maior, and those *armed men*, sodainly compassed all the multitude of the Commons."* All the circumstances of this account imply, that the force collected by Walworth was a *disciplined* body; yet in what particular manner the men were armed, does not appear: it is probable that most of them were Archers.

The Insurrection under Jack Cade, in the time of Henry the Sixth (anno 1450) affords another proof of the City then having an armed establishment. That chieftain was at first received by the Citizens in a friendly manner, but after murder and robbery had tracked his footsteps "then the Mayor and Aldermen, with assistance of the worshipful Commoners, took counsell how they might drive the Captaine and his adherents from the Citie;" and on the next night (Cade and his followers having previously retired into Southwark) "the Maior and the Citizens, with Matthew Gough, kept the passage of the Bridge and opposed the Kentish men, which made great force to re-enter the Citie." The battle continued till nine o'clock on the following morning, "so that sometime the Citizens had the better and sometime the other; but ever they kept them upon the Bridge—thus continuing the cruell fight to the destruction of much people on both sides." This contention was at length ended by a truce for a few hours, and the insurgents being disheartened by their ill success, were soon afterwards dispersed through the politic conduct of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who sent them a general pardon.†

Within

* Howe's Stow, p. 289, 290.

† Stow's Ann. p. 636. "The fourth of December" [in the same year] "the King and his Lordes rode through the Citie of London with a great army of men well appointed, and divided into three battells. Also the

Citizens

Within a few years afterwards, when the disputes between the rival Houses of York and Lancaster were carried into open warfare, an attempt at reconciliation was made, and the leaders of each party met in London (anno 1458) attended by great numbers of their armed followers. To prevent the confusion which might have arisen in a populous Capital through the presence of these adverse troops, Sir Godfrey Bolleyn, the Lord Mayor, caused a guard of 5,000 Citizens, '*completely armed*,' under his own command, to keep watch daily; and a similar guard of 2,000, under the order of three Aldermen, to secure the safety of the City in the night.*

Various other transactions, which occurred during the War of the Rival Houses, might be adduced in corroboration of the opinion already given; but of these, one only will suffice. In May, 1471, the bastard Fauconbridge made an unsuccessful attempt to rescue the unfortunate Henry the Sixth from imprisonment in the Tower; and, on this occasion, he came to London with 'a riotous company of Shipmen,' and others of Essex and Kent. "Being denied passage through the City," says Stow, "he set upon Bishopsgate, Aldgate, London Bridge, &c. along the Thames side, shooting arrows and guns into the Citty, fired the suburbs and brent more than sixty houses, wan the Bulwarkes at Aldgate and entred the Citty, but the porte-cluse (port-cullis) being let down, such as had entred were slaine, and then the Cittizens pursued the rest so far as Stratford and Blackwall, slaying many, and tooke many prisoners."†

Henry the Seventh, immediately after his accession to the throne, instituted a body-guard of fifty chosen Archers, "being strong and hardy persons,"‡ to attend him and his successors for

 ever.

Citizens, Armed, stood in the Streetes of the Citie, where through ye King passed, which altogether made ye greatest shew of armed men which had bin seene in London within the memory of any man then living. *Ibid.*

* Mait. Lond. p. 112. Edit. 1739. † Howe's Stow, p. 424.

‡ Ibid. p. 474.

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ever. Within a few years from this period, viz. in 1495, th practice of *Archery* appears to have been revived, or extended by the Citizens, as Stow, under that date, states "that all th gardens which had beene continued time out minde without Mooregate of London, were destroyed, and of them was mad a plaine fielde for Archers to shoote in.*

The reign of Henry the Eighth furnishes two instances of ge neral musters of the Citizens; the first, of which was in the ye year 1532, when the names of all the males, from the age o sixteen to sixty, were registered, and accounts of the 'harnesses and 'weapons of war,' taken. On that occasion "they dre out only such able men as had white harnesses and caused the all to appear in white coats and breeches, with white caps an feathers; and because notice was given them that the King woul see them mustered, they all prepared to appear as splendid a they could: and to that end, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, R corder, Sheriffs, and all that had been Sheriffs, had white harnes and over that, coats of black velvet, on which were embroidere the arms of the City; each of these also had a great gold chai and on their heads velvet caps, and in their hands battle-ax gilt; all of them being mounted on horses with rich trapping Each Alderman, and the Recorder, had four Halbertiers, in whi silk or buff coats, waiting on them, with their halberts gilt; an the Lord Mayor had sixteen tall men apparrelled in white satt doublets, caps, and feathers, chains of gold, and other gorgeou attire, with long gilt halberts, following his lordship at a distance

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* That the revival of Archery was made a subject of Legislative consid ration in the time of Henry the Seventh, is evident from the following *Ite* printed in *Caxton's Statutes*, at the end of the Act on Retainder, passed the second Parliament of that King. "For as much as the great and ancie defence of this Realm hath stood by *the Archers and Shooters in Lo Bows*, which is now left and fallen in decay for [from] the *excessive price* Long Bows, it is therefore ordained, &c. that if any person or perso sell any Long Bow over the price three Shillings, iiij. [pence] that then t seller, or sellers of such Bow forfeit for every Bow so sold, over the sa price, X Shillings to the King."

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but next to him, he had four footmen, attired in white sattin, then two pages cloathed in crimson velvet and cloth of gold, riding on fine horses richly furnished, one of them carrying the Lord Mayor's helmet, and the other his pole-axe, both richly gilt. Most of the Citizens of any quality or office, were clad in white sattin, or white silk coats, with chains of gold, and some had rich jewels."* The number of armed men who were mustered at this time is not recorded: they assembled at Mile End and were viewed by the King at Westminster. The second muster was in May, 1539, when 15,000 men, "all in bright harneis," were assembled under a Commission directed to the Lord Mayor, and passed in procession before the King, who was much pleased at their martial appearance.†

The transactions that occurred in London during the Insurrection of the Kentishmen, under Sir Thomas Wyat, in the reign of Queen Mary, afford additional evidence of the City having then a considerable military force; though not embodied, perhaps, with that regularity which subsequently took place in the time of her sister Elizabeth. On "the twenty-seventh of January" (anno 1554) says Stow, "the Lord Treasurer came to the Guildhall from the Councell, to request the Cittizens to prepare five hundred footmen, *well harnessed*, to goe against Wyat; which was granted, and *made ready the same night*, and on *the morrowe*, were delivered to their Captaines, and sent to Gravesend by water."‡ Within a week after this, while Wyat lay encamped at Greenwich and Deptford, "the moste parte of the Householders of London, with the Maior and Aldermen, were in harnesse"—and the "Justices, Serjeants at the law, and other Lawyers in Westminster Hall, pleaded in harnesse."§ At this period the Queen's party had full possession of the City; and Wyat, through that circumstance, and that alone, was defeated, and afterwards terminated his forfeit life upon the scaffold.

The

* Strype's Stow, Vol. II. p. 566. † See preceding Volume, p. 257.
‡ Stow's Ann. p. 1048.
§ Ibid. See also preceding Volume, p. 269—276.

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The alarms of a Spanish Invasion, in the reign of Elizabeth, led to a more regular organization of the City force than had before existed; yet several musters of the Citizens, of previous occurrence, evince that the primary arrangements had not been so incomplete as generally supposed. On the second of July, 1559, "the Citizens of London had a muster afore the Queenes Majestie at Greenewich in the Parke, of 1400 men, whereof 800 were pikemen, all in fine corselets, 400 harquebuts in shirts of mail, with morins, and 200 halbertiers, in almain rivets; which were furnished and set forth by the Companie of the Citie of London. They had to every hundred, two whifflers, richly apparelled, and twelve wardens of the best Companies, riding in coates of blacke velvet, to conduct them, with drums and fifes, and sixe ensignes; all in jerkins of white Bridges satten, cut and lined with blacke sarsenet, with caps, hosen, and skarfes according. The Captaines Robert Constable, and Master Saunders brought them in battell 'ray before the Queen, even as they should have fought; which made a goodly shew before her Majestie: the Emperours and French King's Ambassadours being present." *

In the year 1572, "by the commandment of the Queenes Majestie, her Counsell," the Citizens assembled at their several Halls, and the "most likely and active persons," of every Company, to the number of 3000, were "appointed to be pikemen and shot: the pikemen were forthwith armed in faire corslets and other furniture, according thereunto; the gunners hadde every of them his caliver with the furniture, and murrians on their heads. To these were appointed divers valiant Captains, who, to traine them up in warlike feats, mustred them thrice every week, sometimes in the Artillery Yard, teaching the gunners to handle their peeces; sometimes at the Miles end and in St. George's Field, teaching them to skirmish." † Though the use of musquetry was now rapidly taking place of that of the bow and arrow, the practice of Archery was not yet discontinued in the Capital; and in September, 1583, a general meeting of 3000 London Archers was held in

* Howe's Stow, p. 629. † Ibid. p. 671.

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in Smithfield, "where having performed their several evolutions, they shot at the target for glory." On this occasion the Archers were attended by whifflers, billmen, &c. to the amount of upwards of 4000.* Hence it would seem that the whole military force of the City, in the above year, amounted to between seven and eight thousand men.

About the year 1585, when the Spanish preparations for Invasion had begun to assume an imposing aspect, and the "Cittie of London was greatly troubled and charged with continuall musters and trayning of soldiers," the *Artillery Company* had its rise, as may be inferred from the following particulars given by Stow under the date 1588: "About three years before, certaine gallant, active, and forward Cittizens, having had experience both abroad and at home, voluntarily exercised themselves, and trayned uppe others, for the readie use of warre, so as within two years, there was almost three hundreth Marchants, and others of like quality, very sufficient and skilful to traine and teach common souldiers the managing of their peeces, pikes, and holbards, to march, countermarch, and ring; which said Marchants, for their owne perfection in military affayres and discipline, met every Tuesday in the year, practicing all usuall poynts of warre, and every man by turn bare orderly office, from the Corporall to the Captain: some of them this yeare had charge of men in the great Campe [at Tilbury] and were generally called *Captaines of the Artillery Garden.*"† The whole number of soldiers furnished by the City to repel the Invasion in 1588, was 10,000; and it is somewhat remarkable, that *nine-tenths* of that body, together with 1000 men that had been supplied by the County, were all included in the army appointed to guard her Majesty's person; the other 1000 of the City troops were sent to the Camp at Tilbury.‡

In

* See preceding Volume, p. 288. † Howe's Stow, p. 743.

‡ Howe's Stow, p. 749. In Strype's Stow's Lond. Vol. II. p. 567—571, are various regulations drawn up in the years 1586 and 1588, for defending the City and marshalling its inhabitants.

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In the year 1599, the City was thrown into considerable commotion through the preparations ordered to be made by Elizabeth, under pretence of another attempt of Invasion from Spain; but, in reality, to defeat the projects of her favourite, the Earl of Essex, who was expected by the Court to be coming with his army from Ireland to take vengeance on his enemies. At this time, six thousand Citizens, "in brave furniture, for they were householders of good accompt," * were daily trained to arms under their own officers; a moiety of them being appointed to attend on the Queen as her particular guard. The training was continued from the sixth of August till the fourth of September, when the men were disbanded; and "whatsoever had been feared," says Stow, "a thing unknown to the Comminaltie, good peace within this Realm has since followed." † During the attempt subsequently made by the Earl to raise a sufficient force to seize the person of Elizabeth (anno 1601) the Citizens remained quiescent, and Essex, in consequence, proved unsuccessful, and was quickly led to the scaffold. "From this time," says the historian, "untill all arraygnments and executions were past, the Cittizens were exceedingly troubled, and charged with double watches, and warding, as well about the Court as the Cittie." ‡

After the discomfiture of the Spanish Armada, the meetings in the Artillery Garden had been discontinued for upwards of twenty years, till the year 1610, at which time, the exertions of Philip Hudson, Lieutenant of the Company, and of "divers other Gentlemen and Citizens of London," revived the Association, they having "sufficient warrant and toleration granted them by the Lords of the Privy Counsell, unto whom they became humble sutors in the beginning, to prevent all future misconstruction of their honest intent and actions." Under this authority, and from the consideration of the necessity of a knowledge of arms in so populous a place, and of the inconveniences that had happened to Antwerp, and other "late populous and flourishing neighbour Citties, principally by reason of their neglect of that most noble exercise of arms

* Howe's Stow, p. 788. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 793.

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rms and martiall discipline, in times of wealth and peace, they, ke loving sonnes to so glorious a Citty," undertook, "at their wne private and particular charg, a weekly exercise of armes and ıilitary disipline, after the moderne and best fashion and in- truction now in use: and for their better ease and more conve- iency, they erected a strong and well furnished Armory in the saide round, in which are arms of severall sorts; and of such extra- rdinary beautie, fashion, and goodnes for service, as are hard to e matched elsewhere."* From this period, the Artillery Com- any obtained considerable repute, and many country gentle- nen, from every Shire, resorted to their ground, "and diligently bserved their exercise of arms, which they saw was excellent, nd, being returned, they practiced and used the same," in dis- ipling "the Trained Bands" in their respective Counties.†

In the autumn of the year 1614, King James commanded a general muster of all the horse and foot soldiers throughout Eng- and; and, on this occasion, 6000 troops were assembled under the conduct of twenty Captains appointed by the Lord Mayor and Commonalty. The Captains were "selected of the most ac- tive and forward Citizens, and unto every of them were allotted three hundred shot and pikes, being for the most part all house- holders, bravely furnished; and such of them as were not formerly of the Martial Societie and practise of the Artillerie Garden, be- came then admitted of that warlike Company."‡

During the disputes between the King and the Parliament, in the Time of Charles the First, the regular forces of the City, which were, at that period, distinguished by the appellation of the *Trained Bands*, were first embodied, or, as the phrase was, "drawn forth in arms" on the side of the Monarch; yet in the subsequent war, the Citizens supported the popular cause, and it was principally by their aid that the House of Commons obtained its decided preponderancy.§ So early as November, 1642, with- in

* Howe's Stow, p. 907.

† Ibid. p. 936. Further particulars of the Artillery Company will be given in the account of the Artillery Ground.

‡ Ibid. p. 936. § For particulars see preceding Volume, p. 338—367.

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in three months after Charles had erected his standard at Nottingham, the Trained Bands were marched out to join the Earl of Essex, on "the heath near Brentford," "where," says Clarendon, "they had indeed a full army of horse and foot, fit to have decided the title of a Crown with an equal adversary."* In the further progress of the war, several Auxiliary regiments, both of foot and horse, were raised by the City; and, to a part of these forces, joined to two regiments of the Trained Bands, "of whose inexperience of danger," remarks the historian just named, "or any kind of service beyond the easy practice of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation;" the Parliament army was indebted for its preservation in the first battle of Newbury, "for they stood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest; and when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily," that Prince Rupert himself, who charged them at the head of the choice Royal horse, "could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about."† The same noble historian designates London, as "the devoted City" of the Commons, and their "inexhaustible magazine of men."‡

In April, 1660, about six weeks before the Restoration of Charles the Second, and when the artful management of General Monk had disposed the Citizens to countenance the measures he was pursuing in favour of Royalty, a muster of the City forces was held in Hyde Park, and the number of men then assembled amounted to about 18,600; viz. six regiments of Trained Bands, six Auxiliary regiments, and one regiment of horse: the foot regiments were composed of eighty companies of two hundred and fifty men each, and the regiments of cavalry of six troops, each of one hundred men. The assembling of this force was judged to have been highly instrumental to the success of the plan for restoring the Monarchy.

Within a few months afterwards, the King granted a Commission of Lieutenancy for the City of London, which invested the Commissioners

* Hist. of the Reb. Vol. II. p. 75. † Ibid. p. 347. ‡ Ibid. p. 343.

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Commissioners with similar powers to those possessed by the Lords Lieutenants of Counties; and by them the Trained Bands were new-modelled, and increased to 20,000 men; the cavalry was also increased to 800, and divided into two regiments of five troops, with eighty men in each. The whole of this force was, in the same year, reviewed by the King in Hyde Park.*

After the state of public affairs had become more composed, and the better stability of the Government ensured, the six Auxiliary regiments, and the regiments of horse, were reduced, and the permanent military force of the City was settled in the six regiments of Trained Bands. These regiments consisted of Citizens and freemen, and each was composed of eight companies: their entire effective strength, in the year 1728, as given by Maitland from the Muster Rolls, was as follows:

Number of men in the Blue Regiment	1411
in the Green	1566
in the Yellow	1526
in the Orange	1740
in the White	2088
in the Red	1630
Officers and Drums	337
Total.....	10,298†

The

* Strype's Stow, Vol. II. p. 572.

† By adding this number to the Trained Bands of the Tower Hamlets, of Westminster, and of Middlesex within the Bills of Mortality, as they stood in 1729, together with the Artillery Company, &c. we shall find that the entire force of the Metropolis, about that time, was as follows:

Trained Bands of the City		10,298
Ditto of the Tower Hamlets	First Reg.	2300
	Second do.	1898
Ditto of Westminster		4182
Ditto of Middlesex		2597
Westminster Cavalry, about.....		300
Middlesex ditto		300
Artillery Company.....		400
Total.....		22,275

The Trained Bands of Southwark, including Officers and Drums, in 1712, when the last return, prior to 1729, was made, amounted to 2291.

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The continued tranquillity of the Capital in the times subsequent to the above period, having rendered any call on the military power of the City unnecessary, excepting for mere holiday purposes, the Trained Bands were gradually disorganized, though they were still *nominally* kept up, and the Commissions filled by the chief Citizens; each regiment having an Alderman for its Colonel, who also was usually a Knight. After the breaking out of the Revolution War with France, however, and the strong demonstrations made by that country to invade England, the extreme insufficiency of such a force for any adequate resistance became so apparent, that a new system was resorted to, and in the year 1794, an Act of Parliament was passed for raising two regiments of Militia for the defence of the City, to be trained and exercised under the superintendance of the Commissioners of Lieutenancy. By that Act the men were proposed to be raised by ballot, in the following manner: that every person or corporation within the City, possessed of a tenement of the annual value of 15l. and less than 100l. should serve in person, or find a substitute; if the value exceeded 100l. and was under 200l. to find two men as substitutes; and if it exceeded the latter sum to supply three substitutes.

This mode of raising the men by ballot having been found on trial to be attended with many inconveniences, another Act was passed in May, 1796, by which it was enacted that 1200 men [exclusive of officers] should be raised within the City and its Liberties, to be formed into two regiments, each consisting of eight companies, besides a grenadier and a light infantry company; the expenses to be defrayed by an equal assessment upon the different Wards. No alterations have been since made in this arrangement, though, from some late proceedings in the Court of Common Council, it seems probable that a new application will be made to Parliament, ere long, for sufficient powers to correct certain malversations that have arisen in the management of the pecuniary concerns of this Militia, as well as to render it of more effectual use in the general service of the country.

Under the above Act, the numbers raised and maintained by the

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the respective Wards are as follow: for the *East* regiment, Aldgate Ward, sixty men; Bassishaw, twelve; Billingsgate, forty-one; Bishopsgate Within, forty-four; Bishopsgate Without, fifty; Bridge, twenty-six; Broad Street, fifty; Candlewick, twenty; Coleman Street, thirty-six; Cornhill, thirty-six; Dowgate, twenty-seven; Langbourn, sixty-seven; Lime Street, twenty; Portsoken, forty-five; Tower, sixty-six: total six hundred. For the *West* regiment, Aldersgate Within, and St. Martin's le Grand, eighteen; Aldersgate Without, twenty-one; Bread Street, twenty-four; Castle Baynard, forty-four; Cheap, forty-four; Cordwainer, twenty-two; Cripplegate Within, forty-four; Cripplegate Without, thirty-six; Farringdon Within, eighty-four; Farringdon Without, one hundred and ninety-two; Queenhithe, twenty-one; Vintry, twenty-three; Walbrook, twenty-seven: total six hundred. Each regiment is commanded by a Colonel, a Lieutenant-Colonel, a Major, ten Captains, ten Lieutenants, ten Ensigns, &c. all of whom are appointed by the Commissioners of Lieutenancy, who are, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and their deputies; the Recorder, Chamberlain, and Common Serjeant for the time being, and one hundred and fifty-five of the principal Citizens appointed by his Majesty. Two Courts of Lieutenancy are required to be held every year; namely, on the third Wednesdays in January and June; but the Commissioners are also empowered to hold a Court as often as may be requisite: their usual place of meeting is at Barber's Hall. All the officers above the rank of Lieutenants must be freemen; but the sons of freemen are eligible to the offices of Lieutenant and Ensign. When embodied for service, his Majesty is authorized to put one regiment under the command of such General Officer as he may appoint, and to direct it to march to any place not exceeding twelve miles from the City, or to the nearest encampment beyond that distance; but the other is to remain within the City or its Liberties, to defend the same. By an express enactment it is also declared, that "the said Militia shall possess and enjoy all and singular the rights and

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privileges which were possessed and enjoyed by the ancient Trained Bands of the City of London."

Besides the City Militia, and the Artillery Company, which is principally composed of a voluntary enrollment of the younger Citizens to the amount of about six hundred, the City has an additional force in the eleven Regiments of Loyal London Volunteer Infantry, and one Regiment of Volunteer Cavalry; yet these being principally composed of Citizen Tradesmen, their sons, clerks, and other servants, cannot, from obvious causes, be kept altogether in that effective state which, under other circumstances, might be desirable.

The Volunteer Regiments had their origin during the late and the present war; but they were chiefly formed in the years 1798 and 1803, when the repeated threats of invasion from France, conjoined with other circumstances, rendered it expedient to increase the military force in every part of the Kingdom. The primary associations consisted of inhabitant householders of each Ward, acting under the general superintendence of local Committees, and eventually liable to be united into one body, and placed under the direction of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen.* In the subsequent arrangements made in 1803, other persons, not Citizens, nor inhabitants, but residing contiguous to the City, were permitted to associate; and the whole of the infantry was then distributed into eleven Regiments, having authority to elect their own officers, and, generally speaking, defraying all the expenses of arms, accoutrements, &c. out of their own subscriptions, aided by some inconsiderable funds collected in the different Wards. The City Volunteer Cavalry, which never exceeded one hundred and sixty, was formed into one Regiment.

Whilst the alarm of invasion continued to exist, the Volunteers exhibited a most commendable activity in assembling at their respective quarters, and they very quickly attained an advanced degree of discipline; but when the course of Continental affairs had

* See preceding Volume, p. 582-3.

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had assumed another direction, the attendance of individuals was gradually lessened, and, with little exception, the City Volunteers are at present in a dormant state, so far as regards military concerns. The returns, of late, have not been regular; yet should the presumed necessity again arrive, there cannot be a doubt but that these Regiments will attain as great a degree of effective strength as at any former period. In the returns laid before the House of Commons in March, 1806, after the general Inspection of the Volunteer force of Great Britain made in the preceding month, the numbers of each Regiment are stated thus:

	Present under arms.	*Absent.*	*Establishment.*
First Reg. of Loyal London Volunteers	84	448	762
Second ditto	300	500	800
Third ditto	84	516	600
Fourth ditto	381	430	611
Fifth ditto	253	291	544
Sixth ditto	104	454	715
Seventh ditto	243	231	474
Eighth ditto	415	385	800
Ninth ditto	161	296	592
Tenth ditto	124	312	557
Eleventh ditto	100	185	352
Loyal London Volunteer Cavalry	122	34	200
Total	2371	4082	7207
Honourable Artillery Company	184	494	678
Grand Total	2555*	4576	7885

In addition to the above forces, which may be considered as more peculiarly belonging to the City in its corporate capacity, there are several

* It should be remarked, that a principal cause of the numbers of those, 'Present under arms,' being, comparatively, so few, was, that at the time the Inspections were made, the weather had set in with uncommon severity: from the circumstances of finding their own arms, and defraying their own expenses, the City Volunteers are also accustomed to regard themselves as *more independent* than any others.

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several other Volunteer Regiments of Infantry, that have been for the purpose of protecting the immense property with walls; as well under circumstances of internal commotion, case of invasion. These are the East India Volunteer Bank Volunteers, and the Volunteers of the Excise Office of the Custom House; all which are composed of the office servants of their respective establishments, the Director principal Clerks having the entire management, comman The *East India* Volunteers are divided into three Regiment one Artillery Regiment; which consist of the following nu according to the Returns made in December, 1810, and 1811: first Regiment, five hundred and twenty-two men; s Regiment, five hundred and forty-two men; third Regimen hundred and thirty-two men; Artillery Regiment, eighty total 1,676. The *Bank* Volunteers, as appears from th turns made on the first of April, consist of one Regime five hundred and forty-six men; and of a Supplementary of one hundred and eighty-nine men. The *Excise Office* consists of about five hundred and ninety men: and that *Custom House* of nearly four hundred.

The origin of the ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT of don, is involved in similar obscurity to that which enshrou remoter periods of its Civil and Military Establishments. out regarding, however, either the story of King Lucius, a conversion to Christianity about the middle of the second ce or of the Arch-Flamens, which the visionary Geoffrey of mouth, has judged proper to seat at York, Caerleon, and Lo there can be little doubt of there having been a Bishop o City, previous to the year 326; at which time *Restitutus* present at the second Council of Arles, in France, and subsc his name and style in these words: '*Ex Provincia Brita Civitate Londinensi Restitutus Episcopus.*' The names of t or fifteen other Bishops of London, have also been given,* a sessing the See between the times of Lucius and the conv St. Augu

* See Godwin's Cat. p. 182; and Strype's Stow, Vol. II. p. 118.

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St. Augustine; yet no dependence can be placed upon the accuracy of the list, and whatever might have been the extent of the prevalence of Christianity in this Diocese, it had certainly been afterwards supplanted by the Pagan worship of the Saxons.

After the landing of Augustine, and the conversion of the Kentish Saxons, that Missionary, who had been appointed by Pope Gregory as the 'Apostle of the English,' constituted *Melitus*, one of his companions, Bishop of London, in 604; and, about six years afterwards, the Cathedral of St. Paul was founded by King Ethelbert, uncle to that King Sebert who then reigned over the East Saxons, and whose Kingdom, which included the Counties of Middlesex and Essex, and part of Hertfordshire, was commensurate with the extent of the present Diocese. Melitus was afterwards expelled by the three Sons of Sebert, who, with their subjects, had relapsed into Paganism;* and, for nearly forty years, the See remained vacant. At length, through the persuasions of Oswy, King of Northumberland, Sigebert the Good, who succeeded to the throne of the East Saxons, about 653, became a Christian, and appointed a Northumbrian Priest, named *Cedda*, or *Ceadda*, as the second Bishop, after the re-erection of the See by Augustine; and "that charge," Godwin remarks, "he attended painfully many years." † He died of the Plague in 664; and soon afterwards his place was supplied by *Wina*, a Frenchman, who had been expelled from Winchester, and is stated to have *purchased* the See of London from Wulfhere, King of Mercia; he was "the first *Simonist*," says the above author, "that is mentioned in our histories:" ‡ he died about 674.

Erkenwald, the fourth Bishop, son to King Offa, expended large sums in building at St. Paul's, "and increased greatly the revenues of the same, and obtained for it, of divers Princes, many notable and important privileges." § He also founded the Monastery at Chertsey, in Surrey, and the Nunnery at Barking,

* For particulars see preceding Volume, p. 183. note. † Ibid.
‡ Ibid. 210. § Ibid. p. 184.

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in Essex; and dying in 685, was succeeded by *Waldhere*, from whose hands, Sebba, the East-Saxon King, received the habit of a Monk, at St. Paul's, in the year 694: the period of his death is uncertain. His immediate successors (of whom but little has been recorded) to the year 958, with the times of their decease, were as follow: *Ingwaldus*, 744; *Engulfe*, or *Egwolfe*, about 754; *Wighed*, or *Wigerus*, 761; *Eadbrithe*, 768; *Eadgair*, or *Eadgarus*, 773; *Kenwalch*, 784; *Eadbaldus*, 795; *Heathobert*, or *Hutbright*, 802; *Osmundus*, or *Oswyn*, about 835; *Ethelnoth*, 838; *Ceolbert*, or *Elbertus*, 841; *Renulfe*, or *Ceorulfe*, 850; *Swithulfe*, about 859; *Eadstanus*, or *Heathstan*, 870; *Wulsius*, or *Wolsius*, 878; *Ethelward*, 886; *Edstanus*, or *Healhstan*, 900; *Wulfstan*, about 922; *Theodred*, about 951: and *Brithelm*, 958.

The next Bishop was the celebrated *Dunstan*, who makes such a conspicuous figure in the Roman Calendar of Saints. He, however, has been stated to have held the See only *in commendam*, for about a year; yet by Godwin's Catalogue, it appears that he continued Bishop till his translation to the Archiepiscopal Seat at Canterbury, in 961. His successor, *Alfstan*, or *Ealfstanus*, died about 980; and was succeeded by *Edgare*, who lived in 996, in which year *Wulstan* was consecrated Bishop: he dying about 1004, was succeeded by *Alfhun*, who was preceptor to the sons of King Ethelred. *Alwinus*, the next Bishop, was consecrated in 1016, and died in 1034: his successor, who was the last of the Saxons that held this See, was *Alfward*, who had been a Monk of Ramsey, and was afterwards Abbot of Evesham. He was one of the messengers appointed after the death of Harold Harefoot, in 1039, to recall Hardicanute from banishment to fill the vacant throne; and on his voyage to Flanders, where Hardicanute then was, he is said to have been the means of assuaging the waves of the sea in a violent tempest, when the ship was in inevitable danger of being engulphed in an eddy, by his prayers to St. Egwin; whose '*silver shrine*,' he afterwards 'caused to be *curiously fabricated*,' as he had vowed to do during the storm,

'and

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'and to be held most earnestly in veneration by the faithful.'* Being afterwards afflicted with leprosy in his old age, and which, according to report, was inflicted on him as a divine judgment for his daring to inspect the tomb of St. Osgith, the Virgin Martyr, 'and to take away from thence some of the relics,'† he proposed to retire into the Convent at Evesham, but the monks utterly refused to admit him (most probably through feelings of horror at his late profaneness) notwithstanding he had deposited with them a variety of *Pontifical Books*, and ornaments of Ecclesiastical use. He therefore packed up his treasures, and retired to Ramsey, where, says the historian, 'he was courteously received by the Brethren,' because 'among others,' he had 'brought *precious gifts;* even the *cheek bone* of St. Egwin, and nothing less than the *cowl* of the most holy Martyr Æphege, which, from the martyr having been stricken through it, had imbibed the sweet and bright stains of his sacred blood, which it shews even to this day, both to be beholden with our eyes and to be touched with our lips.'‡ He died in the same year, anno 1044.

Robert, surnamed *Gemeticencis*, was next appointed Bishop, by Edward the Confessor, with whom he had become acquainted during the exile of the latter in Normandy. This was the prelate, who, by the great sway which he obtained over the mind of that weak but pious sovereign, was the primary cause of the subjugation of England to the Norman yoke; and was himself the messenger that conveyed the intelligence to Duke William, of King Edward having made him his heir.§ He was translated to the See of Canterbury about 1050. *Spegasius*, Abbot of Abingdon, was elected to succeed him in the Bishopric of London; but the King refused to confirm this choice, and appointed his Chaplain

* Hist. of Ram. in Gale's *XV. Scrip.* P. III. Ch. 96. † Ibid. Chap. 104.

‡ Ibid. The Monk afterwards confesses that the minds of the whole community of the Brethren had been turned to compassionate him by '*the bribes of all his precious presents.*'

§ God. Cat. p. 66.

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lain *William*, the Norman, who, after the reconciliation between Edward and Earl Goodwin, in 1052, fled to his native country, but was subsequently recalled from respect to his virtues. He continued to fill the See till his decease in 1070, and the Citizens, for centuries, held his memory in grateful veneration, "for that the Conqueror by his meanes and instant sute, granted unto them all kind of Liberties, in as ample manner as they enjoyed them in the time of his predecessor."* He was at first buried in the Choir of St. Paul's, but was afterwards removed into the body of the Church, where a tomb was raised at the expense of the Corporation,† to commemorate his virtues and civic patriotism, and long afterwards, even so late as the time of James the First, and probably still later, the Mayor and Aldermen were accustomed to walk to his grave upon "those solemn days of their resort to *St. Paul's*, in remembrance of their privileges by him obtained.‡"

Hugh de Orwell, or *D'Orivall*, the next Bishop, was struck with

* God. Cat. p. 186.

† '*Senatus populusque Londinensis bene merenti posuit*,' &c. Vide his Epitaph, as recorded in Stow's Lond. p. 358. Edit. 1633.

‡ Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 362. Edit. 1631. Sir Edward Barkham, who was Lord Mayor in 1622, had the following Inscription affixed to the pillar next adjacent to Bishop Williams' grave, after the tomb itself had been destroyed or removed: it is the more worthy of preservation, from being addressed to the '*Walkers in Paul's*,' for that Church was during many years a fashionable promenade.

WALKERS, whosoe're you be,
If it prove your chance to see
Upon a solemn Scarlet day,
The City Senate pass this way,
Their gratefull memory to shew
Which they the reverend ashes owe
Of *Bishop Norman*, here inhum'd,
By whom this Citie hath assum'd
Large privileges: those obtain'd
By him, when Conqueror William reign'd;
This, being by thankful *Barkham's* minde renew'd,
Call it the *Monument of Gratitude*.

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with leprosy soon after his preferment, and continued a leper all his life, notwithstanding his agreement to a singular remedy prescribed by his Physicians; he died in January, 1085-86. In the following year, *Maurice*, the King's Chaplain and Councellor, was installed in the vacant See, the church of which had been recently destroyed by fire, together with nearly the whole City. The new Bishop, therefore, immediately proceeded to rebuild it, on an enlarged scale, "and layd the foundation of so large a plot as all men thought it would never be finished.*" On his death in 1107, *Richard de Belmeis*, or *Beauveys*, was promoted, and consecrated Bishop in the following year. This prelate was the first Warden of the Welsh Marshes, and afterwards was Governor of the County of Salop. He expended vast sums in advancing his Cathedral, and in purchasing "divers whole streets, and much housing,"† to form an adequate cemetery, which he surrounded with a wall. At length growing weary of 'the tedious work,' he 'gave it over,' and appropriated his remaining riches to founding the Priory of St. Osyth, in Essex: he died of the palsy in January, 1127. His successor *Gilbertus Universalis*, a canon regular of Lyons in France, died in August, 1134; when *Anselm*, Abbot of Bury, nephew to St. Anselm, was elected by the Chapter in his room; yet notwithstanding he had been both enthroned, and had his election confirmed at Rome,‡ King Stephen obliged him to vacate the See, which during the ensuing civil war, was committed to the care of Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, who held it till the year 1141; when the Empress Maud, having taken Stephen prisoner, was admitted into London, and she then conferred the dormant Bishopric on *Robertus de Sigello*, a monk of Reading. He was afterwards made prisoner at Fulham, by a partizan of Stephen's, and was subsequently imprisoned in the Tower; but having paid a considerable sum, he was set at liberty, and suffered to retain his See till his death, which happened in 1150, and was said to

* See God. Cat. p. 187. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 188.

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to have been occasioned through eating preserved grapes that had been impregnated with poison.*

Robert de Belmeis, or *Beauveys*, nephew to the former Bishop of the same name, was next appointed: he died in May, 1162, and was succeeded, in 1163, by *Gilbert Foliot*, Bishop of Hereford, who is described as 'the first *English* Bishop that was ever canonically translated from one See to another.' During the contentions between Archbishop Becket and Henry the Second, this prelate faithfully adhered to the King; and on the banishment of certain ecclesiastics, who were partizans to the treasons of Becket, he was chosen to receive the fruits of their livings *pro tempore*, and for this act he was excommunicated by the Archbishop. Matthew Paris relates of Foliot, that as he was musing in his bed one night, after a long conference with the King respecting the matters in dispute, a terrible and unknown voice sounded these words in his ears, '*O Gilbert Foliot, dum revolvis tot et tot; Deus tuus est Ascaroth!*' and, that the pious Bishop, taking it to be the Devil, and knowing his own probity, boldly answered, '*Mentiris Dæmon: Deus meus est Deus Sabaoth!*' He was a wise and learned man: he died in February, 1187. After his death the See continued vacant for two years, when *Richard Fitz-Neal*, Lord High Treasurer of England, son to Nigellus, Bishop of Ely, was made Bishop by Richard Cœur de Lion, in pursuance of the intention of the late King. He expended great sums in forwarding the buildings of his Church, and other edifices belonging to the Bishopric. After his decease in September, 1198, *William de Sancta Maria*, sometime Secretary to King Richard, was chosen to succeed, and was consecrated in the following June. He was one of the three Bishops who laid the Kingdom under interdict, by command of the Pope, in the time of King John. For this, they were forced to fly the Realm, and King John, who was particularly incensed against Bishop William, demolished the Bishop's Castle at Stortford, in Hertfordshire, which had been granted to the See of London by the

* Whar. Hist. de Episc.

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the Conqueror. After the King's degrading submission to the Papal authority, the banished prelates returned; and in 1215, so greatly had circumstances changed, the Sovereign took upon him the Cross for the Holy Land, at the hands of Bishop William, and in St. Paul's Church. He resigned his See in January, 1221; and, on the 25th of the next month, *Eustace de Fauconbridge* was elected. He was a man of considerable talents, and was thrice sent Ambassador into France by Henry the Third, by whom he was also constituted Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord High Treasurer. Very soon after the accession of this prelate, a great contention arose respecting the right of jurisdiction of the Bishops of London over the Abbey and possessions of Westminster; and on the dispute being at last referred to the arbitration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester and Sarum, and the Priors of Merton and Dunstable, it was awarded, that "to all futurity," the Monastery of Westminster, and the adjoining Church of St. Margaret, should be exempt from the authority of the See of London; that the Church of Staines should for ever belong to the Abbot and Monks of Westminster; and that the Church and Manor of Sunbury should be possessed in perpetuity by the Bishop of London and the Canons of St. Paul's. Eustace died in November, 1228, and was succeeded by *Roger Niger*, who is described by Matthew Paris, as 'a very reverend man, religious, learned, painefull for preaching, eloquent, a great housekeeper, and of very gentle and courteous behaviour.' On the anniversary of the Conversion of St. Paul, in 1230, whilst this prelate was celebrating mass in the Cathedral Church, in presence of a great multitude of people, a dreadful storm of Thunder and Lightning passed over the City, and the whole building was so shook by a terrific thunder-clap, that 'it was like to have fallen,' and therewithal, continues the above historian, 'there proceeded out of a dark cloud such a flash of lightning, that all the Church seemed to be on fire, and such a stench ensued, that all men thought they should have died. The congregation ran out in thousands, and fell upon the ground astonished,

astonished, and void of all sense and understanding; none mained in the Church but the Bishop and one Deacon, who sto still before the High Altar, waiting the will of God; yet wh the air was cleansed, the multitude returned into the Church, a the Bishop ended the service.' The usurers who seem to ha infested the City in the time of this Bishop, having been fi admonished without effect, were afterwards excommunicated him, and ordered to depart from London. He died in 1241.

Fulco Basset, Dean of York, was next elected to this Se yet the King, not approving the choice, prevented his being co secrated till October, 1244. "Questionlesse," says Godwin, "h was a man stout, and no lesse courageous than his predecessor. He steadily opposed the infamous exactions attempted on th English Clergy by Rustand, the Pope's Legate in 1255, althoug the King himself had shamefully acceded to the proposed mea sures, and on being threatened with the weighty displeasure, both of the Pope and the Monarch, he boldly answered, that 'though he might be unjustly deprived of his mitre and crosier, he stil hoped to be able to retain his helmet and his sword:'* he died in May, 1259. *Henry de Wingham*, Chancellor of England his successor, dying in July, 1261, was succeded by *Richard Talbot*, who died on Michaelmas Day, in the following year when the vacant See was conferred on *Henry de Sandwich*, who taking part against the King in the Barons' War, was excommunicated by Ottobone, the Pope's Legate: after his decease, in September, 1273, *John de Chishull*, Keeper of the Great Seal and Treasurer of England was made Bishop; and on his death in 1279, *Richard de Gravesend* was chosen, but not till after the election of *Fulk Lovell*, Prebend of York, who declined the appointment: he died in December, 1303.

Ralfe de Baldock, sometime Lord Chancellor, and a learned prelate, was next elected by the Dean and Chapter, in February, 1304; but the election having been controverted by three suspended Canons, he was obliged to get his appointment confirmed by

* Matt. Par. Hist. Anglo.

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by the Pope at Rome, so that he was not consecrated till January, 1306. He wrote 'A Chronicle of England,' and 'An Account of the Statutes and Customs of his own Cathedral.' In his time the Lady Chapel of the old Church was partly erected; and on his death in July, 1313, he bequeathed 200 marks towards finishing the same; having before given a like sum to advance the building.

His successor was the learned but superstitious *Gilbert de Seagrave*, who, to enable the towering spire of his Cathedral the better to withstand the fury of tempests, placed in it a large quantity of the relics of reputed saints: he died in January, 1316. About a year afterwards, *Richard de Newport* was appointed: his death occurred in August, 1318. *Stephen de Gravesend*, who succeeded, strenuously supported the rights of his Diocese against several attempted encroachments on the part of the Archbishop and Monks of Canterbury, though not with success when opposed to the former. Wharton says, that he openly opposed the dethronement of Edward the Second; and that, together with the Archbishop of York, and Edmund Earl of Kent, he was convicted of a design to favour the escape of that unfortunate monarch; but they were all admitted to pardon: he died in April, 1338. *Robert de Byntworth*, or *Wentworth*, was next chosen, and in the same year he was made Lord High Chancellor: after his decease in December, 1339, *Ralph de Stratford* was made Bishop, in whose time a provincial Synod was held in London, and some remarkable canons were made for the better support of the poor, the regulation of offerings, the repressing the artful practices of mendicant Friars in regard to bequeathed property, and the prevention of disorders, as theft, debauchery, &c. committed at the watchings of the bodies of the dead before burial: his death occurred about 1353.

Michael de Northburgh, or *Northbrooke*, the next Bishop, who died of the Plague in 1361, gave 1000*l.* to be deposited in a chest in the Cathedral, for the purpose of supplying loans of 10*l.* 20*l.* and upwards, to such industrious persons that should give

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give security for the due return of the same. His successor, *Simon de Sudbury*, alias *Tibald*, held the See till 1375, when he was translated to Canterbury: six years afterwards, he was cruelly put to death in the Tower, by the insurgents under Wat Tyler. *William Courteney*, son to Hugh Courteney, Earl of Devonshire, was next advanced to this Bishopric; and on the death of his unfortunate predecessor, in 1381, he also was translated to Canterbury, having been previously appointed Lord High Chancellor. That office was also conferred on his successor *Robert de Braybrooke*, in the year 1382, though he was again deprived of it within half a year. This prelate ordained that the days of the Conversion and of the Commemoration of St. Paul, should be celebrated throughout his Diocese, equally with the highest festivals. He died in August, 1404, and was succeeded by *Roger de Walden*, who from a very humble origin, had been promoted through his talents to the various offices of of King's Secretary, Dean of York, Treasurer of Calais, High Treasurer of England, and Archbishop of Canterbury. When his great patron, however, Richard the Second, was deposed, the Pope, by "his omnipotent buls,"* restored Thomas Arundel † to the See of Canterbury, and Walden was forced to retire into private life; but after some time, the See of London was bestowed on him through the recommendations of Arundel: he died in the beginning of 1406. *Nicholas de Bubbewith*, who besides many Church preferments, was in succession Master of the Rolls, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Lord High Treasurer, was next appointed; but in the August following, anno 1407, he was translated to Salisbury, and thence to Bath, within five weeks after.

Richard Clifford, Lord Privy Seal, was next translated hither from

* God. Cat. p. 153.

† This prelate, with his brother the Earl of Arundel, had been attainted of High Treason, and the Earl suffered the punishment of death; but the Archbishop, having fled to Rome, continued abroad till Henry the Fourth had seized the crown from the misguided Richard.

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rom Worcester, and in his first year, viz. on January the fourteenth, 1408, a Synod was held in St. Paul's to determine on sending delegates to the Council of Pisa, then about to be held, to settle the peace of the Church, which had been greatly disturbed for many years by factious Popes. In that Council, Benedict the Thirteenth and Gregory the Twelfth, who both claimed the Popedom, were deposed, and a new Pope chosen; but the two former Popes refusing to vacate the Pontificate, the world was presented with the singular spectacle of three Popes at one time, all of them claiming the undisturbed possession of St. Peter's Chair. This led to the assembling of another and more extended Council at Constance, in the year 1414, to which, in a second Synod held in St. Paul's, Bishop Clifford, and several other Ecclesiastics of high dignity, were deputed as the representatives of the Church of England. In that Council, it was judged expedient to create thirty new Cardinals, and Clifford was one of them; in the same Council he was also nominated to the Papacy, after a solemn deposition of the three rival Popes; but the election terminated in favour of the Cardinal Odo Colonna, who was first named by this Bishop, and who afterwards assumed the appellation of Martin the Fifth. Clifford died in 1421, and was succeeded by *John Kemp*, Bishop of Winchester, through the Pope's interest, though *Thomas Palton*, Bishop of Hereford, had been previously chosen by the Chapter. He was made Lord Chancellor in 1426, and in the same year was translated to York. His successor was *William Gray*, who was removed to Lincoln in 1431; on which, *Robert Fitz-Hugh*, who possessed many places of honour and profit in the Church, and had been twice Ambassador on the Continent, was advanced to this See. During his government, a Provincial Council was held at St. Paul's, on account of the great disputes between the Council of Basil and the Pope, and various delegates were chosen and sent to Basil to compose the differences. It was determined also in this Council, that, for the greater encouragement of learning in England, "all the greater Ecclesiastical Benefices should, in future, be conferred on none other than those

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those educated at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge." He died in January, 1436, and was succeeded by *Robert Gilbert*; who dying in 1448, gave place to *Thomas Kemp* (nephew to the former Bishop of that name) who was advanced to this See on the sole authority of the Pope. He possessed the Bishopric full forty years, but dying in March 1489, the Chapter elected *Richard Hill*, and that prelate died, Bishop of London, in 1495; though it appears, from some authorities, that *John Marshal* had filled the See, under the Pope's appointment, from the time of the decease of Kemp till his own death, in 1493.

Thomas Savage was next appointed by a Bull of the Pope, in 1496, and by a similar instrument he was translated to York in 1501; in which year *William De Warham* was constituted to this See. He was translated to Canterbury in November, 1503: in the following year *William Baron*, or *Barns*, became Bishop, but dying within the twelvemonth, *Richard Fitz-James* was translated hither, from Chichester, in August, 1506. Godwin describes him, as "a Gentleman of an ancient house, learned, and very vertuous." He died in January, 1521, and was succeeded by the celebrated *Cuthbert Tonstall*, who became Master of the Rolls, and Lord Privy Seal, and was several times Ambassador on the Continent. He was translated to Durham in March, 1530.

The next Bishop was *John Stokesley*, who having been sent on an Embassy to Rome, on the business of the Divorce between Henry the Eighth and Queen Catharine, was appointed to this Sea on his return; after his decease, in September, 1539, the notorious *Edmund Bonner* was translated hither from Hereford. This prelate was ejected in the third year of Edward the Sixth (anno 1549) for contumacy, &c. on which, *Nicholas Ridley*, Bishop of Rochester, was chosen to succeed him. On the accession of Queen Mary, Ridley was ejected in his turn, and imprisoned; and Bonner, who had been confined in the Marshalsea, was released and restored to his Bishopric. Two years afterwards, on October the sixteenth, 1555, the deprived Bishop was burnt

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burnt at the stake at Oxford, for his firm adherence to the Protestant Faith. The reign of terror had now commenced, and during the remainder of Mary's life, cruelty and bigotry ranged over the land with giant strides. Bonner, the High Priest of blood, was guilty of such numerous atrocities, that posterity has branded his character with the stamp of indelible infamy. Happily for the Kingdom, the death of Mary was not remote: she died in November, 1558, and in the May following, Bonner was displaced by authority of Parliament. Being again committed prisoner to the Marshalsea, he there terminated his disgraceful life in September, 1569.

Edmund Grindall succeeded Bonner, in December, 1559: he had been Chaplain to the martyred Ridley, and was afterwards a voluntary exile in Germany till the accession of Queen Elizabeth. On his translation to Canterbury, in 1570, *Edwyn Sandys* was removed thither from Worcester: after enjoying this See about six years, he also was translated to York; and in March, 1576, *John Aelmer* was appointed in his room. This prelate strove rigorously to repress the extension of Puritanism, notwithstanding that he himself, equally with Sandys and Grindall, had experienced the misery resulting from persecution, and like them, been forced to fly his country to preserve his life: he died in June, 1594. In the same year, *Richard Fletcher*, Bishop of Worcester, and one of the Queen's Chaplains, was appointed to this See; but he having fallen under the Queen's displeasure, through marrying a second wife (the beautiful young widow, Lady Baker) is said to have died from grief and discontent, conjoined to an immoderate use of tobacco, in June, 1596: he died suddenly, "beeing to see to," says Godwin, "well, sicke, and dead, in one quarter of an howre." In the following April, *Richard Bancroft*, a Prebendary, and Treasurer of St. Paul's, was made Bishop: on his translation to Canterbury, in December, 1604, *Richard Vaughan*, Bishop of Chester, was appointed; who dying in March, 1607, was succeeded by the Bishop of Gloucester, *Thomas Ravis*: he died in December, 1609.

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George Abbot, the next Bishop, was translated hither from Coventry and Lichfield, about one month afterwards; and in little more than a year (anno 1611) he was again translated to Canterbury; when *John King*, Vice Chancellor of Oxford, was preferred to this See by James the First, who was so fascinated with his eloquence, that he entitled him the "King of Preachers." On his death, in March, 1621, *George Mountain* was removed hither from Lincoln; and being afterwards translated to Durham, was succeeded, in July, 1628, by the famous *William Laud*, who in 1633, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, in which situation he for several years directed the principal affairs both of Church and State: he was beheaded by the Parliament in 1644.

William Juxon, Chaplain to Charles the First, and Bishop of Hereford, succeeded Laud, in October, 1633: two years afterwards he was constituted Lord High Treasurer, which post he continued to fill till 1641, when he was divested by Parliament of all his preferments, both in Church and State. This prelate courageously attended his unfortunate Sovereign on the scaffold, in 1648, when the expression of any loyalty was almost denominated treason; and the last charge of the suffering Monarch was confided to his zeal and faithful trust. He afterwards retired to his estate in Gloucestershire; but on the Restoration he was recalled to his Bishopric, and in the same year (anno 1660) in September, he was promoted to the See of Canterbury. The benevolent *Gilbert Sheldon* was next appointed to this See; and on his translation to Canterbury, after Juxon's decease, in 1663, *Humphrey Henchman* was translated hither from Salisbury. This Bishop was held greatly in favour by Charles the Second, to whose escape, after the fatal battle of Worcester, he had been very instrumental. He dying in 1675, was succeeded by the worthy *Henry Compton*, whom the intolerance of James the Second subjected to the jurisdiction of his newly-erected Ecclesiastical High-Commission Court, by which he was suspended from all his episcopal functions, for refusing to comply with the arbitrary mandates of the Court in the affair of Dr. Sharpe.* He afterwards

* See preceding Volume, p. 470.

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afterwards exerted himself to forward the Revolution, and exchanging the crozier for the sword, aided the Princess Anne in her escape from the Court to Nottingham: he died in 1713, and was succeeded by *John Robinson*, who had been Lord Privy Seal, and was one of the Plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Utrecht. On his decease, in 1723, the learned *Edmund Gibson*, Bishop of Lincoln, was translated hither. He had been educated at Queen's College, Oxford, under the celebrated Dr. Hickes, and had acquired a great proficiency in the Northern languages. Among other works published by this prelate, were a Latin translation of the Saxon Chronicle, together with the original Saxon; and an English translation of Camden's Britannia, at first in one volume folio, but afterwards extended into two volumes, with great additions: he died in September, 1748. His successor was the pious and benevolent *Thomas Sherlock*, who had been Dean of Chichester, Bishop of Bangor, and Bishop of Salisbury, and might, had he pleased, have been Archbishop of Canterbury, but preferred the comparative ease of the See of London. On his death, in 1761, *Thomas Hayter*, Bishop of Norwich, was appointed to this See; and on his decease, three months afterwards, in January, 1762, *Richard Osbaldston* was translated hither from Carlisle: he died in little more than two years, when, in May, 1764, *Robert Terrick*, Bishop of Peterborough, was elected, and he continued to fill this See till his decease, in March, 1777. In the following month, the celebrated *Robert Lowth* was removed hither from Oxford. The acquirements and natural talents of this prelate are well known to the world by his Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, the translation of Isaiah, and the Life of William of Wykeham. His very beautiful lines on the death of his daughter Mary, are also held in high and deserved esteem: his daughter, Frances, expired in a moment of domestic enjoyment, whilst presiding at her tea-table, in July, 1785. He himself died in November, 1787, and in the same month the equally revered and venerable *Bielby Porteus*, was appointed to this See. His me-

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mory will be cherished in every virtuous bosom, whilst integrity and benificence, learning, piety, and true religion, shall continue to exist. His admirable poem on Death needs no eulogium; and his Lectures, delivered at St. James's Church, display equal ability and power. He died in May, 1809; shortly after which *John Randolph*, the present Bishop, was translated hither from the See of Bangor.

The Diocese of London is exempted generally from the visitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury; but there are thirteen parishes in the City which are the *peculiars* of that prelate, and therefore not amenable to the jurisdiction of this See. In the order of precedence, the Bishop of London ranks next after the the two Archbishops; and in some ancient Statutes he is styled *Primus Baro Regni;* the Ecclesiastical Barons taking precedence of the Temporal ones.

In the government of this See, the Bishop is assisted by a Dean, a Precentor, or Chanter, a Chancellor, a Treasurer, five Archdeacons, thirty Canons, or Prebendaries, twelve Minor, or Petty Canons, six Vicars-choral, a Sub-dean, and other Officers.*

The

* The following particulars of the duties of these Officers, with the names of the Prebends, &c. are derived from *Newcourt's Repertorium.*

In common with all the Bishops of the Realm, the *Bishop* of London has the power of holding a Court in his own Diocese for the trial and punishment of spiritual offences, in which he may either sit as Judge himself, or depute his power to a Chancellor, Suffragan, or other officer. The Bishops' Courts, therefore, though held by the King's authority, are not properly to be accounted the King's Courts, since none of the Judges possess this privilege, neither are writs from them issued in the name of the King, but of the Bishop.

The *Dean* is to assist the Bishop in ordinations, deprivations, and other affairs of the Church, and on the King's writ of *Congé d'elire;* the Dean and Prebendaries elect the Bishop; but this election is now a mere matter of form, since the person recommended by the King is always chosen. The Dean is also elected by the Chapter, on letters missive from the King, whose assent must be obtained before the Bishop can confirm, and give power to instal him.

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The Archdeaconries are those of London, Middlesex, Essex, Colchester, and St. Alban's.

The ancient *revenues* of the PARISH PRIESTS of London did not arise altogether from the glebe, or from the tythe of lands, &c. but was partly derived from customary payments issuing out

 of

The *Precentor*, or *Chanter's* office, is to superintend the Church music. Under him is a Sub-Chanter, who officiates in his absence. The second stall, on the north side of the choir, belongs to this officer, who is proprietor, and perpetual rector of the church of Stortford, and patron of the vicarage.

The Chancellor was anciently called *Magister Scholarum*, from having had the charge of Literature within the City of London, whereby he was empowered to license all the Schoolmasters in the City, except those of St. Mary-le-Bow and St. Martin-le-Grand; but he is now only Secretary to the Chapter: he has the third stall on the north side of the choir.

The Treasurer has the custody of the valuables belonging to the Cathedral Church of St. Paul; for the faithful keeping of which he is sworn before the Dean and Chapter: he has the third stall on the south side of the choir. Under him is the *Sacrist*, who is also sworn to the faithful discharge of his office, three *Vergers*, and the inferior servants of the Church.

The office of the *Archdeacons* is to visit the several cures within their respective Archdeaconries, and to enquire into the reparations and moveables belonging to them; to reform slight abuses in ecclesiastical matters, and to bring affairs of moment before the Bishop. It is also the duty of the Archdeacons to induct Clerks into their benefices upon the Bishop's mandate.

The thirty *Canons*, or *Prebendaries*, with the Bishop, compose the Chapter, by which the affairs of the Church are managed. All the Prebendaries are in the collation of the Bishop; and out of them there are always appointed three *Residentiaries*, besides the Dean; so called from their continual residence in the Church.

The names of the Prebends follow:

Bromesbury, or *Brandesbury*, in the parish of Willesdon, in Middlesex; *Brownswood*, or *Brownsward*, in the same parish; *Cadington major*, in the manor of Cadington, in the county of Bedford, now called the manor of Aston-bury, with a further revenue from certain houses in St. Paul's Church-yard; *Cadington minor*, in the parish of Cadington, Bedfordshire;

Chamberlain-

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of the houses of their parishioners, according to the value of their rents: these were called *Oblations*, because they were originally the offerings of small pieces of money made by each parishioner to God and the Church, on certain holidays.

This custom was continued for ages; but the earliest document on record for regulating the amount of the payments, is the Constitution

Chamberlain-wood, in the parish of Willesdon, Middlesex; ***Chiswick***, in the parish of Chiswick, Middlesex; ***Consumpt. per Mare*** (or in Waltone) in the parish of Walton in le Soker, Essex, about three miles north of the Gunfleet upon the sea-coast: this Prebend was so called from having been swallowed up by the sea before the Conquest; ***Ealand***, or ***Eldelond***, in Tillingham, near Dengy, in the deanery and hundred of Dengy, and county of Essex; *Eald-street*, or ***Old Street***, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, Middlesex; ***Harleston***, in the parish of Willesdon, Middlesex, with an additional revenue from some houses in St. Paul's Church-yard; ***Holbourne***, in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, in the suburbs of London; ***Holywell***, alias ***Finsbury***, in the manor of Finsbury, situate in the several parishes of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and St. Leonard, Shoreditch; ***Hoxton***, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, or within the limits thereof; ***Isledon***, or ***Islington***, in the parish of Islington, Middlesex; ***Kentish-town***, in the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex; ***Mapesbury***, or ***Maplebury***, in the parish of Willesdon, Middlesex; ***Mora***, or ***More extra London***, in the parish of St. Giles, without Cripplegate; ***Nelsdon***, or ***Neasdon***, in the parish of Willesdon, Middlesex: ***Newington***, or ***Newington Canonicorum***, in the parish of Stoke Newington, Middlesex; ***Oxgate***, in the parish of Willesdon, Middlesex; ***St. Pancras***, in Middlesex, near London: the Prebendary of St. Pancras was originally the Bishop of London's Confessor; and to this day, whoever is Prebendary of St. Pancras, is admitted with the office of Confessor and Penitentiary thereunto annexed; ***Portpool***, or *Pourtepol*, ***extra London***, in and about Portpool Lane and Gray's-Inn Lane, in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn; ***Reculver-land***, in the parish of Tillingham, in Essex; ***Rugmore***, in the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex; ***Sneating***, in the parish of Kirkeby, in Essex; ***Tottenhall***, or *Tottenham-court*, in the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex; ***Twyford***, called *East Twyford*, in the parish of Willesdon, Middlesex; ***Wenlake's-barn***, or *Wellakes-bury*, in the parish of St. Giles; ***Wildland***, in the parish of Tillingham, Essex; and ***Willesdon***, or ***Willesdon-green***, in the parish of Willesdon, Middlesex.

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stitution of Roger Niger, Bishop of London, from 1229 to 1241; which was made to prevent the constant disputes that had arisen between the Priests and the Citizens, both as to the days of offering, and the extent of the dues. By that Constitution, the Citizens were enjoined to pay to their respective Ministers, on all Sundays, Holidays, and Festivals, (the vigils of which were to be kept as festivals) one farthing for every house of ten shillings annual rent; a halfpenny for each of twenty shillings; and a penny for each of forty shillings: all which amounted to about 2s. 6d. in the pound. This mode of payment continued till the thirteenth of Richard the Second, when Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, found it necessary to interfere; and in order to compose the new differences that had arisen in respect to the due amount of offerings, he, in a letter, dated at St. Peter's, Rome, and addressed to the Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Citizens, gave an 'Exposition' of Niger's Regulations, ordering that an additional farthing should be paid for every ten shillings above forty shillings yearly, under pain of standing "accursed by the great sentence." The Priests having obtained this award, afterwards exacted dues for twenty-two other Saints-days, than had been customary; by which means the annual payments were increased to three shillings and five-pence in the pound: and to legalize their claims, they procured a Bull of confimation from Pope Innocent the Seventh, in the fifth year of Henry the Fourth.

The twelve *petty Canons* are usually chosen out of the Ministers and Officers belonging to the Church. They were constituted a body politic and corporate, by Letters Patent of Richard the Second, dated 1399, under the denomination of "the College of the twelve petty Canons of St. Paul's." They are governed by a Warden, chosen from among themselves, and have the privilege of a Common Seal. One of the petty Canons is appointed *Sub-Dean*, by the Dean with the consent of the Chapter and minor Canons. His office is to supply the Dean's place in the choir: two others are denominated *Cardinals* of the choir, to which office they are elected by the Dean and Chapter, and are to superintend the duty of the choir.

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The Citizens still feeling aggrieved, occasionally resisted payment; and one Robert Wright, of the parish of St. Edmund, Lombard Street, had the hardihood to appeal to the Pope himself, after sentence had been twice given against him in inferior Courts for non-payment on some particular Saints-days and Festivals. Here he was equally unsuccessful, and he was adjudged to defray all the costs of the appeal; and the Pope, Nicholas the Fifth, to remove all "stryfs and dowte," and at the request of the King, Henry the Sixth, in his thirty-first year, issued an explanatory Bull of confirmation of the former instruments made by Niger and Arundel. Notwithstanding this, the opposition of the Citizens was still continued; but the dispute was quieted for a time, by a solemn arbitration made in December, 1457, at which time the dues were agreed to be paid by the Laity and received by the Priests of London, according to a particular composition. *

In the progress of this year fresh contentions arose, and the Citizens applied to the Court of Star-Chamber for redress; and they at length succeeded in the twenty-fifth of Henry the Eighth, in obtaining a reduction of their annual payment to 2s. 9d. in the pound; but the oath for personal tythes being abrogated in the following reign (viz. the second of Edward the Sixth) led to new complaints on the part of the Priests, who averred, that they were defrauded of their just demands, by illegal agreements between landlords and tenants, under which the houses were rented at low nominal sums, and the difference of the value made up by yearly or quarterly fines, annuities, new-year's gifts, &c. This occasioned repeated applications to Parliament, and to the King and Council, in successive reigns; yet no effectual measure was ever carried into practice for terminating the differences till after the Fire of London, in 1666. By that event, eighty-four out of ninety-seven Parish Churches within the Walls, were destroyed; and as several of the parishes were united to others in pursuance

* See a copy of this in Strype's Stow, Vol. II. p. 136-7.

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pursuance of the Act for rebuilding the City, it was found requisite to make a more certain provision for the Incumbents of the several livings than had before been obtained. The Parliament therefore enacted, that Parochial Assessments should be made for the maintenance of the Ministry, and fixed the sums that each parish should pay respectively.* This Statute continued in force till the year 1804, when, in consequence of a Petition to the Parliament from the London Clergy, stating the great advance in all the necessaries of life, charges of education, &c. and praying for an increase in the amount of their annual stipends, a new Act was passed, by which a considerable addition was made to the former allowances, over and above what might be derived from glebes, gifts, bequests, and surplice-fees.†

HISTORICAL

* See these in Strype's Stow, Vol. II. p. 127-8.

† The following are the sums appointed by the Act of 1804 to be paid by the inhabitants of each parish to their proper Minister:

	£.	s.	d.
Allhallows, Lombard Street	200	0	0
St. Bartholomew, Royal Exchange	200	0	0
St. Bridget, or St. Bride	200	0	0
St. Bennet Finck	200	0	0
St. Michael, Crooked Lane	200	0	0
St. Dionis Back-church	200	0	0
St. Dunstan in the East	333	6	8
St. James, Garlick-hithe	200	0	0
St. Michael, Cornhill	233	6	8
St. Margaret, Lothbury, and St. Christopher	366	13	4
St. Michael, Bassishaw	220	18	4
St. Mary, Aldermanbury	250	0	0
St. Martin, Ludgate	266	13	4
St. Peter, Cornhill	200	0	0
St. Stephen, Coleman Street	200	0	0
St. Sepulchre, Snowhill*	333	6	8

* The Vicar of St. Sepulchre's is entitled to one-third part of the impropriate tythes, in respect of that part of the parish which is within the county of Middlesex.

Allhallows,

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HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. PAUL, WITH NOTICES OF THE MONUMENTS, AND VARIOUS PARTICULARS OF OTHER SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THAT BUILDING.

THE preceding sketch of the Ecclesiastical Government of London so immediately excites the idea of the CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. PAUL, that the insertion, in this place, of the History and Description of that noble Edifice, can only be regarded as a slight impropriety, although the due order of arrangement should thereby be departed from.

It

	£.	s.	d.
Allhallows, Bread Street, and St. John Evangelist	233	6	8
Allhallows the Great, and Allhallows the Less	333	6	8
St. Alban, Wood Street, and St. Olave, Silver Street	283	6	8
St. Anne, St. Agnes, and St. John Zachary	233	6	8
St. Augustine and St. Faith	286	13	4
St. Andrew-le-Wardrobe, and St. Anne, Black-Friars	233	6	8
St. Antholine, and St. John Baptist	200	0	0
St. Benedict, Grace-Church, and St. Leonard, East-Cheap	233	6	8
St. Benedict, Paul's-Wharf, and St. Peter, Paul's-Wharf	200	0	0
Christ-Church, and St. Leonard, Foster Lane	233	6	8
St. Edmund the King, and St. Nicholas Acons	300	0	0
St. George, Botolph Lane, and St. Botolph, Billingsgate	300	0	0
St. Laurence, Jury, and St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street	200	0	0
St. Magnus, and St. Margaret, New Fish-Street	283	6	8
St. Michael Royal, and St. Martin Vintry	233	6	8
St. Matthew, Friday Street, and St. Peter, Cheap	250	0	0
St. Margaret Pattens, and St. Gabriel Fenchurch	200	0	0
St. Mary-at-Hill, and St. Andrew Hubbard	333	6	8
St. Mary Woolnorth, and St. Mary Woolchurch	266	13	4
St. Clement, East-Cheap, and St. Martin Ogars	233	6	8
St. Mary Abchurch, and St. Laurence Poultney	200	0	0
St. Mary Aldermary, and St. Thomas Apostle	250	0	0
St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Pancras Soperlane, and Allhallows, Honey Lane	333	6	8

St. Mildred,

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It has been judiciously remarked, that "among the modern works of architecture which adorn and dignify the British Empire," this stupendous fabric holds the most distinguished rank; that "even with foreigners it has obtained great celebrity, and in any enumeration or comparision, of the religious edifices of Europe, is always mentioned immediately after the Church of St. Peter, at Rome." *

The popular tradition, that a Temple, dedicated to Diana, once occupied the site of St. Paul's Cathedral, has already been mentioned in the account of *Roman London*;† as well as the small degree of credit which Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of the present structure, was inclined to give to the common report. His language is precise and strong, and his authority ought to be regarded as decisive; for his opinion was not taken up from rambling argument, but from the most complete examination of the ground to a great depth; all his researches, however, did not yield the least indication of any Roman building having ever stood upon this spot. His words are, "I must assert, that having changed *all the foundations* of old St. Paul's, and upon that occasion *rummaged all the ground* thereabouts, and being *very desirous* to find *some* footsteps of *such a Temple*, I could

	£.	s.	d.
St. Mildred, Poultry, and St. Mary Colechurch	283	6	8
St. Michael, Wood Street, and St. Mary Staining	200	0	0
St. Mildred, Bread Street, and St. Margaret Moses	216	13	4
St. Michael, Queenhithe, and Trinity	266	13	4
St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish-Street, and St. Gregory	200	0	0
St. Mary Somerset, and St. Mary Mounthaw	200	0	0
St. Nicholas Cole-Abbey, and St. Nicholas Olave	216	13	4
St. Olave Jewry, and St. Martin, Ironmonger Lane	200	0	0
St. Stephen, Walbrook, and St. Bennet Sherehog	200	0	0
St. Swithin, and Mary Bothaw	233	6	8
St. Vedast, alias Foster, and Michael le Quern	266	13	4

* Fine Arts of the English School; Architecture, P. 1.

† See preceding Volume, p. 87.

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I could not *discover any;* and therefore can give no more credit to Diana than to Apollo."*

Though Sir Christopher thus controverted the tale of Diana's Temple, he was of opinion that a Christian Church had stood upon this spot at a very early period, agreeably to the statements of different Ecclesiastical Writers; yet as venerable Bede, in his account

* *Parentalia, p. 296.* It may not be impertinent to mention what Stow, the most accurate of all the historians of London, states on the subject of a Roman Temple having once stood on the site of St. Paul's. "Some have noted," says this author, "that on digging the foundation of this newe worke [namely, the Lady Chapel, built by Bishop Baldock, about 1313] there were found more than a hundred scalpes of oxen, or kine, which thing (say they) confirmeth greatly the opinion of those which have reported, that of olde time there had beene a Temple of Jupiter, and that there was daily sacrifice of beasts. Other some, both wise and learned, have thought the Buck's head, borne before the Procession of Paule's, on St. Paule's Day, to signifie the like: but true it is, that I have read an auncient Deed to this effect.

"Sir William Baud, Knt. the third of Edward the First, in the year 1274, on Candlemas Day, 'graunted to Harry de Borham, Dean of Powles, and to the Chapter there, that in consideration of two acres of ground or land, granted by them within their manor of West-ley, in Essex, to be inclosed into his Park of Curingham, he would for ever, upon the Feast-day of the Conversion of St. Paul, in winter, give unto them a good *Doe*, seasonable and sweete; and upon the Feast of the Commemoration of St. Paul, in summer, a good *Bucke*, and offer the same at the High Altar, the same to be spent amongst the Canons residents. The Doe to be brought up by one man at the houre of Procession, and through the Procession to the High Altar; and the bringer to have nothing: the Bucke to be brought by all his meyney in like manner; and they to have payd unto them by the Chamberlaine of the Church 12 pence onely, and no more to be required.' This graunt he made, and for performance 'bound the lands of him and his heirs to be distraind on; and if the landes shoulde be evicted, that yet hee and his heires shoulde accomplishe the gift. Witnesses, Robert Tilbery,' &c. His son, Sir William Bande, Knt. confirmed his father's gift in the thirtieth of the same reign.

"Thus much for the grant. Now what I have heard by report, and have partly seene, it followeth. On the Feast-day of the Commemoration of St. Paul,

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account of the establishment of Christianity in London, under Bishop Melitus, gives no intimation of such a fact, its accuracy is liable to be questioned. Bede, who lived nearest to the time, ascribes the foundation of the original St. Paul's to Ethelbert King of Kent, to whom all the country, south of the Humber, was feudatory. This munificent Prince, after his conversion by St. Augustine, besides greatly contributing to the establishment of the Cathedral at Canterbury, founded the Abbey of St. Augustine in that City, and afterwards, in the year 610, began the building of St. Paul's; to which Church he granted the manor of Tillingham, with other lands.* Erkenwald, the fourth Bishop, expended

St. Paul, the Bucke being brought up to the steps of the High Altar in Powles Church, at the houre of Procession, the Deane and Chapter, being apparelled in copes and vestments, with garlands of roses on their heads, they sent the body of the Bucke to baking, and had the head, fixed on a pole, borne before the Crosse in their Procession, untill they issued out of the west doore, where the Keeper that brought it blowed the death of the Bucke, and then the Horners that were about the Cittie presentlie answered him in like manner; for the which paines they had each one, of the Dean and Chapter, fourepence in money, and their dinner; and the Keeper that brought it was allowed during his abode there, for that service, meat, drink, and lodging, and five shillings in money at his going away, together with a loafe of bread, having the picture of St. Paule uppon it, &c. There was belonging to the Church of St. Paul for both the days two special sutes of vestments, the one imbrodered with Buckes, the other with Does; both given by the said Baudes, as I have heard." *Sur. of Lon. p.* 270—272.

* Besides the gift of Tillingham, in Essex, granted by the first charter of King Ethelbert, he also gave to this Church twenty-four hides of land near London, *(dedit viginti quatuor Hidas terræ juxta Londoniam)* all of which, with the exception of Norton Folgate, reserved for the Dean and Chapter, were divided into the following Prebends: More, Finsbury, Old Street, Wenlock's-Barn, Hoxton, Newington, Islington, St. Pancras, Kentish Town, Tottenham, Ragener, Holbourn, and Portpool. The gifts made by King Athelstan consisted of 106 farms, messuages, &c. at various places, chiefly in Essex; King Edgar gave three-score marks, and twenty-five mansions at Nasingstoke; King Canute granted the Church of Lambourne,

expended large sums upon the new fabric, but whether for additions, or to complete Ethelbert's plan, cannot be ascertained. 'He also augmented its revenues, and procured for it considerable privileges from the Pope, and the Anglo-Saxon Princes, who then reigned in England.' During the successive centuries, from that time to the Conquest, the immunities and possessions of the Cathedral were greatly increased by different Sovereigns; among whom were Kenred, King of Mercia, Athelstan, Edgar and his Queen, Ethelred, Canute, and Edward the Confessor. William, the Norman, following the example of his Saxon predecessors, confirmed to St. Paul's all its estates and privileges by a Charter, which concludes with the words, "for I will that the Church, in all

bourne, in Berks, *pro victu Decani qui pro tempore fuerit;* Edward the Confessor gave eight messuages, &c. at Berling, and five at Chingford, in Essex; and also confirmed the gift of West-Lee, in the same county, made by a religious woman, named Ediva. Divers other manors were also granted to St. Paul's before the Conquest, as Kensworth, Caddington, &c. The Conqueror, besides the Castle of Stortford, in Herts, gave 'the land which William, the Deacon, and Ralph, his brother, held of the King;' William Rufus confirmed all his father's donations and privileges, and freed the Canons of St. Paul's from all works in respect to the Tower: two hundred acres of wood, in Hadley, and Thundersey, in Essex, with fourscore acres of arable land and a brewhouse, were afterwards given by Peter Newport; Draton was given by Sir Philip Basset, Knt. and Hayrstead by his executors; the executors of John of Gaunt gave the manors of Bowes and Peeleshouse, in Middlesex; the churches of Willesdon, Sunbury, Brickesley, Rickling, and Aveley, were impropriated to the Dean and Chapter by divers Bishops; and numerous houses within the City were granted to the Cathedral establishment under different forms. Weever states, that among many deeds relating to the latter which he had seen, was one dated in the year 1141, and fastened by a label to the end of a stick, "of what wood I know not; howsoever it remains to this day free from worm-holes, or any the least corruption, not so much as in the bark," upon which the following words were very fairly written: *Per hoc lignum oblata est terra Roberti filij Gousberti super altare Sancti Pauli in festo omnium Sanctorum.* Fun. Mon. p. 356. Edit. 1631. A great variety of particulars relating to numerous other grants that have been made to this Church, may be seen in *Mal. Lond. Red.* Vol. III. p. 35—44.

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all things, be as free as I would my soul should be at the day of judgment."* He afterwards granted to Maurice, the Bishop, and his successors for ever, the Castle of Stortford, in Hertfordshire, with all its appurtenances.

In the year 1086, the old Cathedral was destroyed by a conflagration, which enveloped the greater part of the City in similar ruin. After this event, Bishop Maurice conceived the 'vast design of erecting the magnificent structure which immediately preceded the present Cathedral;' a work, says Stow, "that men of that time judged wold never have bin finished, it was to them so wonderfull for length and breadth."† Much of the stone used in that edifice was brought from Caen, in Normandy; and "King William gave toward the building of the east end, the choyce stones of his Castle, standing neere to the bank of the River Thames."‡

The magnitude of the new edifice was so great, that neither Maurice, nor de Belmeis,§ his successor, were able to complete the undertaking; though each of them presided twenty years, and expended great sums in furthering it.‖ The succeeding Bishops

* See Strype's Stow, Vol. II. p. 638. This Charter must have been given either in or after 1070, as Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas, Archbishop of York, are among the attesting witnesses, and both those prelates were not appointed to their respective Sees till that year.

† Sur. of Lond. p. 262; first Edit. Our author states also, that "the same was builded upon arches, or vaults, of stone, for defence of fire; which was a *manner of woorke* before that time *unknowne* to the people of this nation, and then brought in by the French." This affirmation is not strictly accurate; several instances could be pointed out of buildings in this country, where *stone* arches were used for the basement of the superstructure, long previous to the advent of the Normans.

‡ Howe's Stow, p. 120.

§ Malmesbury states, that this prelate appropriated the 'whole revenue' of his Bishopric for carrying on the work, 'supporting himself and family by other means.' *De Gest. Pont.*

‖ Henry the First granted to this Bishop 'so much of the ditch' of Baynard's 'Castle,' southward, 'as should be needful to make the wall of the said

Bishops, Gilburtus Universalis and Robertus de Sigello, are not known to have done any thing towards the advancement of the Church; but the second de Belmeis, following the example of his uncle, proceeded with the work, and his successors "in processe of time," completed the undertaking; though not in all parts in accordance with the original plan.*

In the conflagration of the City in the year 1135, or 1136, the

said Church' (that is, the Church-yard wall) and a 'way without the wall.' See the Grant in *Strype's Stow*, Vol. I. p. 639. The same Monarch granted besides, "that every ship, which brought stone for the Church, should be exempted from toll; he [the Bishop] gave him also, all the great fish taken in his precincts, except the *tongues*; and lastly, he secured to him and his successor the delicious tythes of all his venison in the County of Essex." Pennant's Lond. p. 315.

* Previously to this, however, the Cathedral again suffered by fire, though to what extent is questionable; for Stow, in his Annals, has given two accounts, which are contradictory to each other. Under the date, 1132, he records, that a Fire, 'beginning at Gilbertus house, in West Cheap,' burnt, eastward, a great part of the City to Aldgate, 'with the Priory of the Holy Trinity,' and westward, to Ludgate; '*consuming* the great Church of St. Paul.' Yet, in the next page, he mentions another Fire, which 'Kindled at the house of one Ailward, neare London Stone,' and consumed eastward, to Aldgate, and westward, 'to *St. Erkenwald's Shrine* in *Paules Church*.' This second Fire he has also mentioned in his Survey of London (First Edit. p. 117) with the additional sentence, "in the which fire the Priorie of the Holy Trinitie was brent." Now, had the former fire actually consumed the Church, the Shrine of St. Erkenwald would, most probably, have been destroyed with it; and, if it had not, there is the greatest incongruity in supposing, that the vast fabric of St. Paul's could have been restored within the short space that had elapsed between the above dates, when we have seen, that nearly fifty years had been passed since its foundation by Maurice, and that it was still incomplete. The Priory of the Holy Trinity, also, is said, to have been burnt in each conflagration; yet, it is almost equally incredible, if that edifice was really destroyed by the first fire, that it could have been rebuilt so early as the occurrence of the second. Our Author, who quotes the *Liber Trinitatis* as his authority for the fire which began near London Stone, has undoubtedly followed some less authentic writer in his report of the fire which is stated to have happened in

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the eastern part, or choir of the new Church, appears to have been burnt: when it was restored is uncertain, though Dugdale conjectures it to have been executed in the time of Bishop Fitz-Neal, who expended great sums on this fabric in the time of Henry the Second.* The erection of the central tower was probably carried on at the same time, yet this was not completed till 1221, in the last year of Bishop de Sancta Maria. In 1229, Bishop Niger undertook to rebuild, and extend the choir; not from any decay or accident that it had sustained, but in order to adapt it to the Pointed style of architecture, then becoming prevalent.† The expense of this was partly defrayed by collections made throughout England and Ireland, and by the sale of indulgences. On the completion of the work, in the year 1240, 'the grand ceremony of consecration was performed by Bishop Niger, assisted by Cardinal Otho, the Pope's Legate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and six Bishops, in the presence of Henry the Third, and a vast concourse of dignitaries, nobles, and Citizens.'‡

In the year 1256, "the newe worke of Pauls, to wit, the cross yles, were begun to be new builded."§ This must have been to adapt them to the style of the new choir. In the same year, the foundation of the Lady Chapel was begun by Fulco Basset, the then Bishop: Bishop Baldock gave four hundred marks towards completing it; and the rest of the charges was principally defrayed by the sale of indulgences.‖ This Chapel appears to have been completed within a year or two after 1312, as Dugdale has preserved a contract bearing that date, for paving it with

 marble,

in 1332: it is most probable, that the fire of 1336, or perhaps 1335, under which date Stow has placed it in his Survey, was the real, and the only fire; and, under that supposition, it may be concluded, that the east end of the Cathedral, only, was consumed; for it will presently be seen, that St. Erkenwald's Shrine stood near the High Altar.

* Hist. St. Paul's, p. 6. † Ibid. p. 12. ‡ Whar. Hist. de Epise.

§ Howe's Stow's Chro. p. 191.

‖ Leland says, that the Lady Chapel was built on ground that had been obtained of King John, for a Market-place.

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marble, at five pence per foot. Beneath it, and extending also under part of the choir, was the noble Crypt, or Church, dedicated to St. Faith; the roof, which served as the basis of the superstructure, was sustained by three rows of massy pillars, clustered, having diverging ribs running into large semi-circular arches.* This was used as the parish Church for upwards of three centuries.

The upper part of the spire, which was of timber, being greatly decayed, and the old Cross that crowned its apex having fallen down, a considerable repair in this part was made in the years 1314 and 1315, and a new Cross was then set up; in the ball of which, the Bishop, Gilbert de Seagrave, enclosed numerous holy relics, in the vain hope of preserving the spire from the fury of storms. This may be considered as the period of the completion of the ancient Church, and two hundred and twenty-five years had now intervened from the time of its foundation by Maurice.

On Candlemas eve (February the first) in the year 1444-45, in a great tempest of wind, hail, snow, and rain, accompanied by thunder, the towering spire of this edifice "was fired by lightning, in the midst of the shaft, first on the west side and then on the south; and the people, espying the fire, came to quench it in the steeple, which they did with vinegar,"† at least in appearance, "so that all men withdrew themselves to their houses, praising God: but betweene eight and nine of the clock in the same night, the fire brast out again more fervently than before, and did much hurt to the lead and timber, till, by the great labour of the Maior and people that came thither, it was thoroughly quenched."‡ The subsequent repair was not completed till 1462, when a man was killed on the pinnacles, through the breaking of a rope with which he was raising the weather-cock; which was an eagle,

* Hist. of St. Paul's, p. 119. Dugdale's description is accompanied by a print.

† Howe's Stow's Ch. p. 384. ‡ Stow's Lond. p. 264. First Edit.

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eagle, with expanded wings, made of copper, gilt, four feet in length, and three feet and a half in breadth over the wings. *

In the year 1561, June the fourth, the spire was again set on fire, though not by lightning, as at first supposed, and as Stow has recorded in his Annals; for Dr. Heylin affirms, that an aged Plumber, when at the point of death, confessed that the fire had been occasioned by his own carelessness, in leaving a pan of coals and other fewel in the steeple whilst he went to dinner; and that he had judged it better, for his own safety, not to divulge the real cause, as the flames had got so high before his return that he found them impossible to be quenched. "This fire," says Stow, "brast forth, as it seemed to the beholders, two or three yardes beneath the foote of the Crosse, and from thence, brent down the speere [spire] to the stone works and bels, so terribly, that within the space of four houres, the same steeple, with the roofes of the Church, so much as was timber, or otherwise combustible, were consumed; which was a lamentable sight and pittiful remembrance to the beholders thereof." †

"After this mischance, the Q. Majestie [Elizabeth] being much grieved for ye losse of so beautiful a monument," ‡ directed the Mayor to assemble the Citizens for the purpose of taking the requisite measures for an immediate repair, "and for the furtherance thereof, did herself presently give, and deliver in gold 1000 marks, and a warrant for a thousand load of timber, to be taken out of her Majestie's woods or elsewhere." § The Citizens and the Clergy contributed very liberally after this example, and the work was so immediately proceeded with, that, within a month after the fire, a complete covering of boards and lead, "after the manner of a false roofe: and the greatnesse of the worke, dispatched in so short time, was for feare of raine, which might have perished the vaults to the destruction of the whole Church." ‖ So much expedition was practised on this occasion, that the roofs

* Stow's Lond. p. 264. First Edit. † Howe's Stow's Ch. p. 646.
‡ Ibid. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

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of all the ailes were fully completed and covered with lead before the expiration of the year; as well as "the great roofe of the west end, which was framed and made of new and great timber in Yorkshire, and brought to London by Sea." * In like manner, "within the sayd yeere, the whole roofe, and frame of the east end, was made in Yorkshire, and brought by Sea to London, and after set uppe as the rest of the roofes; but the roofes of the north and south end of the same Church, remained covered with boards till 1564, when the Bishop (as I am informed) tooke upon him the charge of repairing them, and for the same laid out 720l. and so that worke ceased to proceed any further." † In this latter sentence, the historian alludes, probably, to the spire, which was never rebuilt, though divers models were devised, and sufficient monies collected for the execution. ‡

"There must have been some very considerable defect of solidity in the original construction of this immense fabric, for, in the time of James the First, it appears to have become ruinous throughout; and though large sums of money were collected, and materials provided, it remained in the same state till the elevation of Laud to the See of London. This prelate exerted himself zealously and successfully in favour of the neglected building, and a general subscription, supported in a munificent manner by King Charles, was soon collected to the amount of 101,330l. 4s. 8d. Having thus amply provided the necessary means for an entire restoration of the Church, the celebrated Inigo Jones was appointed to superintend the important undertaking. His repairs were begun in 1633, and being diligently prosecuted, in the course of nine years a magnificent portico was erected at the west end: the whole exterior of the body of the Church was new cased with stone, and the roofing and lead covering were completed. The vaulting, which stood greatly in need of reparation, was well centered and upheld with some hundreds of tall masts.

"Such was the situation of the building when the dissentions between the King and the Parliament broke out into Civil war. From

* Howe's Stow's Ch. p. 646. † Ibid. ‡ Strype's Stow, Vol. I. p. 645.

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From that period, so fatal to the monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity, most of the Cathedrals in the Kingdom date considerable loss; but the Cathedral of London, whose Citizens had adopted the popular side, both in politics and religion, with peculiar zeal, suffered beyond all example. Having confiscated the revenues of the Church, the Parliament seized all the remaining money and materials which had been appropriated to the repairs. The scaffolds and centres were granted to the soldiers of Colonel Jephson's regiment for arrears of pay, and they removed them with so little caution, that great part of the vaulting fell down in consequence. The choir was still used for public worship, but the rest of the building was converted into stables and barracks for Dragoons, whilst the pavement was, in various parts, broken up for saw-pits.

"Thus, this grand and venerable edifice continued exposed to every wanton, or fanatical, or rapacious injury, till the restoration of the ancient order of things under Charles the Second; when, the regular government of the Church having been re-established, the Dean and Chapter proceeded immediately to remove the incroachments, and to restore the stalls and other appendages of Cathedral worship; but their revenues not affording the means for a general reparation without liberal assistance, another subscription was solicited and received, and the repairs were re-commenced in 1663. Sir John Denham, the Surveyor-general, had the superintendence of the works; but it appears, from the '*Parentalia*,' that Sir Christopher, then Doctor Wren, was employed to make a Survey of the building, the result of which is given in an elaborate Report contained in the work referred to. In that paper, the Architect, after remarking on the original bad construction of the body of the Church, and recommending a new and massy casing of stone, pronounces a final condemnation upon the tower, which, together with adjacent parts, he represents as "such a heap of deformities that no judicious architect will think it corrigible, by any expense that can be laid out upon the dressing it, but that it will still remain unworthy the rest of the work, infirm and tottering." He therefore proposes a bold

alteration of the primitive form, " by cutting off the inner corners of the cross, to render the middle part into a spacious dome or rotunda, with a cupola, or hemispherical roof; and upon this cupola, for the outward ornament, a lantern with a spiring top to rise proportionably, but not to that unnecessary height of the former spire."

" This proposal of the great architect does not appear to have been much approved by his employers, and the public opinion was expressed strongly for retaining the tower in the ancient form; but the great Fire of London, occurring in 1666, at length decided the question. Again this unfortunate building became a prey to the flames, which consuming the roof and precipitating the vaulting, weakened, cracked, and ruined, the walls and piers in such a manner, that they were judged incapable of repair. Still some years of irresolution and fruitless labour elapsed, till it was finally determined to erect a new Cathedral, in a style worthy of the Nation and of the occasion." Such was the fate of the ancient Church; and, like many other monuments of antiquity, it might have passed into oblivion, had not that meritorious antiquary, Dugdale, with the assistance of Hollar, preserved in his History of St. Paul's, some considerable memorials of its form and decorations.

" The *ancient Cathedral of St. Paul* must always be regarded as one of the great works of architecture of the middle ages: in magnitude of dimension it far surpassed every other religious edifice in this country, and it is represented by historians as equally pre-eminent in magnificence and splendour of ornament. The general form of the plan was a simple Cross, with a very long choir, and a transept rather short in proportion to the extreme length of the building. The body of the Church was built in the Norman style: huge pillars on each side divided the nave from the ailes, and supported large semi-circular arches; immediately above these extended an open gallery, with arcades of the same form and width as those below, but of a much shorter proportion: from this level a different mode of building prevailed

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prevailed, and the windows above were pointed. The vaulting which covered the nave was also in the pointed form, of the simplest groined construction, with soffite and diagonal ribs only, similar to those of Salisbury Cathedral, and the transept of Westminster Abbey-Church. Slender circular shafts, placed against the centre of each pier, rose from the pavement, without any interruption of mouldings, and received the springing of the arches; and the transept was in the same style as the nave. Thus we may conjecture, that the original work of Maurice and De Belmeis comprehended the body of the Church as high as the gallery; the vaulting [as well as the circular shafts adjacent to the piers] being undoubtedly part of those works which are stated to have been completed in 1221; and it thus became one of the earliest examples of the use of pointed arches in this country. Sir Christopher Wren was of opinion, that this Norman building had been erected upon the remaining foundations of the more ancient Church; for those he found to be composed of Kentish rubble-stone, [artfully worked, and] cemented with mortar of extreme hardness [in the Roman manner];* both being much superior to the materials used in the superstructure.

"At the intersection of the nave with the transept, four massy piers supported the Tower; and from this part a broad flight of steps led to the choir, which was enclosed by a magnificent screen, elaborately adorned with niches and statues. The *Choir*, a grand specimen of the architecture of Henry the Third's time, was completed in the pointed arch style, with a vault of a more complicated structure than that of the nave, each severy [or compartment] being composed of five ribs.† The *Lady Chapel*, at

* *Parentalia*, p. 272.

† Sir Christopher Wren imagined that the Choir "was added in after times, to give a greater length eastward;" and that the original termination of the *Presbyterium* was semi-circular. Among the foundations of the Choir he found '*nine wells* in a row," which he conceived to have anciently belonged to "a street of houses," that crossed obliquely from "the High Street, then Watling Street, to the Roman Causeway, now Cheapside." *Parentalia*, p. 272.

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the end of the choir, was a continuation of the building in the same form and style; and at the eastern extremity it was decorated by a rose-window of extraordinary size and magnificence. A spacious and lofty *Crypt*, extending beneath the eastern part of the Cathedral, was appropriated to religious rites, under the designations of the Church of St. Faith, and of the Chapel of Jesus. Three ranges of massy piers, enveloped with slender cylindrical shafts, divided the area into four equal ailes, and supported a high pitched vault of the simplest groined construction.

"The *exterior* of the building presented a curious medley of the architectural style of different ages. At the western front, Inigo Jones had erected a portico of the Corinthian order; thus displaying a signal example of that bigotry in taste, which only admitting one mode of beauty, is insensible to the superior claims of congruity. This portico, singly considered, was, however, a grand and beautiful composition, and not inferior to any thing of the kind which modern times have produced: fourteen columns, each rising to the lofty height of forty-six feet, were so disposed, that eight, with two pilasters placed in front, and three on each flank, formed a square [oblong] peristyle, and supported an entablature and balustrade, which was crowned with statues of Kings, the predecessors of Charles the First, who claimed the honour of this fabric. Had the whole front been accommodated to Roman architecture, it might have deserved praise as a detached composition; but though cased with rustic work, and decorated with regular cornices, the pediment retained the original Gothic character in its equilateral proportions, and it was flanked by barbarous obelisks, and ill-designed turrets.*

"The whole exterior of the body of the Church had been cased and reformed in a similar manner, through which every detail of antiquity was obliterated, and the general forms and proportions only left. The buttresses were converted into regular piers, and a complete cornice crowned the whole: of the windows, some were bare

* A representation of this curious elevation is given in the "Works of Inigo Jones," edited by Kent.

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bare unornamented apertures, whilst others were decorated in a heavy Italian manner, with architrave dressings, brackets, and cherubic heads. The transepts presented fronts of the same incongruous style as the western elevation, and without any of its beauties.

"At the centre of the Cross, the great tower rose aloft in pre-eminent grandeur; this was in the simple style of the early pointed architecture. Three remarkable lofty windows on each side in the lower part, with a like number above, but of a shorter proportion, gave an original character, with an air of great lightness and beauty to this tower, which was the foundation of an immense spire, of which, however, there is no accurate representation; for though Dugdale gives a view of the Church in its entire state, yet this could not have been taken by him from personal inspection, neither does he mention any authority; and we may remark, that the style of the spire therein exhibited, is evidently not authentic. At each angle enormous arched buttresses, the irregular additions of various repairs, had been erected to secure the declining tower. The rest of the building, eastward of the transept, remained in its original form, a fabric of pointed arches and flying buttresses. The most remarkable object of the east front was the rose-window, which constituted the principal ornament of the Lady Chapel."*

When the spire was rebuilt, in the year 1315, an exact measurement was taken of the Church, and this was copied by Dugdale from a brass-table that was anciently affixed against a pillar in the choir. The entire length of the building was then 690 feet; the breadth, 130 feet; the height of the nave, from the pavement to the top of the vaulting, 102 feet; and the height of the choir, or new fabric, as it was called, was 88 feet. The altitude of the tower, from the level ground was, 260 feet, and of the spire, 274 feet; making a total of 534 feet: yet, according to the table, the whole height of the spire was only 520 feet. This

* Fine Arts of the Eng. School, Arch. p. 5--8.

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This variation has been accounted for, by supposing the height of the tower to have been taken to the summit of the battlements, or pinnacles, and that of the spire to have been reckoned from its base; a mode of measurement which might easily create an excess of fourteen feet in the entire altitude.

Among the abundant decorations of the old Church, the *High Altar*, and the Shrine of St. Erkenwald, are celebrated as prodigies of splendour, in costly materials and exquisite workmanship. The former stood between two columns, in the eastern part of the choir: it was adorned with rich jewellery, and surrounded with images, most beautifully wrought; over it was a curious canopy of wood, depicted with the figures of saints and angels. Near the Altar was *St. Erkenwald's Shrine*, which rested on a plain tomb, and was enriched with gold, silver, and precious stones; among which were "the best sapphire stones," of Richard de Preston, of London, grocer, there to remain for curing diseases of the eyes.* This Shrine was for many ages the resort of the pious, and the gifts made to it were exceedingly valuable. Here King John, when prisoner in England, bowed down in silent devotion, before he offered four basons of gold at the High Altar; and Dugdale records, that the Dean and Chapter, in 1339, employed three goldsmiths during a whole year,† to work on this venerated monument.‡ The remains of St. Erkenwald were first removed into the new Church in the year 1140.

It is impossible to particularize, within the necessary limits of this publication, the vast variety of Chapels, Chantries, Shrines, Monuments, and Ecclesiastical ornaments and vestments, that were

* Dugdale's St. Paul's, p. 23. For the pretended virtues of the Sapphire, see Boethius de Lapid. et. Gem. p. 184.

† Dug. St. Paul's, p. 23. The wages of the two most expert of these workmen were *eight* shillings weekly; of the other only *five* shillings. *Ibid.*

‡ St. Erkenwald, says a late writer, speaking ironically, "was most deservedly canonized; for the very litter in which he was carried in his last illness, continued many centuries to cure fevers by the touch; and the very chips, carried to the sick, restored them to health." *Pennant*, p. 314.

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were to be found within the old Cathedral.* This, however, is the less to be regretted, as a very full and interesting account, illustrated by various engravings, may be seen in Dugdale's History. Some of the Chapels and Monuments were in the most beautiful style

* It must appear strange to those who are acquainted with the decent order and propriety of regulation now observed in our Cathedral Churches and other places of Divine Worship, that ever such an extended catalogue of improper customs and disgusting usages as are noticed in various works, should have been formerly admitted to be practised in St. Paul's Church; and more especially, that they should have been so long habitually exercised as to be defended on the plea of prescription.

"At every door of this Church," says Weever, "was anciently this verse depicted; and in my time it might be perfectly read at the great south door:"

Hic Locus hic sacer est, hic nulli mingere fas est.

It was customary also for Beggars to solicit charity even within the Church; which was likewise made a common thoroughfare for Porters and Carriers, as an admonition to whom the following lines were sometime affixed to a pillar, over an iron box kept to receive donations:

All those that shall enter within the Church doere
With burden or basket, must give to the poor;
And if there be any aske what they must pay,
To this box a penny—ere they pass away.

These nuisances had become so great, that in the time of Philip and Mary the Common Council found it necessary to pass an Act, subjecting all future offenders to certain pains and penalties. From that Act the Church seems to have been not only made a common passage-way for ale, beer, bread, fish, flesh, fardels of stuff, &c. but also for 'mules, horses, and other beasts.' This Statute, however, must have proved only a temporary restraint (excepting probably as to the leading of animals through the Church); for in the reign of Elizabeth, we learn, from Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, (Vol. III. p. 71.) that idlers and drunkards were indulged in lying and sleeping on the benches at the choir door; and that other usages, too nauseous for description, were also frequent.

Among the curious notices relating to the irreverend practices pursued in this Church in the time of Elizabeth, collected by Mr. Malcolm from the manuscript presentments on Visitations, preserved at St. Paul's, are the following:

1598

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style of the pointed architecture; and were finished with all that elaborate richness and delicacy of ornament, which is still to be seen in the Abbey-Church of Westminster. The Screen also, which separated the nave from the choir, was in a similar taste,

1598. "We thinke it a verye necessarye thinge that every quorister should bringe with him to Church a Testament in English, and tome to every chapter as it is daily read, or some other good and godlye prayer-booke, rather than spend theyr tyme in talke, and hunting after *Spurr-money*, whereon they set their whole minds, and do often abuse dyvers if they do not bestow somewhat on them."—Spurr-money was an exaction from persons who entered the Cathedral booted and spurred; the gentlemen of the choir were peremptory in their demand, and threatened imprisonment in the choir for the night to all who refused them a pecuniary gift. The custom is still prevalent among the juvenile members of the Chapel Royal, at Windsor, the choristers at Lichfield, and some other Cathedrals. At the time that the above presentment was made, Spurs were generally worn by the bucks and dashers of the age, to whom Ben Jonson alludes in a scene in the *Alchymist*, where Subtle advises Abel Drugger to place a "loadstone under the threshold,

To draw in the gallants that wear spurs."

"In the upper Quier wher the comon [communion] table dothe stande, ther is such unreverente people, *walking* with *their hatts on their heddes*, comonly all the service-tyme, no man reproving them for yt."

"Yt is a greate disorder in the Churche, that porters, butchers, and water-bearers, and who not, be suffered (in special tyme of service) to carrye and recarrye whatsoever; no man withstaudinge them or gainsaying them," &c.

The notices of Encroachments on St. Paul's, in the same reign, are equally curious. The Chantry and other Chapels were completely diverted from their ancient purposes; some were used as receptacles for stones and lumber, another was a School, another a Glazier's workshop; and the windows of all were, in general, broken. Part of the Vaults beneath the Church was occupied by a Carpenter; the remainder was held by the Bishop, the Dean and Chapter, and the Minor Canons. One vault, thought to have been used for a burial-place, was converted into a wine cellar, and a way had been cut into it through the wall of the building itself. (This practice of converting church vaults into wine cellars, it may be remarked, is not yet worn out. Some of the vaults beneath

Winchester

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taste, and remarkably elegant, being enriched with canopied niches and statues. The statues which last adorned this Screen had been executed at the expense of that eminent Citizen, Sir Paul Pindar.

The

Winchester Cathedral are now, or were lately, used for that purpose.) The shrowds and cloisters under the Convocation-house, "where not longe since the sermons in foule weather were wont to be preached," were made "a common laystall for boardes, trunks, and chests, being lett onte unto trunk-makers; where, by meanes of their daily knocking and noyse, the Church is greatly disturbed." More than twenty houses also had been built against the outer walls of the Cathedral; and part of the very foundations was cut away to make offices. One of those houses had a closet literally dug in the wall; from another was a way though a window into a ware-room in the steeple; a third, 'partly formed by St. Paul's,' was "lately used as a *Play-house*," and the owner of a fourth "baked his *bread* and *pies*, in an *oven* excavated within a buttress. See *Mal. Lond. Red.* Vol. III. p. 71—73.

The "WALKERS IN PAUL'S,"* during this and the following reigns, were composed of a motley assemblage of the gay, the vain, the dissolute, the idle, the knavish, and the lewd; and various notices of this fashionable resort may be found in the old Plays and other writings of the time. Ben Jonson, in his *Every Man out of his Humour*, has given a series of scenes in the interior of St. Paul's, and an assemblage of a great variety of the characters; in the course of which the curious piece of information occurs, that it was common to affix *bills*, in the form of advertisements, upon the columns in the ailes of the Church, in a similar manner to what is now done in the Royal Exchange: those bills he ridicules in two affected specimens, the satire of which is admirable. Shakespeare, also, makes Falstaff say, in speaking of Bardolph, "I bought him in *Paul's*, and he'll buy me a horse in *Smithfield:* if I could get me but a wife in the *Stews*, I were mann'd,

* The young gallants from the Inns of Court, the western and the northern parts of the Metropolis, and those that had spirit enough to detach themselves from the counting-houses in the east, used to meet at the central point, St. Paul's; and from this circumstance obtained the appellation of *Paul's Walkers*, as we now say *Bond-Street Loungers*. However strange it may seem, tradition says, that the great Lord Bacon used in his youth to cry, *Eastward, Ho!* and was literally a Paul's Walker. *Moser, in Eur. Mag.* July, 1807.

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The ancient mode of worship was celebrated in St. Paul's with great magnificence, and the numerous altars were richly adorned. Various statues of the Virgin, and of different Saints, stood also in divers parts of the Church, and frequent oblations were made before them. One "glorious image of the Blessed Virgin" as Dugdale

mann'd, hors'd, and wiv'd." It would seem, from Massenger's Comedy of the *City Madam*, that even *cut-purses* might be enumerated among the frequenters of *Paul's*. Shavem says,

"I'll hang ye both. I can but ride;*
You for the purse you cut in *sermon* time at *Paul's*."

In a scarce tract, intituled '*Microcosmographie*,' printed in 1628, *Paul's Walk* and its visitants are described in the following whimsical terms: to the honour of the fair sex, females do not appear to have formed any part of the company.

"It is the Land's epitome, or you may call it the lesser isle of *Great Brittaine*. It is more than this, the whole World's Map, which you may here discerne in its perfect'st motion, justling and turning. It is a heap of stones and men, with a vast confusion of languages; and, were the steeple not sanctified, nothing liker *Babel*. The noyse in it is like that of bees, a strange humming or buzze, mixt of walking, tongues, and feet. It is a kind of still roare, or loud whisper. It is the great exchange of all discourse, and no business whatsoever but is here stirring and a foot. It is the synod of all pates politicke, joynted and laid together in the most curious posture; and they are not halfe so busie at the Parliament. It is the anticke of tailes to tailes, and backes to backes; and for vizards, you need goe no further than faces. It is the market of young lecturers, whom you may cheepen here at all rates and sizes. It is the generall mint of all famous lies, which are here, like the legends of popery, first coyned and stamped in the Church. All inventions are emptyed here, and not few pockets. The best signe of a Temple in it is, that it is the theeves sanctuary, which robbe more safely in the croud than in a wilderness, whilst every searcher is a bush to hide them. It is the other expense of the day, after playes, taverne, and a bandy house, and men have still some oathes left to sweare here. It is the eare's brothell, and satisfies their lust and ytch. *The visitants are all men, without exceptions*; but the principal inhabitants and possessors are stale Knights, and Captaines out of service; men of long rapiers and breeches, which after all turne merchants here, and traffieke for news: but

* That is, by way of punishment, in the *cart*, or *tumbril*.

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Dugdale calls it, which stood in the body of the Church, had a solemn service performed before it every morning; to institute and support which, Barnet, Bishop of Bath and Wells, left certain lands, in 1365. Another statue of the Virgin stood in the Lady Chapel; and to this Hatfield, Bishop of Durham, invited all "the truly penitent, and confessed of their sins," to come and make offerings, or to say a *Paternoster*, and an *Ave*, under promise of an indulgence of pardon for forty days. The Blessed Mary had also a Chapel and an Altar, expressly dedicated to her (independent of the Lady Chapel) where at every celebration of her offices a taper was burnt

but thriftier men make it their ordinarie, and boord here verie cheape. Of all such places, it is least haunted with Hobgoblins, for if a Ghost would walke, move he could not."

What is meant by the sentence, 'thrifty men make it their ordinary, and board here very cheap,' alludes, probably, to the common saying (still in use) of 'Dining with Duke Humphrey.' Stow relates, that Sir John Beauchamp, son to the great Guy, Earl of Warwick, had a 'faire Monument' in St. Paul's, which was misnamed *Humphrey's*, Duke of Gloucester's, by ignorant people, who held the Duke's memory in such particular veneration, that they were accustomed to assemble [thrice a year] at his tomb, and 'merily professe themselves' to be his Servants. The most solemn meeting was on the morning of St. Andrew's Day, which, on this occasion, was, most probably, kept as a fast by the more zealous of the Duke's servants; though the circumstances are not well explained, either by Stow or Munday. Stow's words are, that those who profess to "Serve *Duke Humphrey* in *Powles*, are to be punished here, and sent to Saint Alban's, there to be punished againe for theyr absence from theyr Master, as they call him." Antony Munday, Stow's continuator says, that those who met "concluded on a breakfast or dinner, assuring themselves to be Servants, and to hold *diversity* of offices under the Good Duke Humphrey." The other Assembly took place on May-day, "when tankard-bearers, watermen, and some of like quality beside, would use to come to the same Tombe, early in the morning, and (according as the other) have delivered serviceable presentation at the Monument, by strewing herbes and sprinkling faire water on it, as in the duty of Servants, and according to their degrees and changes in office." See Stow's Lond. p. 272. First Edit. and p. 368. Edit. 1633.

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burnt, weighing three pounds. Before the Altar in the Lady Chapel seven tapers, each weighing two pounds, were constantly kept burning during the celebrations in honour of God, Our Lady, and St. Lawrence. In the nave also stood a great Cross, with a taper burning; and near the north door of the Church was a Crucifix, to which frequent oblations were made, and "*Sancte Deus fortis*" sung before it by the Choiristers. A *Picture of St. Paul*, which was 'placed in a tabernacle of wood,' on the right side of the High Altar, is spoken of as a masterly performance; and may be regarded as an early specimen of oil painting, as it was executed in the year 1398, and cost 12l. 6s.*

The number of the Chantry Chapels amounted to seventy-six: of these, full particulars, with the names of the founders, &c. may be seen in Dugdale. There were likewise no fewer than sixty endowed anniversary Obits. These facts, when combined with the remembrance of the various Saints, Chapels, and Altars, lead to the inference, that the Priests belonging to this Cathedral, including the regular establishment, could hardly be fewer than two hundred.

Among the numerous personages buried in this Church, whose tombs or memorials remained at the time when Dugdale composed his History, were the following; which are here enumerated nearly as they were placed:—*Erkenwald*, Bishop of London, ob. 695; *Sebba*, King of the East Saxons, ob. 720; *Ethelred*, King of the West Saxons, ob. 1017; *William, the Norman*, Bishop of

* A Letter is preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. III. p. 1033, which was sent by Edward the Second, to Bishop Stephen de Gravesend, forbidding him to suffer the continuance of the devotion that was accustomed to be paid to the *Picture* of the Earl of Lancaster, which was hung up, among many others, in St. Paul's Church: this Letter bears date in June, 1323. The Earl was grandson to Henry the Third, and having been engaged in rebellion against the reigning monarch, was beheaded at Pontefract; but he was honoured by the people as a martyr, and was subsequently canonized, in 1398.

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of London, ob. 1070; *Roger Niger*, Bishop of London, ob. 1241;* *Thomas de Evre*, L.L.D. Dean of St. Paul's; *John of Gaunt*, Duke of Lancaster, ob. 1399,† with his two first wives, *Blanch* and *Constance*; *Sir Simon Burley*, Knight-Banneret, ob. 1398;‡ *Sir John Pulteney*, or *Pounteney*, four times Mayor of London, ob. 1348; *Hamond de Chigwell*, or *Chychwell*, six times Mayor, ob. 1328; *Richard de Newport*, Bishop of London, ob. 1318; *John de Cheshull*, Bishop of London, ob. 1279; *Adam de Burie*, Lord Mayor, ob. 1400; the *Duchess of Bedford*, sister to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, ob. 1433; *William Herbert*, Earl of Pembroke, ob. 1569,§ and his Countess; *Alexander Nowell*, D. D. Dean of St. Paul's, ob. 1601; *Sir Francis Walsingham*, ob. 1590;‖ *Sir Philip Sidney*, ob. 1586;

* The Shrine of this Bishop was in high repute, and a visit to it was frequently enjoined, as a condition in the Indulgences granted to contributors towards the building. Matthew Paris records that miracles were frequently wrought at it.

† 'Old *John of Gaunt*, time-honoured *Lancaster!*' the brother, father, and uncle of Kings, had a most magnificent tomb erected over his remains, on which himself and his first wife, Blanch, who died of the Plague in 1369, were represented by recumbent figures, beneath a rich canopy of tabernacle work. His crest upon his *abacof*, or cap of state, his target, and his ponderous lance, were hung as trophies upon his monument.

‡ His statue, in complete armour, was placed under an elegant arch in the pointed style. He had been tutor to Richard the Second, and was beheaded, by order of the prevailing faction, on Tower Hill.

§ This nobleman was a very active character in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, and his successors, Edward the Sixth, Mary, and Elizabeth. *Anne*, his first Countess, died at Baynard's Castle, in 1551, and was buried here with vast solemnity. She was sister to Catherine Parr, the surviving Queen of Henry the Eighth. Their figures lied beneath a magnificent canopy, divided into two arches; and having their three children, *Anne*, Lady Talbot, *Henry*, Earl of Pembroke, and *Sir Edward Herbert*, of Powis Castle, kneeling at the head and feet.

‖ This great statesman had neither tomb nor monument. He died so poor that his body was buried by stealth, to prevent its being arrested. His

1586;* *Sir John Wolley*, ob. 1595, with his wife, and his son *Sir Francis*, ob. 1611;† *John Colet*, D. D. Dean of St. Paul's, ob. 1519;‡ *Sir William Cokain*, or *Cokayne*, Bart. Alderman and Sheriff of London, ob. 1626;§ *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper, ob. 1579,‖ and his two wives; *Sir Christopher Hatton*, Lord Chancellor, ob. 1591;¶ *Sir Thomas Heneage*, Bart. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, ob. 1594; *John Aelmer*, Bishop of London, ob. 1594; *Richard Fletcher*, Bishop of London, ob. 1596; *Eustace de Fauconbridge*, Bishop of London, ob, 1228; *Henry de Wengham*, or *Wingham*, Bishop of London, ob. 1261; *Michael de Northburgh*, or *Norborow*, ob. 1361; *Robert Brewer*, Dean of St. Paul's, ob. 1366; *Ralph de Baldock*, Bishop of London, ob. 1313; *Robert de Braybrooke*, Bishop of London, ob. 1404; *John Stokesley*, Bishop of London, ob.

His talents and worth, however, were commemorated by an Acrostic of little merit, and a long inscription in Latin. Pennant mentions an ancient manuscript list of statesmen in Elizabeth's reign, which consigns him (with Leicester, and others) to the flames of hell, for his zeal against the Catholics.

* Sydney, like Walsingham, had nothing more than a puerile inscription to record his memory, though his obsequies had been celebrated with extreme magnificence, and a general mourning had avouched the sorrow of the nation at his loss.

† Considerable remains of their "very goodly tombe" now lie dispersed in the vaults beneath the present Church; the figure of his Lady perfect.

‡ He was represented by a bust in *terra cotta*, dressed in a gown and square cap; beneath was a skeleton (of wood) on a mat, rolled up at one end to sustain the head: part of the skeleton is in a vault beneath the Church.

§ His bust still remains in St. Faith's vaults.

‖ His effigy was clad in armour; those of his wives were in gowns and short ruffs: these also partly remain in the vaults.

¶ Besides having "a very faire and goodly tombe," with Latin inscriptions, this eminent statesman was commemorated by a series of verses, affixed to an adjacent pillar, in which his Sovereign Mistress, Elizabeth, was, by the blasphemous flattery of the writer, characterized as 'God's dear Handmaid,' his 'most miracle,' and 'rarity not heard nor seene!'

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ob. 1539; *John King*, Bishop of London, ob. 1621;* *Henry Lacie*, or *Lacy*, Earl of Lincoln, ob. 1310;† *Valentine Carey*, Bishop of Exeter, ob. 1626; *John Donne*, D. D. Dean of St. Paul's, ob. 1631;‡ *Sir John Beauchamp*, K. G. Constable of Dover Castle, ob. 1358;§ *Margaret Beauchamp*, Countess of Shrewsbury, wife to the celebrated warrior, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, ob. 1468; *Sir Allen Boxhull*, K. G. Constable of the Tower; *John Neville*, Lord Latimer, ob. 1542; *Dr. Thomas Lynacre*, the famous Physician to Henry the Eighth, ob. 1524; *Sir Edward Stanhope*, Bart. L. L. D. Vicar General, and Chancellor to the Bishop of London, ob. 1608; *Thomas Kemp*, Bishop of London, ob. 1489;§ *Richard Vaughan*, Bishop of London, ob. 1607; *Richard Fitz-James*, Bishop of London, ob. 1521; *William Lilly*, the Grammarian, first Master of St. Paul's School, ob. 1522; *Thomas Ravis*, Bishop of London, ob. 1609; *Sir William Dethick*, Bart. Garter King at

 Arms,

* This prelate was commemorated by a plain marble stone, inscribed only (agreeably to the directions of his will) with the single word *Resurgam*.

† This nobleman greatly distinguished himself in the Welsh wars, in the time of Edward the First. He contributed towards the building of the New Work, or Lady Chapel, in which he was buried, after his decease, at the age of threescore, at his house called *Lincoln's Inn*. The Book of Dunmow gives him this character: *Vir illustris in consilio, strenuus in omni guerra et prelio, Princeps militie in Anglia, et omni regno ornatissimus*. His monument, which Stow describes as "foulely defaced," had on it his effigies, in mail armour, "crosse-legged, as one professed for defence of the Holy Land against the Infidels."

‡ Dr. Donne was represented by a statue, sculptured by the celebrated Nicholas Stone, for 120l. When near death, the Doctor is stated to have wrapt himself in a shroud as a corse, and to have had a likeness of himself painted whilst so enveloped, and standing upon an urn: from that painting the statue was executed, and it is still preserved in the vaults.

§ He was interred in a beautiful little Chapel, purposely built for him, on the south side of the nave.

‖ This prelate was buried in "a comely Chapel," founded by himself, on the north side of the nave, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

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Arms, ob. 1612; and *Sir Anthony Van Dyke*, the celebrated Painter, ob. 1641. Most of the *Saxon* Bishops of London, besides those already mentioned, were also interred in this Church.*

Among the splendid Treasures of this Church, as given by Dugdale, from an Inventory taken in 1295, and which occupies thirteen

* Among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, is the following translation (No. 358) of an *Indulgence* (sealed with a bull of lead) that was granted by Pope Boniface the Eleventh, to Sir Gerard Braybroke and Elizabeth, his Lady, and found, with the bones of the Knight, at St. Paul's, in a leaden coffin, in the year 1608. In Dugdale's History it is printed in the original Latin.

'BONIFACE XI. Bishop of Rome, servant to the servants of God, to the noble Lord, our well-beloved son, *Gerard Braybroke*, the younger, within the diocese of Lincoln, Knight, and to the noble *Lady Elizabeth*, his wife, sendeth greeting and apostolical benediction.

'The love of your devotion, wherewith ye respectively reverence us and the Roman Church, hath so wrought, that we do vouchsafe graciously to hear your petitions, those especially which concern your souls' health. Hence it is, that being inclined to your supplications, we give permission to the Confessor, whom either of ye shall think meet to be chosen, to be able by the tenor of these presents once only, in the very issue of life and death, to grant unto your devotion, in the authority apostolical, full remission of all your sins, for the which ye have in heart been sorry, and whereof ye shall have made confession by word of mouth, provided that ye persist and abide in the sincerity of the faith, and initiation of the holy Roman Church, and in the obedience and devotion of Us, or the Bishop of Rome authentically succeeding us. Yet, so that for those sins whereof in this life satisfaction is to be made to others, your said Confessor do enjoin you by yourselves severally, if you survive, or by your heirs, if then haply ye depart this life, to satisfy; which satisfaction ye or they are bound to perform according to the premises. And lest by reason of this grace ye become more prone to commit sins hereafter, which God forbid, our will is, if by chance, upon the confidence and hope of pardon, ye commit the like, that as concerning those sins so committed, the pardon aforesaid shall in no wise help.

'Be it therefore lawful for no man to infringe this writing containing our grant and pleasure: but if any shall presume to attempt it, let him know that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of his blessed Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. Dated at Rome, at St. Peter's, the first of June, the second year of our Pontificate, 1390.'

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thirteen folio pages of the *Monasticon*, were the following: three Morses of gold, fourteen of silver, thirty of copper, gilt, and seven of wood, plated with silver; all of them richly embellished with jewels: four pair of silver Phials, or Cruets; four silver Ampuls; one silver Chrismatory; two pair of silver Candlesticks; a silver Cup, gilt, with a cover and Pyx; two holy-water Vessels; nine silver Censers; three silver Globes, with a plate and ship for frankincense; six silver Basons; eleven silver Crosses; four golden Chalices, or Cups; five silver Chalices; eleven Books, richly bound; five silver Biers, with many Trunks, Boxes, and Caskets with relics, decorated with jewels; six silver Cups; four Horns, enriched with silver; nine Mitres, partly adorned with jewels, as were also the Bishop's Gloves; nine pair of rich Sandals; eight Croziers; ten rich Cushions; one hundred Copes of the richest silks; many Copes of cloth of gold, and others embroidered with curious figures; eighteen Amices; one hundred Vestments, with proper Stoles, Manciples, Tunics, Dalmatics, Albes, Corporals, Canopies, &c. besides a great variety of rich articles belonging to the numerous Altars, Shrines, and Chapels.

Under the ancient form of worship in St. Paul's Cathedral, it was the custom, annually, to chose an *Episcopus puerorum*, or BOY-BISHOP, who assumed the state and attire of a Bishop, and whose rule continued from St. Nicholas's day (December the sixth) to that of the Holy Innocents, December the twenty-eighth. This was done in commemoration of St. Nicholas, who, according to the Romish Calendar, was so piously fashioned, that even when a babe in his cradle, he would fast both on Wednesdays and Fridays, and at those times was 'well pleased' to suck but once a day. However ridiculous it may now seem, the Boy-Bishop, who was chosen from among the choiristers, is stated to have possessed Episcopal authority during the above term; and the other children were his prebendaries. He was not permitted to celebrate mass, but he had full liberty to preach; and however puerile his discourses might have been, we find they were regarded with so much attention, that the learned Dean Colet,

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in his Statutes for St. Paul's School, expressly ordains, that the Scholars shall on "every *Childermas* daye, come to *Paule's Churche*, and heare the Chylde Bishop's sermon, and after be at the hygh masse, and each of them offer a penny to the *Chylde Bishop;* and with them the Maisters and Surveyors of the Scole." Probably these orations, though affectedly childish, were composed by the more aged members of the Church. If the Boy-Bishop died within the time of his prelacy, he was interred *in pontificalibus*, with the same ceremonies as the real diocesan; and the tomb of a Child Bishop, in Salisbury Cathedral, may be referred to as an instance of such interment.* An article in the Wardrobe Accompts of Edward the First, evinces that the *Episcopus puerorum*† had the honour of singing vespers before the King.

The Boys of St. Paul's were famous for acting Mysteries, or Holy Plays; and were also among the very first of those who performed the more regular Dramas. They frequently exhibited before our Monarchs; and even so early as the year 1378, or second of Richard the Second, they petitioned the King to prohibit some ignorant and 'inexpert people from presenting the *History of the Old Testament*, to the great prejudice of the said Clergy, who have been at great expense in order to represent it publicly at Christmas.'

One of the most remarkable occurrences that ever took place within the old Cathedral, was the attempt made in 1376 by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, under the commands of Pope Gregory the Eleventh, to compel *Wickliff*, the Father of the English Reformation, to subscribe to the condemnation

* See Gough's Sepul. Mon. Vol. II. Intro. P. IV.

† Pennant remarks, from the *Memoires de la fête des Foux*, that this character was very common in many of the Churches in France, under the name of *L'Evêque des foux*, or *Archevêque des foux;* and "they were dressed," he continues, "in the Pontifical habits, and sung such indecent songs, danced, and committed such horrid prophanations, even before the altar, that at length they were suppressed by an arrêt of Parliament, at the request of the Dean and Chapter of Rheims." Lond. p. 324.

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demnation of some of his own tenets, which had been recently promulgated in the eight articles that have been termed the Lollard's Creed. The Pope had ordered the above Prelates to apprehend and examine Wickliff; but they thought it most expedient to *summon* him to St. Paul's, as he was openly protected by the famous John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; and that nobleman accompanied him to the examination, together with the Lord Percy, Marshal of England. The proceedings were soon interrupted by a dispute, as to whether Wickliff should sit or stand; and the following curious dialogue arose on the Lord Percy desiring him to be seated.

Bishop of London. "If I could have guessed, Lord Percy, that you would have played the master here, I would have prevented your coming."

Duke of Lancaster. "Yes, he shall play the master here, for all you."

Lord Percy. "Wickliff, sit down! You have need of a seat, for you have many things to say."

Bishop of London. "It is unreasonable that a Clergyman cited before his Ordinary should sit during his answer. He shall stand!"

Duke of Lancaster. "My Lord Percy, you are in the right! And for you, my Lord Bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant, I will take care to humble your pride; and not only yours, my Lord, but that of all the Prelates in England. Thou dependest upon the credit of thy relations; but so far from being able to help thee, they shall have enough to do to support themselves."

Bishop of London. "I place no confidence in my relations, but in God alone, who will give me the boldness to speak the truth."

Duke of Lancaster (*speaking softly to Lord Percy*). "Rather than take this at the Bishop's hands, I will drag him by the hair of the head out of the Church!"*

* Fox's Acts and Monuments.

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This harsh language so exasperated the Bishop's partizans, that the Duke and the Earl Marshal judged it prudent to withdraw with Wickliff; yet the tumult continued through the day, and the City populace, instigated by some false rumours, forced the gates of the Marshalsea, in Southwark, and released the prisoners; and afterwards proceeding to the Duke's Palace, in the Savoy, plundered his house, and would have committed violence on his person, had they been able to have found him.

The splendour of the Catholic forms of worship in St. Paul's was gradually abrogated, as the Reformation assumed a decided character. One of the latest of these exhibitions was on Whit-Sunday (June the 13th) 1546, when the Peace of Guisnes was proclaimed with great solemnity, and a general procession; "before the which," says Stow, "was borne all the richest silver crosses in London, to wit, of every church one," was made from St. Paul's through Cheapside and Cornhill, to Leadenhall, and back again to St. Paul's.* The procession was composed of "all the Parish Clerkes, Condocts, Quiristers, and Priests in London, with the Quire of Paul's, all of them in their richest coapes, singing; the Companies of the Citie in their best liveries; the Lord Maior, the Aldermen, and Sheriffs, in scarlet, &c."† This was the last shew, continues the historian, of the rich crosses and copes in London; for shortly after they, with other their church plate, were called into the King's treasury and wardrobe.‡

On the eighteenth of September, 1547. according to Dr. Heylin,§ the Litany was chaunted in St. Paul's, in the *English* language, and the Epistle and Gospel read at the High Mass in the same tongue. Within two months afterwards (November the seventeenth) the Rood, "with Mary and John, and all other Images in ye Church was begun to be pulled downe;" and "the like was done in all the Churches in London, and so throughout England;

* Howe's Stow, p. 591. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

§ Hist. of the Reformation.

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England; and Texts of Scripture were written upon the walls of those Churches, against Images, &c."* On the Candlemas day following, February the second, the "bearing of Candles in the Church was left off throughout the whole Cittie of London;" and various other ceremonies, as the strewing of Ashes on Ash Wednesday, the carrying of Palms on Palm Sunday, &c. were successively discontinued.

In the beginning of the year 1549, 'the Privy Council ordained that the Bishop of London should permit no especial Masses to be sung in St. Paul's, and but one Communion at the High Altar, and that to be administered during the celebration of Mass.' Shortly after, on the sixth of April, proclamation, says Stow, "was made for the Masse to be put down throughout ye whole Realme."

The following entry occurs in the Journal of the youthful Monarch, Edward the Sixth: "1549, Nov. 19. There were Letters sent to every Bishop to pluck down the Altars." These mandates, however, were not immediately attended to; and it was not till the eleventh of June, (St. Barnabas's day) 1550, that the High Altar in this Cathedral was removed. A Table was then set where the Altar stood, "with a vayle drawne beneath and steppes, and on the Sunday next a Communion was sung at the same Table: shortlie after, all the Altars in London were taken downe, and Tables placed in their roomes."†

On the Feast of All Saints (November the first) 1552, the new Service Book of the *Common Prayer* was first used in St. Paul's, and in the other Churches of the City. On this occasion Bishop Ridley, preached a Sermon in the Choir, in the forenoon, "in his rochet only, without cope or vestment;" and in the afternoon "he preached at Paule's Crosse, the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Crafts, in their best liveries, being present: which Sermon, tending to the setting forth the saide late newe-made Booke of Common Prayer, continued til almost five of the clocke at night, so that the Maior, Aldermen, and Companies entred not into Paul's Church,

* Howe's Stow, p. 595. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 604.

Church, as had bin accustomed, but departed home by torch light."* The Prebendaries of St. Paul's had now left off wearing their hoods, and the use of all copes, crosses, &c. was forbidden: soon afterwards, "the upper choir in St. Paul's Church, where the High Altar stood, was broken downe, and all the choir there about; and the Table of the Communion was set in the lower [choir] where the Priests sing."† In the following year, the Bishop of London, the Lord Mayor, the Lord Chief Justice, 'with other,' were appointed Commissioners for collecting all the remaining 'Church goods' in the Metropolis, "that is to say, jewels of golde and silver, crosses, candlesticks, censers, chalices, and all such like, with their ready money, to be delivered to the Master of the King's Jewels, in the Tower; and all copes and vestments of cloth of gold, cloth of tissue, and silver, to the Master of the King's Wardrobe, in London: the other copes, vestments, and ornaments, to be sold, and the money to be delivered to the King's Treasurer, Sir Edm. Peckham, Knight; reserving to every Church one chalice or cup, with table-cloths for the Communion board, at the discretion of the Commissioners."‡

On the accession of Queen Mary, Bonner, the deprived Bishop of London, was released from imprisonment, and reinstated in his See. Shortly afterwards the Latin Service was re-established in St. Paul's; and on the full restoration of the Romish religion and institutions by authority of Parliament, Bonner ordered the choristers to proceed to the Cathedral tower, and chaunt immediately such Psalms as were suitable to the occasion. He had before this commenced his 'temporary triumph, by officiating at High Mass, and making a grand and solemn Procession of his Priests.' That the London populace were not pleased with this change in religious affairs, may be inferred from an occurrence related by Stow, in these words: "The same eighth of April (anno 1554) being then Sunday, a Cat, with her head shorn, and the likeness of a vestment thrown over her, with her fore feete tied together, and a round peece of paper like

* Howe's Stow, p. 608. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 609.

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like a singing cake betwixt them, was hanged on a gallows in Cheape, neere to the Crosse, in the Parish of St. Mathew; which Cat being taken down, was carried to the Bishoppe of London, and he caused the same to be shewed at Paule's Crosse, by ye preacher, Dr. Pendleton."* Whether any punishment awaited the perpetrators of this act, does not appear; but Pendleton, most probably through his interference in the business, had a gun fired at him shortly afterwards, whilst preaching at Paul's Cross, the shot of which passed near to him, and struck on the Church wall. This occasioned a Proclamation to be issued, forbidding the bearing of weapons, and the shooting with hand-guns. On the twenty-eighth of the November following, a Sermon was preached in the Choir of St. Paul's, by Dr. Chadsey, one of the Prebendaries, in the presence of the Mayor, Aldermen, and City Companies, Bishop Bonner, and nine other Bishops, on account of a Letter that had been received from the Privy Council, ordering *Te Deum* to be sung in all the Churches in the Diocese, "for that the Queene was conceived and quicke with childe." When the Sermon was ended the *Te Deum* was sung; after which, "solemn procession was made of *Salve festa dies*, all the circuit of the Church."† Four days afterwards, Cardinal Pole having come by water from Lambeth to Paul's Wharf, proceeded to St. Paul's, "with a cross, two pillars, and two poll-axes of silver borne before him," where he preached in presence of King Philip of Spain, from the text, '*Fratres, scientes quia hora est iam nos de somno surgere*,' &c. and declared in his Sermon, that 'the King and Queen had restored the Pope to his supremacy, and that the three estates of Paliament, the representatives of the whole body of the Realm, had submitted themselves to the same.'‡

The accession of Queen Elizabeth in November, 1558, again proved propitious to Protestantism, and the Church-service was once more read in English in St. Paul's and the other London Churches by proclamation; and at the same time the elevation of the

* Howe's Stow, p. 623. † Ibid. p. 625. ‡ Ibid. p. 626.

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the Host was strictly forbidden. When her sister died, Elizabeth was at Hatfield, and, on her way thence to town, she was met at Highgate by most of the Bishops, who, tendering their allegiance, were permitted to kiss their Sovereign's hand, with the single exception of Bonner, the recollection of whose excessive severities induced the Queen to treat him with marked disdain. In the following January, the Papal Supremacy was for ever abolished by Parliament, and a general uniformity of worship established agreeably to the new Book of Common Prayer, which, on the ensuing Whitsunday (May the eighth) was read generally in all the Churches.

On the twenty-fourth of December, 1565, the great gates of the west end of the Cathedral were blown open in a tremendous storm of Wind, which also caused the loss of many lives in the Thames, and at Sea.* In another dreadful storm of Wind, on the fifth of January, 1590, the south-west gate was blown open; all the bolts, bars, and locks being broken by the violence of the blast†.

The thirty-seventh Anniversary of Elizabeth's accession to the throne (Anno 1595) was celebrated in London with great pomp, and, after a Sermon preached by Bishop Fletcher, at St. Paul's Cross, before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. "upon the Church leads the trumpets sounded, the cornets winded, and the quiristers sung an anthem;" and "on the steeple many lights were burned."‡ This mention of the steeple can only refer to the stone-work that rose immediately above the intersection of the roofs of the nave and transept, as we know that the spire itself was never rebuilt after its destruction by fire in 1561. It is observable, however, that even Ben Jonson, in his Comedy of '*The Devil's an Ass*,' performed in 1616, has spoken of the Steeple as if it was then standing. *Iniquity* says,

'I will fetch thee a leap,
From the top of Paul's Steeple to the Standard in Cheap.'§

The

* Howe's Stow, p. 659. † Ibid. p. 760. ‡ Ibid. p. 769.

§ It should be remarked here, that far more of the steeple, or central tower,

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The wretchedly neglected, and ruinous state of the Old Cathedral during the latter years of Elizabeth, and in the reigns of James the First and Charles the First, has been already noticed, yet a few additional particulars of the several attempts made to effect a restoration of the building during the domination of the two last sovereigns, may not be unacceptable. Not any part of the dilapidations could with justice be attributed to the Officers of the Cathedral; for both the Bishop, who had long been accustomed to defray the charges for repairs in the body of the Church, and the Dean and Chapter, by whom the choir was kept in reparation, had for many years expended upwards of double the sums which had been originally adjudged sufficient for the purpose.

In an Estimate made in 1608, the total of the required expenditure for repairs amounted to 22,536l. a sum much too great to be obtained by the unsupported endeavours of the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter; and the King at that period seemed wholly indifferent to the deplorable state of the fabric. At length, however, after several years of indefatigable though ineffectual exertions, a gentleman named Henry Farley had the honour to excite the Sovereign to patronize the intended reparation.*

James,

tower, was left standing than is commonly imagined. Mr. Malcolm has quoted an estimate, made in 1608, from the original at St. Paul's, in which the following passage occurs: "The steeple is to be taken down thirty-three foot, or thereaboute, and to bee made uppe againe, and the sides of the same to be repayred betweene the battresses, which will conteyne 1032 tunnes of stone," &c. "Five gradations of scaffolds" were also required for repairing the steeple. *Lond. Red.* Vol. III. p. 75. See also before, p. 217.

* In the Library of the Society of Antiquaries is an old painting on folding boards, which, about eighty years ago, was purchased for *two shillings*, out of the Rectory House, at Lamborne, in Berkshire, and was one of the means employed by Mr. Farley to promote his great object. In one compartment the King was introduced to St. Paul's. On a second, the Cathedral was represented without a spire, with rooks flying over it: against the south wall of the nave, a gallery, containing the King, Queen, and

Prince,

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James as a preliminary step, visited the Cathedral in great state, on Sunday the twenty-ninth of March, 1620, on horseback, attended by a numerous train of the Nobility, State-officers, Courtiers, &c. He was met, agreeably to the ancient custom, at the posts and chains, called the Bars, near the Temple Gate, Fleet Street, by the Lord Mayor, Sir William Cockain, the Recorder, Aldermen, and other officers of the City, and presented with a purse of gold. On entering at the west door of St. Paul's, the King kneeled, and pronounced a prayer for the success of the undertaking. Thence he proceeded to the choir under a canopy borne by the Dean and three residentary Canons, accompanied by the Clergy, and others, singing. The choir was adorned with some of the King's own arras (tapestry hangings) which had been sent for the purpose from Whitehall. Hence after an anthem had been sung, the Royal visitor proceeded to St. Paul's Cross, where a Sermon

Prince, with *Vive la Roy*, &c. on pannels beneath. In another gallery to the left of the Royal family, sat a group of Bishops, Lords, Ladies, &c. above it were twelve choristers, and below it was inscribed, 'Mr. William Parker, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor, gave 400 poundes towardes repaires of my windows.' The Mayor and Aldermen of London were depicted in a third gallery; "a crowd of Citizens of both sexes sit before St. Paul's Cross, a hexagon, which was covered with lead, and surmounted by a large cross; a bishop preaches here by an hour-glass, with several persons behind him, and a verger at the steps. A brick wall inclosed the pulpit, within which were people taking notes of the sermon, their ink-horns lying on a step beneath the preacher. An elderly man seated near the Cross, is addressed by a person bowing, 'I pray, Sir, what is the Text?' He answers the 2d of Chronicles, Chap. 24. At the west door, a coffer, inscribed, 'The offering chest.' The houses raised against the building are shewn with smoaking chimneys; a label adds,

> Viewe, O Kinge, howe my wall-creepers
> Have made mee worke for chimney-sweepers."

In another compartment the Church is represented repaired, and the houses removed, with a gallery adorned by the arms of England, London, and the Sees of Canterbury and London. Other inscriptions, besides those above-mentioned, appear on different parts of the picture. Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. III. p. 76; and Gents. Mag. Vol. L. p. 180.

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a Sermon from an appropriate text (Psalm CII. verses 13 and 14) was preached by Dr. King, the then Bishop of London, who had afterwards the honour to entertain the King with a sumptuous repast at his Palace, which nearly adjoined to the Church on the south side.

In the November following, a Royal Commission was issued for prosecuting the repairs, and soon afterwards a general subscription was commenced, in the progress of which large sums of money were received, and considerable quantities of stone provided: yet nothing of moment was then done; much of the money was wasted, and the stone was misapplied: some of the latter was *borrowed* by the Duke of Buckingham for the erection of the Water-gate at York House.*

After the accession of Laud to the See of London, the business proceeded with greater vigour and effect, as has been already shewn;† and under the direction of Inigo Jones, the work went rapidly on till the breaking out of the Civil War threw all things into confusion, and the Parliament confiscated the unexpended money and materials to their own use.

One of the first orders of the House of Commons after the abolition of Episcopacy was, that 'the Committee for pulling down, &c. all monuments of superstition and idolatry,' should take into their custody "the Copes in the Cathedrals of Westminster and Paul's, and those at Lambeth.' and have them burnt, that the gold and silver with which they were embroidered might "be converted to the relief of the poor in Ireland." A few months afterwards, namely, December the fifteenth, 1643, it was also voted by the same House, "that the Committee for taking away superstitious monuments do open Paul's Church; and that they have power to remove out of the said Church, all such matters as are justly offensive to godly men; and that there shall be a Lecture set up there, to be exercised every Lord's Day in the afternoon; to begin when other Sermons usually end, and one day in the week." The famous Dr. Burges was afterwards appointed

* Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. III. p. 77. † See before, p. 212.

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appointed Lecturer, and had a yearly salary of 400l. settled on him from the revenues. His discourses were delivered towards the east end of the Church, which, with part of the choir, was separated from the body by a brick wall; and the congregation entered through one of the north windows, which had been converted into a door-way. The elegant Portico at the west end was fitted up with a range of shops below for milliners and others, and above were lodging rooms, which, if detraction has not usurped the pen of truth, were appropriated to purposes of a description far less commendable. About this time, also, as Sir John Hawkins informs us, there was a Music house at the west end of St. Paul's, known by the sign of the Mitre, which was frequented by persons of consequence, and who occasionally danced there.

The re-establishment of the regular Cathedral service took place as soon as it was possible for the members of the Church to complete the necessary arrangements after the Restoration. New subscriptions were solicited, and a commission for '*repairing* and *upholding*' the ruinous fabric, was issued under the King's Letters Patent, dated April the eighteenth, 1663; the repairs were begun on the first of August following, under the direction of Sir John Denham, K. B. who received 6s. 8d. a day as Surveyor-General of the Works, and, who continued to hold that office till his death in 1669, when Dr. Wren, afterwards Sir Christopher, was unanimously chosen to succeed him: the salary of the latter was on the seventh of October, 1675, fixed at the sum of 200l. *per annum*.

After the consumption of much fruitless labour, and the expenditure of 3,586l. 5s. 1d. the Great Fire of 1666, destroyed the chief part of the building, and irreparably damaged the remainder. Still however, the vast magnitude of the work, and the contemplation of the great expense requisite for building a new Cathedral, occasioned a lapse of several years, as well as a further loss of considerable labour and materials, before it was finally determined that all attempts at reparation were hopeless.

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This indeed had long been the opinion of Sir Christopher Wren, whose sagacious and penetrating judgment will be at once estimated from the following extract of a Letter directed to him when at Oxford, in April, 1668, by Dr. Sancroft, the then Dean of St. Paul's, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

"As was said of old '*Prudentiâ est quædam divinatio*,' so science, at the height you are master of it, is prophetick too: What you whispered in my ear at your last coming hither, is now come to pass. Our work, at the west end of St. Paul's, is fallen about our ears. Your quick eye discerned the walls and pillars gone off from their perpendiculars, and I believe other defects too, which are now exposed to every common observer.

"About a week since, we being at work about the third pillar from the west end on the south side, which we had new cased with stone where it was most defective, almost up to the chapitre, a great weight falling from a high wall, so disabled the vaulting of the side-aile by it, that it threatened a sudden ruin, so visibly, that the workmen presently removed; and the next night the whole pillar fell, and carried scaffolds and all to the very ground. The second pillar, which you know is bigger than the rest, stands now alone, with an enormous weight on the top of it, which we cannot hope should stand long, and yet we dare not venture to take it down."—The Prelate then notices various defects in the new casing of the upper walls by Inigo Jones, and proceeds thus:

"What we are to do next is the present deliberation, in which you are so *absolutely and indispensably necessary to us*; that we can do nothing, resolve on nothing without you. You will think fit, I know, to bring with you those excellent Draughts and Designs you formerly favoured us with, and in the mean time till we enjoy you here, consider what to advise, that may be for the satisfaction of his Majesty and the whole Nation."

Another Letter, sent by the Dean to Sir Christopher, in July, commences with these words: "Yesterday my Lords of Canterbury, London, and Oxford, met on purpose to hear your

Letter read once more, and to consider what is now to be done in order to the repairs of St. Paul's. They unanimously resolved, that it is fit immediately to attempt something, and that without you they can do nothing. I am therefore commanded to give you an invitation hither, in his Grace's name and the rest of the Commissioners, with all speed."*

That this great man had been perfectly steady in his opinion of the necessity which existed for constructing a new edifice, may be seen by the following passage from Sir John Evelyn's 'Account of Architects and Architecture,' published in 1706, and addressed to Sir Christopher: "I have named *St. Paul's*, and truly, not without admiration, as oft as I recall to mind (as I frequently do) the sad and deplorable condition it was in, when (after it had been made a *stable* of *horses*, and a *den of thieves*) you (with other gentlemen and myself) were by the late *King Charles*, named *Commissioners* to survey the *dilapidations*, and to make report to his *Majesty*, in order to a speedy *reparation*. You will not, I am sure, forget the *struggle* we had with some, who were for patching it up any how (so the Steeple might stand) instead of new building, which it altogether needed: when (to put an end to the contest) five days after, that *dreadful Conflagration happened*, out of whose *ashes* this *Phœnix* is risen, and was by *Providence* designed for you."

At a meeting of the Commissioners, in the latter part of the same month (namely, July the twenty-fifth) a Letter from the King was read, which stated that 'the ruins had been examined by experienced workmen, who found the walls in so dangerous a state, that they were judged altogether insufficient for bearing another roof, or any new work.' His Majesty then proceeds to order the old wall to be taken down to the foundation of the east end, "the old choir and the tower to be replaced with a new choir, of a fair and decent fabrick, near or upon the old foundacons; and also that care be taken to preserve the cornices, ashlers, and such other parts of the former work, towards the west,

* *Parentalia*, p. 258-9.

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west, as shall be deemed usefull for the new fabrick, lest they be spoiled by the fall of more of the walls, which seeme to threaten immediate ruine."*

The taking down of the parts mentioned in the King's Letter was soon afterwards commenced, under the direction of a Sub-committee, composed of the following persons: 'Sir John Denham, Leolin Jenkins, L. L. D. Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Dr. Sancroft, Dr. Pory, Dr. Done, Residentiary, and Christopher Wren, L. L. D. Savilian Professor of Astronomy, Oxford.' In August, the King requested that all the 'stony rubbish,' unfit for the Church, should be applied to the raising of the ground near Fleet Bridge, &c. where 'quays and wharfs' were to be erected, which required 'hard and substantiall matter;'† and during the subsequent months of the same year, many coffins, and bones of the dead, were removed, and re-buried in other parts of the Church and Church-yard. It is to be lamented that sufficient attention was not given to the preservation of such of the monuments as had escaped the ravages of the Great Fire; for, with little exception, these appear to have been regarded as '*old alabaster*,' a great quantity of which was, in the progress of the work, 'beaten into powder for making cement."‡

The impractibility of restoring the ancient Church had now become so apparent, that Dr. Wren was ordered to prepare the requisite plans for a new Cathedral; and, in the following year, we learn that he was presented with "100 *Guinea*-pieces (valued at 107l. 10s.) for his directions in the works, and for the design of a model."§

In the construction of the Model here spoken of, both the Architect and his employers acted under the persuasion that the expense of the intended building would be defrayed by voluntary contributions *alone*, and it was therefore deemed expedient to restrict the design to an edifice of moderate bulk. This first Model, however, though of "a beautiful figure," and "good

 proportion,"

* Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. III. p. 85. † Ibid. p. 86.

‡ Ibid. p. 104. § Ibid. p. 99

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proportion," with a "convenient choir, a vestibule, porticoes, and a dome conspicuous above the houses," did not satisfy the public wish; though "it was applauded by persons of good understanding, as containing all that was necessary for the Church of a Metropolis, and of an expense that might reasonably have been compassed; but, being contrived in the Roman style, was not so well understood and relished by others, who thought it deviated too much from the old Gothic form of Cathedral Churches: others observed that it was not stately enough, and contended that, for the honour of the Nation and the City of London," the new fabric "ought not to be exceeded in magnificence by any Church in Europe." *

Shortly afterwards it was determined by Parliament that a duty of two shillings per chaldron should be levied on Sea-coal, the produce to be partly applied to the erection of the intended Church. The means of an augmented expenditure being thus secured, the Architect drew various sketches, by way of consulting the prevailing taste, and finding that "the generality were for grandeur," he extended his ideas, and endeavoured to gratify "the connoiseurs and critics" with a colossal and beautiful design, well studied, after the best style of Greek and Roman architecture. From that design, which was much admired by some persons of judgment and distinction, Dr. Wren made a large and highly finished Model, in wood, with all its proper ornaments: yet, though he himself appeared to set a higher value on this performance than on any other of his plans, "it consisting only of one order, the Corinthian, like St. Peter's at Rome," and being "laboured with more study and success," and "as what he would have put in execution with the more cheerfulness and satisfaction," the preference given by the Clergy to what was called a "Cathedral fashion," obliged him to form new designs; but these he endeavoured so to modify, as to reconcile, as nearly as possible, "the Gothic to a better manner of architecture." † Hence arose the plan of the present Church, which, in December, 1672,

* *Parentalia*, p. 282. † Ibid.

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1672, was finally approved by the King, who ordered a Model to be constructed sufficiently large to admit a man within it, and the Commissioners directed the Chapter-House to be roofed, ceiled, and glazed, as a receptacle for the Model.* After that period, says the Parentalia, "the Surveyor resolved to make no more Models, nor publicly expose his drawings, which, as he had found by experience, did but lose time, and subjected his business many times to incompetent judges."† As the building was proceeded with, various minor alterations were made in the original plan, yet these were principally in the ornamental parts.‡

The pulling down of the remaining walls of the old structure, and the removal of the rubbish, proved excessively laborious, as well as dangerous, and several men were killed in the progress of the work. It was intended that the Choir should be first erected, and, in consequence, the clearance was commenced at the east end, the demolition of which, with its beautiful rose window and pinnacles, furnished employment for ten men during eighty days. The demolition of the ruined tower was a business of yet greater difficulty, as its height was nearly 200 feet, and the labourers were afraid to work above. The Architect therefore felt it necessary to facilitate its destruction by art; and gunpowder and the battering-ram were in succession employed to propel the fall of its massive piers, each of which were about fourteen feet in diameter.

In using the gunpowder Dr. Wren is said to have acted under the "direction of a gunner from the Tower;"§ and he commenced his experiments with the north-west pier, in the centre of

* Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. III. p. 87. The Model which Sir Christopher best approved of was for many years kept under a shed in the Office of the Works at St. Paul's; but on the completion of the building, it was deposited in a large apartment on the north side, over the Morning-Prayer Chapel, where it yet remains.

† *Parentalia*, p. 283. ‡ Ibid.

§ Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. III. p. 99. The Gunner was paid 4l. 10s. for placing the powder, laying the train, and setting fire to it.

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the foundation of which a hole, two feet square, was wrought, "with crows and tools made on purpose."* Into this cavity a deal box, containing only eighteen pounds of powder, was put by the gunner, and the communication being preserved by a quick-match, or cane full of dry powder, the mine was "carefully closed up again with stone and mortar," and a proper train laid. The effects of the ignition are thus detailed in the Parentalia:

"This little quantity of powder not only lifted up the whole angle of the tower, with the two arches that rested upon it, but also the two adjoining arches of the aisles, and all above them; and this it seemed to do somewhat leisurely, cracking the walls to the top, lifting visibly the whole weight about nine inches, which suddenly jumping down, made a great heap of ruin in the place, without scattering: it was half a minute before the heap already fallen, opened in two or three places, and emitted some smoke." The mass thus raised was "above 3000 tons, and it saved the work of 1000 labourers. The fall of so great a weight gave a concussion to the ground that the inhabitants round about took for an earthquake."†

In a subsequent attempt to expedite the fall of the walls, a person to whom the direction of the mine had been entrusted, charged the hole with too large a quantity of powder, through which, and from not closing it sufficiently, a stone was shot out into a house on the opposite side of the church-yard: this alarmed the neighbouring inhabitants so greatly, that the Architect was ordered, "by his superiors," to use no more powder. He therefore, to save time and labour, determined to try a Battering-ram, which he caused to be formed of a strong mast, about forty feet in length, strengthened with iron bars and ferrels, and headed with a great spike. It was then suspended beneath a triangular prop, and thirty men were employed to vibrate it with force against one part of the wall; and this they did with such effect, that on the second day the wall fell: the same engine was used, and with similar success, in beating down all the more lofty ruins. The

* *Parentalia*, p. 284. † Ibid.

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The vast quantity of rubbish, which covered the ground in heaps, considerably impeded the digging and laying out of the foundations, and so much as 47,000 loads were removed from the site of the Church:* most of the Kentish rag-stone found among it was purchased by the City to re-pave the streets with.†

On searching for the natural ground, that he might have a secure foundation for the new fabric, Dr. Wren discovered that the old Cathedral had stood upon a stratum of very close and hard pot-earth, about six feet deep on the north side, but gradually declining towards the south, till on the declivity of the hill it was scarcely four feet; he concluded, however, "that the same ground which had borne so weighty a building before might reasonably be trusted again." On boring beneath the pot-earth, he found a stratum of loose sand; and lower still, at low water mark, water and sand, mixed with periwinkles, and other sea-shells; under this a hard beach, and below all, the natural bed of clay, that extends, far and wide, under the city, country, and river.‡

The ancient Burying-place, and the various Roman and other antiquities that were found on digging the foundations, have already been noticed, as well as the Pit under the north-east angle of the present choir, which was excavated by the Roman potters, and afterwards filled up with fragments of broken vessels, urns, &c.§ This Pit occasioned much additional labour, for the "hard crust of pot-earth," having been taken away, the Architect felt himself compelled to dig through all the intervening strata, till he came to the "sea-beach," at the depth of forty feet; here he commenced a pier of solid masonry, ten feet square, and carried it up to within fifteen feet of the present surface, where he turned a short arch to connect the work with the foundations of the new Church, the line of which had been interrupted by the excavation.

The Commission for rebuilding the Cathedral was issued on the

* Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. III. p. 101. † *Parentalia*, p. 284. ‡ Ibid,

§ See preceding Volume, pp. 86, 87.

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twelfth of November, 1673; and on the fourteenth of May, 1675, the King signed an Order for the work to be commenced, "at the east end, or choir," a sufficient stock of money having been raised to "put it in great forwardness."* In the same year, on the twenty-first of June, the first stone was laid by Mr. Thomas Strong, the master-mason; and, though various difficulties occurred in the course of the business, from want of money, the work was prosecuted with so much success and diligence, 'that within ten years afterwards the walls of the choir and side aisles were finished, together with the circular porticoes on the north and south sides; and the great pillars of the dome were carried to the same height.'† During this time the several Bishops were strongly urged by the Commissioners, not only to contribute towards the funds for the new Church themselves, but also to procure subscriptions in their respective Dioceses; and Orders of Council were issued, directing that no feasts should take place at the consecration of future Bishops, but that the Bishop-elect should pay 50l. out of the customary expense on those occasions in aid of the work; as well as an additional 50l. in lieu of the gloves given at the consecration dinners. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Lord Mayor, were likewise empowered to borrow money on the credit of the coal duties; and though further inconveniences were occasionally experienced from a deficiency of receipts, the gradual operation of those easy duties proved so generally successful, that the last, or highest stone of the building was laid at the top of the lantern, by Mr. Christopher Wren, the Surveyor's son, in the year 1710; and shortly afterwards the Queen and both Houses of Parliament, with an immense concourse of gentry, &c. were present at the celebration of divine service in the new Cathedral.‡ The last Commission,

* Parentalia, p. 284. † Ibid. p. 292.

‡ Robert Trevet, a Painter of Architecture, and Master of the Company of Painter-stainers, was employed in the same year, by the Commissioners, "to make drawings and engrave them," of the outside and inside views of

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Commission, for "finishing and adorning" the Church, was issued by George the First, in the year 1715.

An incident that occurred soon after the commencement of the work, and was regarded as a "memorable omen," is thus noticed in the Parentalia: "When the Surveyor, in person, had set out upon the place the dimensions of the great dome, and fixed upon the centre, a common labourer was ordered to bring a flat stone from the heaps of rubbish (such as should first come to hand) to be laid for a mark and direction to the masons: the stone, which was immediately brought and laid down for that purpose, happened to be a piece of a grave-stone, with nothing remaining of the inscription but this single word in large capitals, RESURGAM."—This circumstance made so strong an impression on the mind of the Architect, that he caused a Phœnix, rising from the flames, with the motto *Resurgam* inscribed beneath, to be sculptured in the tympanum of the south pediment, above the portico, as emblematical of the re-construction of the Church after the fire.* It is not improbable but that the stone brought to Dr. Wren was the same that had been provided in commemoration of Dr. King, who preached the sermon for promoting the rebuilding of St. Paul's, before James the First, and who directed by his will that a plain stone only, with the word 'Resurgam,' should record his memory.

The general form, or ground plan, of ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, is that of a Latin cross, with an additional arm, or transept, at the west end, to give breadth to the principal front, and a semi-circular projection at the east end, for the altar. At the extremities of the principal transept there are also semi-circular projections for

this Church and the choir, representing the time when the Queen and Parliament were present, for which he received 500l.

* The Phœnix is *finely* executed, but is generally viewed under every disadvantage that can arise from the narrowness of the way, and the sooty appearance arising from the smoke of the neighbourhood. Its length is eighteen feet, and its height nine feet: it was sculptured by Caius Gabriel Cibber, who was paid 6l. for the model, and 100l. for the sculpture. *Mod. Lond. Rediv.* Vol. III. p. 107.

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for porticoes, and at the angles of the cross are square projections, which, besides containing staircases, vestries, &c. serve as immense buttresses to the dome. The dome itself rises from the intersection of the nave and transept, and is terminated by a lantern, surmounted by a ball and cross, gilt.

On entering into a detailed examination of the *exterior* of this fabric, the first subject that demands regard is the *West front*, which consists of a noble portico of two orders, the Corinthian and the Composite, resting on a basement formed by a double flight of steps, of black marble, and surmounted by a spacious pediment; on each side also is a lofty tower, or steeple, the one serving as the belfry, and the other as the clock-tower. The lower division of the portico is composed by twelve lofty Corinthian columns, and the upper by eight Composite columns (with their proper entablatures, &c.) all of which are coupled and fluted.* In the tympan of the pediment is a very large sculpture in basso relievo, representing the 'Conversion of St. Paul' (which is regarded as the most spirited work of the artist, Francis Bird,)† and on the apex is a gigantic statue of St. Paul; whilst

* It is observable, that the intercolumniations are not regular; but this deviation from the general practice was purposely made by Sir Christopher, in order to give sufficient space for the three entrances in this front. See *Parentalia*, p. 289.

† Why Bird was employed to decorate the west front in preference to C. G. Cibber, who was a much superior sculptor, is now, probably, inexplicable; yet the circumstance is the less to be lamented, when we refer to the sooty and discoloured aspect, which the combined effects of smoke and weather has given to the building. All the natural lights and shades in the sculptures are completely destroyed by the clouds and streaks of black arising from the soot; and even the great architectural masses of the front itself, are deprived of their due effect, through the accumulated blackness that overwhelms them. The abilities of a Praxiteles would have been exerted in vain, to render art triumphant over evils like these. For the "History of St. Paul's Conversion," Bird received 650l. The space it occupies is sixty-four feet in length, and seventeen in height. It contains eight large figures, six of which are on horseback; and several of them

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whilst on either hand, at different distances, along the summit of this front, are other colossal statues of St. Peter, St. James, and the four Evangelists. The entablature of the upper order is remarkable, "inasmuch as the consoles of the cornice occupy the whole of the frieze;" an example, in which, as in many other instances, we see Sir Christopher Wren sacrificing a particular to a general effect; for this cornice, considered as the general termination of the body of the building, required to be treated in a bold and striking style, rather than with the delicacy proper to the order of which it constitutes a part:* both the entablatures are continued round the whole fabric. The towers, which, "singly considered, may be said to want repose and harmony, are yet picturesque, and their spiring forms not only compose well with the cupola in any distant view, but also give effect and elevation to the western front, to which they particularly belong: nor are they without parts of considerable beauty.† Each tower is decorated with columns, urns, statues, &c. and terminated by a majestic pine.

On the north and south sides of the Cathedral, at each end of the principal transept, is a grand semi-circular *Portico*, formed by six Corinthian columns, four feet each in diameter, supporting a half dome, above which rises a well-proportioned pediment, having a sculpture in the tympanum; that on the north side, representing the Royal arms, and regalia, supported by angels; and that

them are "imbost" two feet and a half. The bas-reliefs, in the pannels over the door-ways beneath the portico, were also executed by this artist; and are all designed from the life of the patron saint. That over the great west door, or principal entrance, represents "St. Paul Preaching to the Berœans;" and the figures are from nine to eighteen inches in relief: for this the artist was paid 300l. for the two others 75l. each. The pines for the towers, and the scrolls, ball, and cross, for the lantern of the cupola, were all of them modelled by Bird; and these, generally speaking, are in a good taste, and well designed. The great capitals for the west portico were sculptured by Samuel Fulks, who had 60l. for each. See *Mal. Lond. Red.* pp. 107—109.

* Fine Arts, &c. p. 11. † Ibid, p. 10.

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that on the south, a Phœnix rising from the flames, as before described. The ascent to the north portico is by a semi-circular flight of about twelve steps, of Irish black marble; but on the south side, where the ground is considerably lower, the ascent is formed by a flight of twenty-five similar steps. It has been judiciously observed of these porticoes, that "they are objects equally beautiful, whether considered separately or in connection with the total mass of the building, which they adorn and diversify, by the contrast of curved with straight lines, and of insulated columns with engaged pilasters."*

The projecting semi-circle which terminates the east end, is of fine proportion, and properly enriched with architectural ornaments. The remainder of the vast outer walls of the fabric is of excellent masonry, strengthened as well as decorated by two stories of coupled pilasters, arranged at regular distances; those above being of the Composite order, and those below of the Corinthian. The intervals between the Corinthian pilasters are occupied by large windows, serving to light the side-aisles, &c. and those between the Composite pilasters by ornamented niches, in the pedestals of which are singularly inserted windows, belonging to rooms and galleries over the aisles. "In the whole surface of the walling, the joints of the stones are marked by horizontal and perpendicular channels; a simple decoration, which, while it gives a vigorous expression of strength and stability, has the advantage of defining and rendering conspicuous the pilasters and entablatures."† The entire summit of the side walls is surmounted by a regular ballustrade; but the continuity of line is judiciously broken by the superior elevation of the pediments of the transept, and by the large statues of the Apostles (five on each side) which stand upon them.

The *Dome*, or *Cupola*, as it may with more propriety be termed, "is the most remarkable and magnificent feature of the building." This rises from a huge circular basement, which, at the height of about twenty feet above the roof of the church, gives

* Fine Arts, &c. p. 11. † Ibid, p. 11.

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gives place to a Corinthian colonnade, formed by a circular range of thirty-two columns; every fourth intercolumniation being filled up with masonry, so disposed as to form an ornamental niche, or recess; an arrangement, by which the projecting buttresses of the Cupola are most judiciously concealed, "and thus, by a happy combination of profound skill and exquisite taste, a construction, adapted to oppose with insuperable solidity the enormous pressure of the dome, the cone, and the lantern, is converted into a decoration of the most grand and beautiful character.—The columns being of a large proportion, and placed at regular intervals, are crowned with a complete entablature, which continuing without a single break, forms an entire circle, and thus connects all the parts into one grand and harmonious whole."* As all the buttresses are pierced with arcades, there is a free communication round this part of the Cupola; and the entablature of the peristyle supports a circular gallery, surrounded with a balustrade. Above the colonnade, but not resting upon it, rises an attic story with pilasters and windows, from the entablature of which springs the exterior dome; this is 'of a bold and graceful contour,' covered with lead, and ribbed at regular intervals. Round the aperture, at its summit, is another gallery, or balcony, and from the centre rises the stone lantern, which is surrounded with Corinthian columns, and crowned by the majestic ball and cross, that terminate the fabric.

On viewing the *interior* of St. Paul's from the great west entrance, the eye dwells with much admiration on the grandeur of the perspective; though, on a more attentive examination, the ponderous masses of its vast piers are found to give a heaviness

* Fine Arts, &c. p. 16. "It has been said, with some justice, that these columns are too high in proportion to those of the body of the building; as they are indeed but little less than the lower, and larger than the upper order. This incongruity would not have existed had circumstances allowed the architect to construct the main edifice of a single order; but being baffled in this, his original intention, it would have been too great a sacrifice to have given up the peristyle, the noblest feature of the building, or to have considerably diminished the proportion of the Cupola." *Ibid.*

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heaviness to the prospect, and the side aisles are discovered to be disproportionably narrow. In its interior form, this edifice is entirely constructed upon the plan of the ancient cathedrals, viz. that of a long cross, having a nave, choir, transepts, and side aisles; but, in place of the lofty tower, the dome in this building rises in elevated grandeur from the central intersection. The "architectural detail is in the Roman style, simple, and regular." The piers and arches which divide the nave from the side aisles, are ornamented with columns and pilasters, both of the Corinthian and of the Composite orders, and are further adorned with shields, festoons, chaplets, cherubim, &c.

The vaulting of this part of the Church merits great praise for its light and elegant construction: in this, each severy forms a low dome, supported by four spandrils, the base of the dome being encircled by a rich wreath of artificial foliage. This peculiar disposition of the vaulting is noticed in the Parentalia, which, after stating that Sir Christopher chose *hemispherical* vaultings, as being 'demonstrably much lighter' than *diagonal* cross-vaults, proceeds thus: "The whole vault of St. Paul's consists of twenty-four cupolas cut off semi-circular, with segments to join to the great arches one way, and which are cut across the other way with elliptical cylinders, to let in the upper lights of the nave; but, in the aisles, the lesser cupolas are both ways cut into semi-circular sections, altogether making a graceful geometrical form (distinguished by circular wreaths) which is the horizontal section of the cupola; for the hemisphere may be cut all manner of ways into circular sections:—the arches and wreaths are of stone, carved; the spandrils between are of sound brick, invested with stucco of cockle-shell lime, which becomes as hard as Portland stone, and which having large planes between the stone ribs, are capable of the further ornaments of painting."* The circular pannels, and the spandrils, of the vaulting of the aisles, are separated by shields, bordered with acanthus leaves, fruits, and flowers. The alcoves for the windows are finely disposed; and have

* *Parentalia*, pp. 290, 291.

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have their arches filled with sexagon, octagon, and other pannels. The whole church, above the vaulting, is substantially roofed with oak, covered with lead. The Morning-Prayer Chapel, on the south side, and the Consistory, on the north, occupy the respective extremities of the western transept, which is an elegant part of the building: these are divided from the aisles by insulated columns, and screens of ornamental carved work.

On proceeding forward, the central area below the dome next engages attention: this is an octagon, formed by eight massive piers, with their correllative apertures, four of which being those which terminate the middle aisles, are forty feet wide, while the others are only twenty-eight feet; but this disparity only exists as high as the first order of pilasters, at which level the smaller openings are expanded in a peculiar manner, so that the eight main arches are all equal.* The cathedral of Ely is, perhaps, the only other Church, in this country, in which the central area, being pierced by the side aisles, has eight openings instead of four, which is the usual number. "This mode of construction has the advantage of superior lightness, it affords striking and picturesque views in various directions, and gives greater unity to the whole area of the building; yet, on the other hand, the junction of the side aisles in this fabric presented difficulties which have caused various defects and mutilations in the architecture."† The spandrils between the arches above, form the area into a circle, "which is crowned by a large cantilever cornice, partly supporting by its projection the 'Whispering Gallerry.' At this level commences the interior tambour of the dome," which consists of a high pedestal and cornice, forming the basement to a range of (apparently) fluted pilasters of the Composite order, the intervals between which are occupied by twenty-four windows and eight niches, all corresponding in situation with the intercolumniations and piers of the exterior peristyle: "all this part is inclined forward, so as to form the frustrum of a cone." Above, from a double plinth, over the cornice of the

* Fine Arts, &c. p. 14. † Ibid.

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the pilasters, springs the internal *Dome*; the contour being composed of two segments of a circle, which, if not interrupted by the opening beneath the lantern, would have intersected at the apex.

The general idea of the Dome was confessedly taken from the Pantheon at Rome,* excepting, that in the latter, "the upper order is there but *umbratile*; not extant out of the wall, as at St. Paul's, but only distinguished by different coloured marbles."† It differs, also, in its proportions, both from the cupola of the Pantheon, and from that of St. Peter's; the former of which is "no higher within than its diameter, while St. Peter's is two diameters; this shews too high, the other too low: the Surveyor at St. Paul's took a mean proportion, which shews its concave every way, and is very lightsome, by the windows of the upper order, which strike down the light through the great colonnade that encircles the Dome, and serves for its butment."‡ The Dome is "of brick, two bricks thick, but as it rises, at every five feet, it has a course of excellent brick of eighteen inches long, banding through the whole thickness:" for greater security, also, in the girdle of Portland stone which encircles the low part, and is of considerable thickness, an enormous double chain of iron, strongly linked together at every ten feet, and weighing 96 cwt. 3 qrs. and 23 lbs. was inserted in a channel cut for the purpose, and afterwards filled up with lead.

In the crown of the vault of this Cupola is a circular opening (surrounded by a neatly railed gallery) through which the light is transmitted with admirable effect from the cone and lantern above,

* *Parentalia*, p. 291. "The concave of the Dome was turned upon a centre, which was judged necessary to keep the work even and true (though a cupola might be built without a centre;) but this is observable, that the centre was laid without any standards from below to support it; and as it was both centering and scaffolding, it remained for the use of the painter. Every story of this scaffolding being circular, and the ends of all the ledgers meeting as so many rings, and truly wrought, it supported itself: this machine was an original of the kind." *Ibid.*

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

above, which, in compliance with the general wish, the architect found it necessary to construct, in order to give a greater elevation to the fabric. "In this respect," says the Parentalia, "the world expected that the new work should not fall short of the old;—he was therefore obliged to comply with the humour of the age, and to raise another structure over the first Cupola; and this was a Cone of brick, so built as to support a stone lantern of an elegant figure, and ending in ornaments of copper, gilt."

Both the Cone and the Lantern are very ingeniously constructed; and the mechanism of the roof which supports the outward covering of lead, is contrived with equal skill and judgment. The Cone is two bricks in thickness, and is banded at different distances by a girdle of stone, and four iron chains: here three ranges of small elliptical apertures, and eight semi-circular headed windows above, admit the light from the lantern and from the openings round its pedestal. Between the lower part of the Cone and the outer wall, at intervals of about eight feet, are strong cross wedges of stone (pierced with circles, &c.) each of which "supports two upright timbers, about one foot square, and reaching to the fourth gradation [of the roof] in the great arch of the external Dome. The second horizontal timber is the base of the great ribs: under this are two ranges of scantling, the whole circumference of the circle; the lower one supported by two uprights between each wedge, and the other by eight, resting on the stone-work. The remaining horizontal pieces in the ascent, four in number, rest upon strong brackets of stone, inserted quite through the brick cone. Another series of uprights spring from the second row of brackets, which are secured by angular timbers, and the whole, at proper intervals, by strong bands of iron."* The ribs, which are about seventy in number, are closely covered with oaken boards, and those again by the lead, which forms the outward covering.

The *Choir* is of the same form and architectural style as the

*Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. III. p. 116. See also the beautiful 'Section' of this Cathedral, engraved by Rooker.

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body of the Church. The east end is terminated by a bold sweep, or semi-circular apsis, with three large windows below, and three smaller ones above: the soffits of these windows, as well as those of the aisles, are ornamented with sculptured foliage, and have festoons over them.*

In

* The prices that were paid for these, and for various other sculptures, will be seen from the following particulars, extracted by Mr. Malcolm, from the Books at St. Paul's. *Lond. Red.* Vol. III. pp. 100, 103, and 104.

"Thomas Strong, mason, was paid as follows:—

"For plain Portland stone-work, of the pilasters and rustics, window jams, architraves, and bosks, 16½d. per foot.

"For carving faces of impost capitals, 6l. each; pannels with flowers and enrichments, 3l. 5s. each; escalops in the heads of the outside niches, 3l. 10s.

"Two large compartments and festoons, each twelve feet in length, 45l.; 75 great flowers, in the soffits of the five windows at the east end, 15s. each; and 60 smaller, 5s. each.

"Pendant strings, 3 feet 9 inches in length, and one foot in breadth, 5l. each.

"Cherubim, 20s.; flowers in the architrave, 9s. each.

"Four festoons, over the two straight windows at the east end, 20l. each.

"Six festoons, over the three circular windows at the east end, 20l. each.

"Five cherubim, on the key-stones of the five east windows, at 13l. each key-stone.

"Three shields, each three feet high and four wide, 7l. each.

"Jasper Latham, mason, received for work done on the north side, the door case, and two of the round pillars, the three-quarter pillar, and little three-quarter pillar, and for working and setting 1124¼ feet of Portland stone in the bodies of two pillars, the three-quarters, and half the architraves of the door case, &c. 112l. 8s. 6d.

"For the ornaments over the same, 2s. per foot superficial.

"For masoning one three-fourth Composite capital, one face and one half, 16s. 6d.; for carving it, 12l.

"A scroll and festoons, 15l.; a cartouch under the cornice of the door-case, 4l.

"Half the long festoons and candlesticks over the doors, 17l. 10s.

"The capitals of the great pillars of the north and south porticoes, cost 60l. each, for the carving."

The

In closing this account of the *Architectural* character and arrangements of the vast fabric now under review, we shall have recourse to the judicious remarks of Mr. E. Aikin, who has very properly defended the professional skill of Sir Christopher Wren against various erroneous imputations; and, at the same time, made a just and candid admission in regard to the several defects which exist in the design of this building, when considered in reference to a perfect whole.

"In surveying the decorative part of the interior of St. Paul's, it must be acknowledged that the general impression is that of simplicity bordering upon meanness and nudity; a defect which implies no censure on the great Architect, who [purposely] left his work in that state, to receive the ornaments of painting and sculpture, which the frugality and bigotry of following times have withheld. The few ornaments which exist are in general well executed, and disposed with judgment; and the soffites of the grand arches under the Cupola are in the best style of appropriate decoration.—Of late years the interior has been greatly improved by the national monuments, which, being placed so as to respect the architectural members, are valuable merely as ornaments, independently of the higher feelings which they are calculated to excite.

"Those who have criticised the Cathedral of St. Paul, have charged it with various defects, of which the following may be regarded as a tolerably comprehensive summary. A great and essential want of proportion between the cupola and the body of the building. The division of the exterior into two nearly equal stories by two orders of columns and pilasters, and the coupling of the columns in the western façade. In the interior, the omission of the architrave and frieze of the order in the spaces between the great pilasters of the nave, for the purpose of raising

The grant of the *Portland Stone* for the building of this fabric, bears date on February the twenty-first, in the twenty-eighth of Charles the Second, that is, anno 1677.

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the summits of the arches above the level of the architrave; the circumstance of the tambour of the dome being inclined forward out of the perpendicular; and, lastly, the awkward junction of the side aisles with the central area beneath mutilated arches.

"That these censures are altogether unfounded, no real lover and judge of the art will venture to maintain; nor, on the contrary, will he admit them without seriously considering the theory of modern architecture, upon which they are founded; and the peculiar circumstances of the building. In the first place, the writer of this article knows of no rule to determine the relative proportions between the cupola and the body of a Cathedral. That the cupola of St. Peter's is less in proportion than that of St. Paul's, is, of itself no argument against the latter building, though it may be suspected that this reproach has originated rather from the authority of the Roman edifice, than in any natural rule of taste. From the first introduction of domes into modern architecture, by Brunelleschi, at the Church of Santa Maria dei Fiori, at Florence, which was the immediate model of the superb cupola of St. Peter's, these have been considered as the most appropriate, as they are the most considerable ornaments of all important religious edifices. Thus they have constituted an object of rivalry among architects; and it may be readily conceived that a skilful and ambitious artist would be tempted rather to exceed than to fall short in the proportionate size and magnificence of his cupola. But this cupola does not belong, as an ornament, to the Cathedral of St. Paul alone, but to London in general, which in every distant view it crowns in surpassing glory; and, considered in this light, the coldest critic, the most rigid theorist, could not wish to subtract a particle from its rich exuberance.

"With respect to the general division of the body of the building into two orders of architecture, we have the authority of the architect himself, as expressed in the Parentalia, and exhibited in his favourite model, in favour of a single order; but in this point he

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be was obliged to yield to circumstances, as the Portland quarries would not afford stones of the required dimensions:* this necessity led to another, viz. that of coupling the orders; and it shows that there is often a local propriety and a local beauty of superior importance to general and theoretical rules. On an inspection of the ground plan of the building, it will be seen that the external pilasters are placed at intervals corresponding to the interior piers, an arrangement which could not be deviated from, and therefore it was most clearly necessary to double them to obtain any tolerable intercolumniation. This necessity does not exist in the western facáde; but here Sir Christopher Wren probably felt, that being obliged to place two stories of columns one above the other, to dispose them singly would have produced an appearance of lightness, perhaps of elegance, yet that such an arrangement would have wanted the mass and imposing effect proper to the chief front of such an edifice: he therefore coupled the columns, thus producing a disposition, which, while it is rich by the number and contrast of its parts, does yet present large divisions and conspicuous masses. Independently of these considerations, it is evident that the architect did not prefer coupled columns, for in the north and south porticoes, and in the peristyle of the dome, where only one story of columns is employed, he has arranged them singly; but in the western facáde he has shown superior judgment in making the greatest advantage of the means allotted to him, and has composed a front, which, if it yield to the simple grandeur of the Roman Pantheon, is not surpassed in richness and characteristic effect, by any modern Church; and it may well be doubted whether the exterior division of St. Paul's into two stories, is so decidedly faulty as has

* "At St. Paul's," says the *Parentalia*, "the surveyor was cautious not to exceed columns of four feet, which had been tried by Inigo Jones in his portico; the Quarries of the Isle of Portland would just afford for that proportion, but not readily; for the artificers were forced sometimes to stay some months for one necessary stone to be raised for their purpose, and the further the quarrymen pierced into the rock, the quarry produced less stones than near the sea." P. 288.

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been assumed, rather than argued. We know that the Gothic Cathedrals owe their effect to their intricacy of form and minutious detail of parts and ornaments; and, on the other hand, in respect to St. Peter's, it is certain that the exterior of that colossal edifice is, to use the words of a late traveller, 'much less striking than can well be imagined;' and it uniformly deceives the observer, by appearing of much smaller dimensions than it really is: this effect, which has been generally quoted as a proof of just proportions, and therefore praised as a beauty, though, as Mr. Knight remarks, 'if it be a merit to make it appear small, it certainly was extreme folly to incur such immense expense in building it large,' is produced by having all the parts and objects of extraordinary magnitude; and thus the eye, in taking any of these as a scale to measure the total size of the building, is deceived in the outset. That 'the parts of a large building should be large,' is a maxim which can only be admitted with considerable limitations.

"As to the omission of the architrave of the order above the arches of the interior, we are informed in the Parentalia, that in this respect, Sir Christopher Wren "always insisted that he had the ancients on his side; in the Temple of Peace, in the great Halls of the Baths, and in all the great structures of three aisles, this is done, and for this reason, that in those wide intercolumniations the architrave is not supposed to lie from one great column to another, but from the column to the wall of the aisle, so that the end of it only will appear upon the pillar of the inside of the great navis."* This is a sufficient answer to those rigourists in criticism, who would subject the composition of a Cathedral to the same strict rules which limited the Grecian Temples; and it shows that the architect had studied those antique examples, which, if not of the purest taste in ornament, were yet the most analogous in general form to the edifice which he had to construct; but though this was the ostensible excuse, it was not the real reason; for, upon referring to the section of St.

* *Parentalia*, p. 289.

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St. Paul's, it will be seen that the architect has made the pilasters of the interior a little higher than the external columns (and they could not be much more so without a certain incongruity) yet, wishing to give the arches opening into the aisles as much elevation, and consequently lightness, as the design admitted, he chose to encroach on the entablature of the order: thus, by a slight violation of general rules, improving the total effect of his building, and satisfied that a few antique authorities afforded him the means of silencing the critics. The forward inclination of the tambour of the dome has considerable advantage in construction, and as it is so slight as not to be readily discernible from below, the objection founded on this circumstance must be regarded as frivolous: it is not impossible that it may even be advantageous, by shewing, in its full proportion, a part which might otherwise, at that extreme height, be disagreeably foreshortened. The defects in the junction of the side aisles with the rotunda, cannot be justified, but they are balanced by the advantages already mentioned."*

The principal measurements of this Church have been variously given in different publications; but the most to be depended on must assuredly be those of the Parentalia, which are as follow:—

"The Difference between the Dimensions of *St. Peter's Church*, at *Rome*, and *St. Paul's*, in *London*.

	St. Peter's. Roman Palms.	English Feet.	Fraction of a Foot.		*St. Paul's.*	Excess of St. Peter's above St. Paul's.
"Long within	914	669	048	..	500	169
"Broad at the entrance ..	310	226	920	..	100	126
"Front without	540	395	280	..	180	215
"Broad at the Cross	604	442	128	..	223	219
"Cupola clear 190¼		139	629	..	108	031

S 4 Cupola

* Fine Arts of the English School, *Architecture*, pp. 14 to 18. In this interesting work are four Plates of St. Paul's Cathedral, viz. a Plan of the Basement story, a Geometrical Elevation from the west, a Section of the Interior, and a Perspective View of the whole Building from the north west angle.

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	St. Peter's. Roman Palms.	English Feet.	Fraction of a Foot.	St. Paul's.	Excess of St. Peter's above St. Paul's.
" Cupola and Lantern high	591	432	612	330	102
" Church high	200	146	404	110	036
" Pillars in the front	125	091	500	040	051 *

From

* *Parentalia*, p. 294. " The proportion of the *Roman* Palm to the English Foot is as 732 is to 1000. — 1000 = 732 . 914 = 669,048, and so of the rest, *ut infra*." Ibid. In the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. XX. p. 580, the dimensions of the two Cathedrals are thus stated; but there is evidently some mistake in respect to those of St. Peter's, as will be easily seen on comparing them with the measurements inserted in the text from the Parentalia.

	St. Peter's. Feet.	St. Paul's. Feet.
Length of the Church and porch	729	500
Length of the cross	510	250
Breadth of the front with the turrets	364	180
Breadth of the same without the turrets	318	110
Breadth of the church and three naves	255	130
Breadth of the same and widest chapels	364	180
Length of the porch within	218	50
Breadth of the same within	40	20
Length of the platea at the upper steps	291	100
Breadth of the nave at the door	67	40
Breadth of the nave at the third pillar and tribuna	73	40
Breadth of the side aisles	29	17
Distance between the pillars of the nave	44	25
Breadth of the same double pillars at St. Peter's	29	..
Breadth of the same single pillars at St. Paul's	..	10
The two right sides of the great pilasters of the cupola	65 : 7¼	25 : 35
Distance between the same pilasters	72	40
Outward diameter of the cupola	189	145
Inward diameter of the same	138	108
Breadth of the square by the cupola	43	..
Length of the same	328	..
From the door within the cupola	313	190
From the cupola to the end of the tribuna	167	170
Breadth of the turrets	77	35
Outward diameter of the lantern	36	18

HEIGHT.

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From a printed sheet relating to St. Paul's, published in 1685, by Mr. John Tillison, Clerk of the Works, it appears that the general depth of the foundations below the surface of the Church-yard is twenty-two feet, and in many places thirty-five feet; that "the fair, large, and stately vaults," beneath the Church, are eighteen feet six inches high from the ground to the crown of the arch; that each of the great piers that sustain the Dome stands upon

HEIGHT.	*St. Peters.* Feet.	*St. Paul's.* Feet.
From the ground without, to the top of the cross ..	437½	340
The turrrets, as they were at St. Peter's, and are at St. Paul's	289½	222
To the top of the highest statues on the front	175	135
The first pillars of the Corinthian order	74	53
The breadth of the same	9	4
Their bases and pedestals	19	13
Their capitals	10	5
The architrave, frieze, and cornice	18	10
The Composite pillars at St. Paul's, and Tuscan at St. Peter's	25½	25
The ornaments of the same pillars, above and below	14½	16
The triangle of the mezzo-relievo, with its cornice..	21½	18
Width	92	74
The basis of the cupola to the pedestals of the pillars	36½	38
The pillars of the cupola	32	28
Their bases and pedestals	4	5
Their capitals, architrave, frieze and cornice	12	12
From the cornice to the outward slope of the cupola	25½	40
The lantern, from the cupola to the ball	63	50
The ball in diameter	9	6
The cross, with its ornaments below	14	6
The statues upon the front, with their pedestals....	26½	15
The outward slope of the cupola	89	50
Cupola and lantern, from the cornice of the front to the top of the cross.....	220	240
Height of the niches in front.....	20	14
Width of the same	9	5
The first windows in the front	20	13
Width of the same	10	7

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upon 1360 feet of ground, superficial measure, and each lesser one upon 380 feet; and that the whole space of ground occupied by the same piers, and covered by the Dome itself, "contains half an acre, half a quarter of an acre, and almost four perches."

It was the intention of Sir Christopher "to have beautified the inside of the Cupola with the more durable ornament of Mosaic-work,"* instead of having it decorated by painting, as it now is; but in this he was unfortunately over-ruled, though he had engaged to have procured four of the most eminent artists from Italy to execute the work. This spacious concave has, in consequence, been separated into eight compartments, by "a heavy fictitious architecture,"† serving as a frame to as many pictures, by Sir James Thornhill, from the most prominent events in the history of the patron saint; which, however excellent they may have been in their original designs, are now, either through the damps or some other cause, in a most lamentable state of decay. The subjects are as follow: The Conversion of St. Paul; his Punishing Elymas, the Sorceror, with Blindness; his Preaching at Athens; his Curing the poor Cripple at Lystra, and the reverence paid him there by the Priests of Jupiter, as a God; his Conversion of the Jailor; his Preaching at Ephesus, and the Burning of the Magic Books in consequence of the Miracles he wrought there; his Trial before Agrippa; and his Shipwreck on the Island of Melita, with the Miracle of the Viper.‡ For these performances

* *Parentalia*, p. 292, *note*. † Fine Arts, p. 14.

‡ All the lower parts of these paintings have utterly perished, through some cause which has effected the plastering in a deep circle round the whole of the concave. Mr. Malcolm supposes it to have arisen from the admission of the external damp, "probably occasioned by the platform on the great pillars without the dome;" yet, as we find from the *Parentalia* (p. 286) that, besides other precautions, the architect had all the joints 'run with lead,' wherever he was obliged 'to cover with stone only;' this conjecture would seem to be incorrect. Can it be, that the vibrations given to the dome by the thundering sound produced by the violently closing

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ances, which seem to have been executed with much animation and relief, we are informed, by Walpole, that the artist could obtain only 40s. a square yard.* It is to be regretted, says Mr. Aikin, "That, instead of placing Historical Paintings, in a situation where the spectator can distinguish nothing but the most obvious and general effect, some other system of decoration had been adopted, such as the caissons of the Pantheon, which following and according with the architecture, instead of contradicting it, would have defined and embellished its forms.†

The best station for viewing the Paintings and other decorations of the Cupola, is the *Whispering Gallery*, the ascent to which is by a spacious circular stair-case, constructed in the south-west projection of the principal transept. This gallery encircles the lower part of the Dome, and extends to the extreme edge of the great cantilever cornice, but is rendered perfectly safe by a strong and handsomely wrought gilt railing, that surrounds the inner circumference. Here the forcibly shutting the door causes a strong reverberating sound, not unlike the rolling of thunder, accompanied by a sensible vibration in the building; and a low whisper breathed against the wall, in any part of this vast circle, may be accurately distinguished by an attentive ear on the very opposite side. Round the space between the railing and the wall are two steps and a stone seat. The decayed state of the paintings, and the mutilations of the stucco-work, are very apparent from this gallery, but the Dome itself is completely sound, not a single stone being either deranged or broken; a circumstance that must be regarded as demonstrative of the admirable manner in which it is constructed, particularly when considered in reference to the very considerable settlement that took place among the sustaining piers.‡

From

closing the door of the Whispering Gallery (for the amusement of the numerous visitors to this fabric) has shaken the stucco into dust, through the frequent repetitions of the concussion?

* Anec. of Painting, Vol. IV. p. 43. † Fine Arts, &c. p. 14.

‡ The arch which crosses the north aisle at the east end, says Mr. Malcolm,

From the Gallery upward to the next range of cornice the surrounding wall is quite plain and unornamented; the cornice is enriched with sculptures of shells, and acanthus leaves, most richly gilt, as are the bases and capitals of the thirty-two pilasters above, which correspond with the outward colonnade. The pannels under the eight niches, and the compartments over them, are finely *sculptured* with festoons and foliage, well gilt; but the festoons beneath the windows, like the flutings of the pilasters, are only *painted* resemblances, and are now sadly decayed. The architrave

Malcolm, "is two feet three inches in thickness, yet such is the derangement occasioned by the settling, that two of the twenty great stones composing the arch have yawned asunder full an inch and a quarter; and the great stones of the wall of the nave, ten paces westward, are rent in their joints, and three are broken. A person standing on the great cornice of the nave will perceive that the north-west pier has sunk at least four inches; the sinking of the other is discernible on the side next the choir, in the two transepts, and in the wall of the stair-case, from the top to the bottom. The fissures are almost wholly confined to the junctions of the choir, nave, and transepts, with the dome." *Lond. Red.* Vol. III. p. 115.

Among other extracts from the accounts of various buildings, &c. in which the family of the Strongs, masons, were concerned, communicated by Mr. Moser, and published in the European Magazine for July, 1804, are the following:—

"About the year 1706, *Edward Strong*, Jun. began the lanthorn on the Dome of St. Paul's, London: also the said Edward Strong laid all the marble pavings under the said Dome, and in the cross aisles to the north and south Porticoes.

"He also repaired all the blemishes and fractures in the several legs and arches of the Dome, occasioned by the great weight of the Dome pressing upon the foundation: the earth under the same being of an unequal temper, the loamy part thereof gave more way to the great weights than that which was gravel; so that the south-west quarter of the Dome, and six smaller legs of the other quarters of the Dome, having less superficies, sunk into the thinner part of the loamy ground, in some places an inch, in others two inches, and in other places something more; and the other quarters of the Dome being upon the thicker part of the loamy ground and gravel, it did not give so much way to the great weights as the other did, which occasioned the fractures and blemishes in the several arches and legs of the Dome."

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trave and cornice which surmount the pilasters are superbly gilt; as are also the scrolls, shells, festoons, wreaths, and other decorations of the fictitious frame-work to the paintings by Sir James Thornhill. The ornamental pannels and roses above them, to the opening of the vault, and the cornice, festoons, shells, roses, &c. in the upper part of the Cone which is seen through it, and terminates the view, are likewise highly enriched by gilding.

'The circular stair-case, which leads to the Whispering Gallery, contracts on approaching it, to give room for various passages, through the apertures of which the immense buttresses of the Dome may be seen. It communicates besides with the long sepulchral galleries over the side aisles; these are paved with stone, and crossed at intervals by the enormous strong arches and buttresses'* which support the walls and roof of the nave.

From the end of the south gallery, the passage continues through the substance of the wall into the northern transept, in the south angle of which, and immediately over the Consistory, is the *Library.* The north and south sides of this apartment are formed by strong piers or pilasters, "whose fronts are finely sculptured into sculls, crowns, mitres, books, fruits, and flowers."† The cantalivres, and other ornaments of the oaken gallery in this room, were carved by Jonathan Maine, who was paid 6l. 10s. for each of the former. The ceiling is plain; but the floor, with more ingenuity than elegance, is entirely constructed with small pieces of oak, without either nail or peg, disposed into various geometrical figures. Over the chimney is a half-length portrait, said to be by Sir James Thornhill, of Dr. HENRY COMPTON, the worthy Bishop who held this See during the whole time of the erection of the Cathedral. He is represented sitting, with flowing hair, and a grave countenance, and in his hand is a plan of St. Paul's. This Prelate bequeathed his books to the Library, which is not, however, particularly valuable as a Collection; and it contains but few manuscripts: among them are several ancient Calendars and Missals, on

* Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. III. p. 115. † Ibid. p. 126.

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on vellum; and a curious, illuminated Manuscript, or *Ritual*, in old English, respecting the government of a Convent, the performances of offices, &c. which belonged to the ancient Catholic establishment of this Church. The oldest printed Books are, '*Callistrati Ecphrases Gr.*' '*Luciani Opera, Edit. Col.* 1477, *fol. et Ven.* 1503;' '*Ambrosii Divi Episc. Mediolanensis Opera, Bas.* 1492;' and '*Baptiste F. Mantuani Opera;* 1495.' Here are also, Walton's '*Polyglot Bible;*' and eighteen English Bibles, printed between the years 1539 and 1586. One of the latest works added to the Library is the '*Nov. Test. Græc.*' in three folio volumes, interleaved, '*cum notis MSS. et lectionibus variantibus collectis A. T. Mangey:*' this was presented, in 1780, by the Rev. Mr. Mangey, a Prebendary of the Church, and son to the learned Doctor who made the notes and collections.

At the opposite extremity of the transept, and exactly corresponding in situation and dimensions with the Library, is another spacious apartment,* in which is kept the beautiful *Model* constructed by Sir Christopher Wren, and valued by him as the most perfect and chaste of all the designs he invented for the new Cathedral: this, though much mutilated, probably through the half-reverential cupidity of those who wished to possess some memorial, however obtained, of the work of the great Architect, is highly deserving of inspection. Here also is the remains of a Model, designed by Sir Christopher for the Altar-piece, but never executed.

Westward from the Library is a door, communicating with the grand *Geometrical Stair-case*, which leads down to the lower part of the Church, and appears to have been more especially intended for the use of persons of distinction, but is now seldom beheld, excepting by the eye of curiosity. This is, perhaps, the finest

* This apartment, which is both unembellished and dirty, is now denominated the '*Trophy Room*,' from being hung round with various *gewgaw* shields and banners that were used at the ceremony of Lord Nelson's funeral.

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finest specimen of the kind in Great Britain; the stairs are 110 in number, and go round the concave in a spiral direction; the base being formed by a platform, inlaid with black and white marble, to represent a star, inclosed by a circle. Here, facing the door that connects the lower part with the Church, is a beautiful niche, decorated with grotesque pilasters, and rich iron-work.

In the south-western tower is the *Clock*, and the *Great Bell*, on which it strikes. The former is of great magnitude; it is wound up daily, and the outward dial is regulated by a smaller one withinside. The length of the minute hand is eight feet, and its weight seventy-five pounds;* the length of the hour hand is five feet five inches, and its weight forty-four pounds; the diameter of the dial is eighteen feet ten inches; and the length of the hour figures is two feet two inches and a half. The Great Bell is sustained by a strong frame of oak, "admirably contrived to distribute the weight on every side of the tower," within a cylinder of stone, pierced with eight apertures. The diameter of this Bell is about ten feet, and its weight is generally stated at four tons and a quarter;† in the direction of the wind its sound may be heard many miles:‡ on it are the words, '*Richard Phelps*

* From the small apertures pierced through the circumference of the west dial, the motion of this hand is plainly visible.—Though the clock is here described as having only a single dial, there are, in fact, two, one on the west side, and the other on the south; but the dimensions of both are similar.

† In a trifling pamphlet of four pages, sold at the Cathedral, yet *abounding* in errors, the weight is said to be only 11,474 pounds; and that of the clapper 180 pounds. Mr. Malcolm has given the following extract from the 'Protestant Mercury of July the thirty-first, 1700; yet as the Bell itself has the date of 1716, it would argue that it must have been afterwards recast. "The Great Bell, formerly called *Tom of Westminster*, was new cast by Mr. Philip Wightman, at his melting-house, and proves extraordinary well. It weighs above five tons, having an addition made to it of the weight of a ton. It will be erected again at St. Paul's Cathedral in a short time."

‡ The Great Bell is said to have been heard as far as *Windsor*; and a story

Phelps made me, 1716.' The quarters are struck on two smaller Bells, that hang near the former one. The Great Bell is never used, excepting for the striking of the hour, and for tolling at the deaths and funerals of any of the Royal Family, the Bishops of London, and the Lord Mayor, should the latter die in his Mayoralty.

The ascent to the Whispering Gallery is sufficiently convenient, but the avenues contract on approaching the *Stone Gallery* which surrounds the exterior Dome above the Colonnade. The view from hence is extensive and impressive; yet it by no means equals the prospect that is obtained at the superior elevation of the *Golden Gallery*, which crowns the apex of the Cupola, at the base of the lantern. From this height, when the atmosphere is clear, the surrounding country, to a great extent, seems completely under the eye, and even the Capital, extensive as it is, with all its dependent villages, appears to occupy but an inconsiderable portion of the vast expanse that lies spread out before the sight. The bright line that accompanies the meanderings of the Thames, and the thousands of vessels that float upon its stream, and in the vicinity of the Tower almost exclude its waters from the sight, compose principal features in the scene. The Metropolis itself has a kind of mimic appearance, like the objects exhibited in a *Fantoccini*. Every thing seems diminished: the squares, the streets, the buildings, the carriages, and the people, have all a fairy-like aspect; and the throng and bustle among the inhabitants so forcibly excite the idea of a colony of busy emmets, that the Spectator, contemplating the diminutive race below, and being himself removed for a moment out of the sphere of his usual sympathy with them, asks himself, involuntarily,

story has been frequently told, in confirmation of the fact, of a soldier on duty there, who being found asleep at the dead of the night, escaped punishment by telling the Officer that he was only attentively listening to St. Paul's Clock, which had just struck *thirteen!* an assertion that, however strange, is further stated to have been corroborated by the testimony of other soldiers and officers who kept guard the same night in St. James's Park.

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tarily, 'in what are those little, consequential, eager animals engaged.'* This view, though perhaps the very finest in all London, can seldom be enjoyed, owing to the clouds of smoke which, arising from the numerous coal fires, almost continually hang over the city: the best time is early on a summer-morning.

The occasional gloom and partial inconvenience of the ascent to the Golden Gallery, which is carried up between the outward roof and the Cone, by steep flights of stairs, is another cause of the prospect being seldom beheld; for many of the visitors to the Cathedral cannot prevail on themselves to undergo the fatigue, and *apprehended* danger. Still fewer are induced to explore their way into the copper *Ball* which crowns the lantern; though the additional exertion is sufficiently repaid to the curious, by the inspection of the ingenious contrivances and mechanism that may be seen in the ascent: this is principally by ladders, and a step or two in one of the enormous brazen feet that partly sustains the Ball itself, which is capacious enough to contain eight persons without particular inconvenience. The weight of the Ball is stated to be 5600lbs.; and that of the Cross, to which there is no entrance, 3360lbs.: the diameter of the Ball is six feet two inches. The entire ascent to this elevation is said to include 616 steps; of which the first 280 lead to the Whispering Gallery, and the first 534 to the Golden Gallery.

The Choir and its aisles are separated from the body of the Church by iron rails and gates, curiously and even elegantly wrought. The entrance to the Choir is immediately beneath the *Organ Gallery;* this is supported by eight small Corinthian columns of blue and white veined marble, for each of which Mr. Edward Strong was paid 52l. 10s. In front is the following inscription (in gold letters) which formerly appeared only over the grave of the great Architect whom it commemorates, but has recently been repeated here, as the more appropriate situation, in accordance with the suggestion of the late Robert Mylne, Esq. Clerk of the Works to St. Paul's.

T SUBTUS

* Picture of Lond. p. 75.

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SUBTUS . CONDITUR . HUJUS . ECCLESIÆ . ET . URBIS
CONDITOR . CHRISTOPHORUS WREN . QUI . VIXIT
ANNOS . ULTRA . NONAGINTA . NON . SIBI . SED
BONO . PUBLICO . LECTOR . SI . MONUMENTUM . REQUIRIS
CIRCUMSPICE .*
OBIIT . XXV . FEB . ANNO . MDCCXXIII .
ÆTAT 91.

The *Organ* is one of the finest instruments of the kind in the Kingdom: it was constructed by a German, named Bernard Smidt, or Schymdt (Smith) who, in December 1694, entered into a contract with the Commissioners to erect the great Organ, (and a choir organ) for 2000l. and, so faithfully was his engagement performed, that it is supposed that a similar one could not now be built for less than double that sum. The pipes, the original gilding of which appears perfectly fresh and brilliant, are preserved from dust by a heavy-looking case, with old-fashioned sashes; the glazing of which cost 103l. and is formed by "forty-eight glass plates of chrystal, two feet one inch long, and eighteen inches broad, at twenty-six shillings each; twenty-six others, twenty-five inches by twenty-one, at thirty shillings each; and two, twenty-one inches by fourteen, at sixteen shillings each."† The caryatides, fruits, flowers, and other figures which adorn the Organ-case, are admirably carved, but the sashes have the effect of impeding the sound. The Organ was entirely taken to pieces and repaired in the year 1802, by a Swedish artist and his partner, and the tones are said to have been improved "into exquisite softness and harmony."‡

The *Choir* was completed about the year 1688. On each side is a range of fifteen stalls, independent of the Bishop's Throne

* This inscription, though remarkably quaint, is certainly expressive; it may be Englished thus:—

Beneath lies CHRISTOPHER WREN, the Builder of this Church, and of this City; who lived upwards of ninety years, not for himself, but for the Public good. READER! wouldst thou search out his Monument? LOOK AROUND!

† Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. III. p. 106. ‡ Ibid. p. 105.

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Throne on the south side, and the Lord Mayor's on the north. These, though not remarkable for their elegance of design, are most beautifully ornamented with carvings, by Grinling Gibbons, of whose unrivalled excellence Walpole thus eloquently speaks: "There is no instance of a man, before Gibbons, who gave to wood the loose and airy lightness of flowers, and chained together the various productions of the elements, with a free disorder, natural to each species."* The general effect on entering the Choir is magnificent; yet the interest is partially destroyed by the insignificance of the altar, and the want of grandeur in the chancel; for though the original decorations were showy, they

 were

* Anec. of Paint. Vol. III. p. 149. The sums paid to Gibbons are thus stated in the Extracts from the Books at St. Paul's, made by Mr. Malcolm. See *Lond. Red.* Vol. III. pp. 104, 105.

Payments to Grinling Gibbons for the *Carvings* inside the Choir.

For two upper cimas of the great cornice, carved with leaves, at 2s. 6d. per foot, over the prebend's stalls.

The chaptering of the parapet, upper cimas, and member of the corona, with lace and leaves, at 1s. per foot.

The moulding in the cistals, one member enriched, 7d. per foot.

Coping on the cartouches, one member enriched, 14d. per foot.

The small O. G. on the corona of the Bishop, and Lord Mayor's thrones, 4d. per foot.

For the lower cima in the bottom of the nine-inch cornice, at 7d. per foot.

The cima and casements round the stalls, 9d. per foot.

The small cima on the top of the imposts over the prebends' heads, 8d. per foot.

The hollow of the impost leaves, 5s. per foot.

The swelling friezes, with grotesque enrichments, 5s. per foot; and the grotesque enrichments round the openings in the women's gallery, 4s. 3d. per foot.

The scrolls in the partition pilasters in the stalls, 9s. 6d. per foot.

The leaning scrolls, or elbows, 1l. 5s. each; the frieze on the thrones, 5s. per foot; pedestals, grotesque in the front, 1l. 4s. each.

The great modillion cornices, six members enriched, 10s. per foot.

The leaved cornice on the stone pilasters, 9s. per foot.

The Corinthian three-quarter capitals, 5l. 6s. each; the whole ones, 7l. each.

Grotesque capitals in the choir, 7l. each. Total charge, 1333l. 7s. 5d.

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were not impressive, and are now disfigured. The railing which encloses the chancel is 'clumsy and inelegant;' the ceiling has been painted in imitation of veined marble, as well as the semi-circular recess, excepting the pannels below the windows, which are of white marble, set in dark variegated borders; but these are now much corroded, and have lost their polish. This is also the case with the chancel-pavement, which is laid in geometrical figures, with porphyry and other rich-coloured marbles. The altar-piece is decorated with four fluted pilasters, painted with ultra-marine and veined with gold, in imitation of Lapis lazuli, and their capitals are richly gilt: the foliage of the frieze, the palm and laurel branches, &c. are also resplendent with gilding."* The marble pannelling between the intercolumniations consists of nine squares, three under each window.† The present *Pulpit* was designed by the late Mr. Mylne, and erected about nine or ten years ago; it is a costly fabric, and not inelegant in parts, yet rather heavy; the rich carving is by Wyatt and an ingenious Frenchman. The *Reader's Desk*, which is a fine example of its

* The gilding round the altar cost 168l. the Glory 3l. the foliage 30l. and the palm and laurel branches 5l. the painting of the pilasters cost 160l. and the painting of the east end, &c. in resemblance of veined marble, 4s. per square yard. Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. III. p. 105.

† "The painting and gilding of the Architecture of the east end of the Church, over the Communion-Table, was intended only to serve the present occasion, till such time as materials could have been procured for a magnificent design of an altar, consisting of four pillars, wreathed, of the richest *Greek* marbles, supporting a canopy hemispherical, with proper decorations of architecture and sculpture; for which the respective drawings and a model were prepared. Information, and particular descriptions of certain blocks of marble, were once sent to the Right Hon. Dr. Henry Compton, Bishop of London, from a Levantine Merchant in Holland, and communicated to the Surveyor, but unluckily the colours and scantlings did not answer his purpose; so it rested, in expectance of a fitter opportunity, else probably this curious and stately design had been finished at the same time with the main fabric." *Parentalia*, p. 292, note. The Model here spoken of was that of which a part is now remaining in the Trophy-Room, as before mentioned.

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Engraved by Robson from a Drawing by J.E.Neale

to the Societies of England & Wales

INTERIOR OF ST PAULS.

London, Published by John Harris St Pauls Church Yard July 1, 1816.

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its kind, is entirely of brass, richly gilt, and consists of an eagle, with expanded wings, supported by a pillar, and inclosed within a handsome gilt brass railing.

The general *Pavement*, as well of the Choir as of the body and aisles of the Church, is of black and white marble, neatly disposed, and particularly so in the area below the Dome: here, round a brass-plate in the centre, pierced (to throw light into the vaults) with lyre-shaped openings, and otherwise ornamented, a large diamond star, of thirty-two points, is formed with black and variegated marble; this again is surrounded by a double circle, inclosing lozenge-shaped squares, and more outward to the extremity of the area, where one extensive circle of black marble bounds the whole, the systematic arrangement is continued by smaller circles and other figures.

The 'sullen grandeur,' as it has been aptly styled, of the interior of St. Paul's, is not in any degree to be attributed to Sir Christopher Wren, who was fully sensible of its deficiency in ornament, and greatly wished to have relieved the architectural masses both by sculptures and by paintings; but being subjected to 'the restrictions of men utterly devoid of taste,' he was unable to carry his intentions into practice.* An attempt to remedy this objectionable destitution was made, about the year 1773, by the President and principal Members of the Royal Academy, who most liberally offered to paint various pictures, without charge, to fill some of the vacant compartments.† This offer, however, was not solely made through the wish of supplying the want of ornament in the Cathedral, but partly from a feeling that the

* The beautiful Engraving by Rooker, before referred to, will at once prove this fact, and also convince the world how much has been lost by the Cathedral not being "decorated agreeably to the original intention of Sir Christopher Wren," as shewn in the print.

† The names of those who were foremost in this meritorious design are deserving of the lasting estimation of every admirer of art and superior talents; they are here recorded:—Sir Joshua Reynolds, Angelica Kaufman, and Messrs. West, Barry, Cipriani, and Dance.

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Art of Painting "would never meet with due encouragement in England till it was admitted into Churches, where grand religious subjects contribute to exalt the ideas of the multitude to a just conception of the Divinity." The Dean and Chapter highly approved of the offer, which was first communicated to Bishop Newton by Sir Joshua Reynolds; his Majesty also concurred with the proposal. The then Archbishop of Canterbury, however, and Dr. Terrick, who was promoted to this See in May, 1774, thought proper to discountenance the whole plan (which fell to the ground in consequence of their opposition) on the futile principle, that popular clamours would be excited by the idea that "Popery and the Saints were again to be admitted into our Churches."

Within the space of twenty years after the above period, another scheme was suggested, and has happily been carried into effect, for breaking the monotonous uniformity of the architectural masses. This was the admission into the Cathedral of those *Monuments* of the *Great* deceased, which may, with strict propriety, be denominated NATIONAL; not altogether from their being always executed at the Public expense, and thus announcing the admiring veneration of a grateful Country, but from their being raised in commemoration of Characters either eminent for their virtues, for their talents, or for their heroism; and long, very long, may the time be distant, when the mere circumstance of rank or of office shall be judged sufficient to give the privilege of monumental record in this sacred fane!

The Decease of HOWARD, the *Philanthropist*, who expired at Cherson, in Russian Turkey, in 1790, was the immediate event that led to the erection of Monuments in this Church. During the life-time of that extraordinary man, who passed many years in inspecting the gloom of prisons, and in alleviating the sufferings of debtors and criminals, a design had been formed, and a subscription promoted, for raising a Statue to his praise; but this honourable distinction was decidedly objected to by Howard himself, and therefore was not persevered in till after his death.

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death. It was then suggested by the Rev. John Pridden, one of the minor Canons of St. Paul's, that the Dean and Chapter should be solicited for permission to erect the intended Statue in this Cathedral; a requisition which, with the according consent of the late Bishop, Dr. Bielby Porteus, was readily granted; but it was at the same time intimated, that as this would become a precedent for future applications, 'no Monument should be erected without the design being first approved of by a Committee of the Royal Academicians,' a determination which has been hitherto strictly abided by; though it was very early seen, that from the influence of some unexplained *imperium in imperio*, the ultimate decision was not intended to be given to the Committee.*

Though the permission for Howard's Statue was first granted, that of the celebrated DR. JOHNSON was the first erected. This was executed by the late excellent artist John Bacon, Esq. R. A. in the year 1795. In this figure the sculptor has acknowledgedly aimed at "a magnitude of parts, and a grandeur of style," that should accord with the masculine sense and nervous phraseology which characterizes the writings of our great moralist. He is represented in a Roman toga, with the right arm and breast naked, and in an attitude of intense study. The expression of his countenance is mingled with severity, as being most suitable to his vigour of thinking, and the complexional character of his works; and he appears leaning against a column, to express the firmness of his mind, and the stability of his maxims.† The inscription on the pedestal was written by that accomplished scholar Dr. Parr; it is as follows:

A $\overset{P}{X}$ Ω
SAMVELI . JOHNSON
GRAMMATICO . ET . CRITICO
SCRIPTORVM . ANGLICORVM . LITTERATE . PERITO
PORTÆ . LVMINIBUS . SENTENTIARVM
ET.

* See Barry's Letter to the Dilettanti Society, p. 47; and Bacon's Letter to Mr. J. Nichols, in Gent.'s Mag. for the year 1796.

† See Bacon's Letter, as above.

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ET . PONDERIBVS . VERBORVM . ADMIRABILI
MAGISTRO . VIRTVTIS . GRAVISSIMO
HOMINI . OPTIMO . ET . SINGVLARIS . EXEMPLI
QVI . VIXIT . ANN . LXXV . MENS . II . DIEB . XIIII
DECESSIT . IDIB . DECEMBR . ANN . CHRIST . CIↃ.IↃCC.LXXXIIII.
SEPVLT . IN . ÆD . SANCT . PETR . WESTMONASTERIENS
XIII . KAL . JANVAR . ANN . CHRIST . CIↃ.IↃCC.LXXXV
AMICI . ET . SODALES . LITTERARII
PECVNIA . CONLATA
H . M . FACIVND . CVRAVER

The Statue of Howard, which occupies a situation corresponding with that of Dr. Johnson, viz. an angle in front of one of the smaller piers of the Dome, is also from the chisel of Bacon, who agreed to execute it for the sum of 1300 guineas. The original intention of the sculptor was to have made a group of two figures, as furnishing more opportunity for that display of *active benevolence* which so peculiarly distinguished the conduct of this Philanthropist. This idea was unfortunately over-ruled, for the sake of 'uniformity' with the Statue of Dr. Johnson; and the artist, compelled to have recourse to a single figure, was somewhat perplexed fully to exhibit those characteristics which best tended to develope the actions and disposition of the beneficent Howard. The Roman costume is again employed in this figure; the attitude is intended to give the idea of motion, by the body being advanced upon the right foot, which is placed considerably forward: in one hand is a key, to 'express the circumstance of his exploring dungeons,' and in the other a scroll of papers, with the words—'Plan for the Improvement of Prisons,' written on one; and on the corner of a second, the word 'Hospitals.' At the feet of the Statue are chains and fetters, and behind another paper, with the word 'Regulations:' on the pedestal in front, is a bas-relief, representing 'a scene in a Prison, where Mr. Howard having broken the chains of the Prisoners, is bringing provision and cloathing for their relief.'* Over the bas-relief is the name JOHN HOWARD; and on the left of the pedestal the following

* See Bacon's Letter, as above.

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ing inscription, from the pen of Samuel Whitbread, Esq. the eminent Commoner, who so nobly exerts himself for the preservation of British constitutional liberty:

This Extraordinary Man had the fortune to be honoured, whilst living,
In the manner which his Virtues deserved.
He received the Thanks
Of both Houses of the British and Irish Parliaments,
For his eminent Services rendered to his Country and to Mankind.
Our National Prisons and Hospitals,
Improved upon the suggestions of his Wisdom,
Bear testimony to the solidity of his Judgment,
And to the estimation in which he was held
In every part of the Civilised World,
Which he traversed to reduce the sum of Human Misery.
From the Throne to the Dungeon, his name
Was mentioned with respect, gratitude, and Admiration!
His Modesty alone
Defeated various efforts that were made during his Life
To erect this Statue,
Which the Public has now consecrated to his Memory!
He was born at *Hackney*, in the County of Middlesex, Sept. II. MDCC.XXVI.
The early part of his life he spent in Retirement,
Residing principally on his Paternal estate
At Cardington, in Bedfordshire,
For which County he served the office of Sheriff
In the year M.DCC.LXXIII.
He expired at Cherson, in Russian Tartary, on the xxth Jan. M.DCC.XC.
A victim to the perilous and benevolent Attempt
To ascertain the cause of, and find an efficacious Remedy
For, the Plague.
He trod an open, but unfrequented, path to Immortality,
In the ardent and unintermitted exercise of Christian Charity.
May this Tribute to his Fame
Excite an emulation of his truly glorious Achievements!

In another correspondent angle below the Dome is a third Statue by Bacon, erected in the year 1799, to the memory of Sir William Jones, "one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, Bengal," where he died on the

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the twenty-seventh of April, 1794. This, like the two former, is a standing figure (having in the left hand a roll of paper, inscribed, 'Plan of the Asiatic Society;' and in the right a pen,) resting upon a volume, inscribed 'Translation of the Institutes of Menu,' which is placed, with two others, on a square pedestal, sculptured with a Lyre, Armillary Sphere, Compass, Sword and Scales, &c. all intended as emblems of the various acquirements of this learned man. In front of the pedestal is a bas-relief of the '*Courma Avater*,' and on the right an inscription, stating that, "This Statue was erected by the Hou^ble^. East-India Company, in testimony of their grateful sense of his public services, their admiration of his genius and learning, and their respect for his character and virtues."

Under the east window of the north end of the principal transept, is the Monument of CAPTAINS MOSSE and RIOU, by Charles Rossi, Esq. R. A. erected in 1805. This consists of the figures of Victory and Fame, seated upon a plinth, or insulated base (which sustains a sarcophagus) and displaying oval medallions of the deceased officers, who are further commemorated by this inscription:

The Services and Death
of two valiant and distinguished Officers,
JAMES ROBERT MOSSE, Captain of the *Monarch*,
and EDWARD RIOU, of the *Amazon*,
who fell in the attack upon *Copenhagen*,
Conducted by LORD NELSON, 2nd April, 1801,
are commemorated by this Monument
erected at the National expense.

JAMES ROBERT MOSSE was born in 1746; he served as Lieutenant several years under Lord Howe, and was promoted to the rank of Post Captain, 1790.—To EDWARD RIOU, who was born in 1762; an extraordinary occasion was presented, in the early part of his services, of signalizing his intrepidity and presence of mind, which were combined with the most anxious solicitude for the lives of those under his command, and a magnanimous disregard to his own. When his ship, the *Guardian*, struck upon an Island of Ice, in December 1789, and afforded no prospect but that

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that of immediate destruction to those on board, *Lieutenant Rion* encouraged all who desired to take the chance of preserving themselves in the boats, to consult their safety; but judging it contrary to his own duty to desert the vessel, he neither gave himself up to despair, nor relaxed his exertions! whereby, after ten weeks of the most perilous navigation, he succeeded in bringing his disabled Ship into Port; receiving this high reward of Fortitude and Perseverance from the *Divine Providence* on whose protection he relied.

This Monument was compiled from different designs by Rossi; but is stated to have been arranged under the direction of a Committee appointed by Government; whose taste, if such was really the fact, must have been extremely deficient in discrimination, or they never could have fabricated a composition so divested of energy, and fraught with such a monotonous sameness. It is reprehensible, likewise, in another point of view, for on no one axiom of sound criticism in art, can the sacrifice of the principal be maintained, for the mere purpose of bringing forward what, if at all necessary, can only be considered in the light of collateral adjuncts. This remark is intended to apply to the inexcusable absurdity of making the representation or figure of the person commemorated so completely subordinate to allegorical substitutions, as is done in this Monument. The figures of Fame and Victory (whose attitudes are almost counterparts of each other) who have no existence except in the realms of poetical fiction, are larger than the general size of human beings, with every limb displayed, and an expression of vitality in each countenance, sufficiently significant of ideal sympathy; whilst on the other hand the resemblance of the gallant men, who in the hour of battle perished in their Country's cause, and whose deaths formed the very ground-work upon which the Monument was voted by Parliament, are tamely impressed upon miserable medallions. The heroism of the "mighty fallen" ought surely to be represented in a more striking manner than this, and under the more impressive character of dignified action, or of energetic suffering. The figures of Victory and Fame are the common refuge of mediocrity

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crity of genius and defective or indolent invention; they have been repeated to satiety, and under almost every possible form and circumstance; and like those of Neptune and Britannia, in too many of our naval monuments, they usurp that room which should be appropriated to the display of the achievements that ennoble, or the virtues that immortalize.

Against the flat or pannel between the pilasters of the first pier on the east from the north entrance, is a magnificent group of sculpture, in commemoration of MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS DUNDAS, who died of the Yellow Fever in the West Indies, on the third of June, 1794. The inscription states that this Monument was erected by a vote of the House of Commons for the eminent services which he rendered to his Country; particularly in the reduction of the West India Islands. It was executed in 1805, by J. Bacon, Jun. and is undoubtedly a very fine and spirited performance, yet, in a considerable degree, liable to the objections just made. Britannia, a noble and majestic figure, with her attendant Lion couchant, is here represented in the act of encircling the *Bust* of the deceased with a laurel wreath, whilst at the same time she "is receiving under her protection the Genius of the captured Islands," another full length female figure, "bearing the produce of the various settlements," having a youthful form, and a countenance expressive of sensibility. At her feet is an infant boy with an olive branch, and behind a trident. The Bust is sustained on a circular pedestal, on which is a bas-relief of Britannia giving protection to a fugitive Female against the pursuit of two other figures representing Deceit and Oppression.

Immediately opposite is a Monument by the late J. Banks, R.A. to the memory of CAPTAIN WESTCOTT, who was killed in the Battle of the Nile. The dying hero, a fine figure, in a falling attitude, is here supported by Victory; whose own position however, is apparently very unstable, and excites the idea of comparative weakness. On the basement, in the centre, is a bas-relief of a gigantic figure intended for the god Nilus, with numerous naked boys, indicative of the various streams of the River Nile; and

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and at the sides are other emblems of Egypt, as the Sphinx, Pyramid, Palm Trees, &c. The inscription is as follows:

Erected at the Public Expense,
to the memory of
GEORGE BLAGDON WESTCOTT,
Captain of the *Majestic*,
Who after thirty-three years of meritorious service,
Fell Gloriously
In the Victory obtained over the French Fleet, off Aboukir,
the first day of August, in the year 1798,
In the forty-sixth year of his age.

At the south end of this transept, in a corresponding situation, against the pannel of the south-west pier, is another Monument by Banks, in memory of CAPTAIN BURGESS, who gloriously fell in the battle fought with the Dutch, off Camperdown, by Admiral Duncan. The faults and the excellencies of this expansive piece of sculpture are singularly blended; yet it must be confessed that the former affect the conception or invention more than the execution; which, generally speaking, is deserving of high praise. The principal figures are those of Victory and the Deceased, both of whom are standing on the opposite sides of a cannon, near which are coils of rope, balls, &c. Victory, who is a meagre and insipid figure, is in the act of presenting a sword to the brave Burgess, whose statue is finely expressive of heroic animation, but almost literally *naked*, a state by far more befitting the Goddess herself than the representation of a Naval Officer. On the circular base or pedestal, in front, beneath the pannel with the inscription, is an aged Captive, with a log-line and compass, sitting between the prows of two ships, one of which is antique, the other modern. At the sides are other figures, male and female, beautifully sculptured, and in a classical taste, expressive of disgrace, discomfiture, and captivity; and in the vacant spaces are antique shields, clubs, &c. All these figures are in bold relief, and their actions and attitudes finely indicative of defeat and shame. The inscription is as follows:

Sacred

Sacred to the Memory of RICHARD RUNDLE BURGESS, Esq. Commander of His Majesty's Ship *Ardent*, who fell in the 43rd year of his age, while bravely supporting the honour of the British Flag, in a daring and successful attempt to break the Enemy's line, near *Camperdown*, on the 11th of October, 1797. His skill, coolness, and intrepidity, eminently contributed to a Victory equally advantageous and glorious to his COUNTRY. That grateful Country, by the unanimous Act of her Legislature, enrolls his Name high in the list of those Heroes, who, under the blessing of Providence, have established and maintained her Naval superiority and her exalted rank among Nations.

Against the opposite pannel is another large Monument commemorating the fate and gallant exploit of the lamented CAPTAIN FAULKNOR, who fell in battle in the West Indies. This intrepid Officer (who is very injudiciously represented with a *Roman* sword in his right hand, and a *Roman* shield on his left arm, as if intended for a Gladiator) is exhibited as in the moment of death, and falling into the arms of Neptune; the latter is a gigantic figure seated on a rock, with a slight portion of drapery thrown over his left knee and middle, and occupying the most central and prominent place in the composition; his form appears somewhat uncouth and his attitude ungracious: below him is a Dolphin, and on his left the Goddess Victory with a palm branch in her left hand and a wreath in her right, which she holds over the head of the dying hero. This group is the workmanship of Rossi; and bears the date 1802. The lassitude resulting from the approach of death is well expressed in the figure of the Captain; and the statue of Victory has merit. On the pedestal is the following inscription:

This Monument was erected
by the British Parliament
to commemorate the gallant conduct of
CAPTAIN ROBERT FAULKNOR,
who on the 5th of January, 1795,
in the thirty-second year of his age,
and in the moment of Victory,
was killed on board the *Blanche* Frigate,
while he was engaging *La Pique*, a French Frigate
of very superior force.

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The circumstances of determined bravery, that distinguished this action, deserve to be recorded.—Captain FAULKNOR, observing the great superiority of the Enemy, and having lost most of his masts and rigging, watched an opportunity of the bowsprit of *La Pique* coming athwart the *Blanche*, and with his own hands lashed it to her capstern, and thus converted the whole stern of the *Blanche* into one battery; but, unfortunately, soon after this bold and daring manœuvre, he was shot through the Heart.

In the smaller pannel above the last Monument, is a beautiful composition, by Flaxman, which strongly exhibits the classic abilities of that great master. The figures of Britannia and Fame, in high relief, are here represented in the conjoined action of affixing a Medallion of the deceased to a Palm-tree. Round the edge of the Medallion are the words, "To CAPT. R. WILLET MILLER;" and above, on the plane, "*This Monument is raised by his Companions in Victory.*" Behind the figure of Fame is the stern of the *Theseus*, and at the side of Britannia is a couchant Lion. Admitting the propriety of the Allegory, there is a vividness of feeling and a cultivated taste exhibited in this chaste Memento, which are highly judicious and praiseworthy.

Within the alcove of the south-east window of this part of the transept is the very noble Equestrian Monument of SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY, who was mortally wounded in Egypt, soon after the memorable landing of the British Troops in that Country, in the year 1801. This was erected, in consequence of a Vote of Parliament, by R. Westmacott, A. R. A. about 1809. The brave and able General, who is the subject of this Memento, is represented as wounded, and falling from his Horse into the arms of an attendant Highlander. Both figures are arrayed in the proper costume of their respective stations; and below the fore-feet of the Horse, which is springing forward in a very spirited attitude, is the naked body of a fallen foe. The position of the Highland Soldier is well conceived and judiciously balanced, so as to sustain the additional weight of the General, without

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without exhibiting any indication of weak or inefficient power. The countenance of the immortal Abercromby, though languid, displays a placid dignity, highly expressive of the strength of mind and undaunted heroism which distinguished his character. Upon the freestone plinth of this Monument, and on each side of the principal group, is a large figure of the Egyptian Sphynx; and the following inscription is on the circular base, below the principal figures:

> Erected at the Public Expense, to the memory of LIEUT.-GEN. SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY, K. B. *Commander-in-Chief* of an expedition directed against the *French* in *Egypt*; who, having surmounted, with consummate ability and valour, the obstacles opposed to his landing, by local difficulties, and a powerful and well-prepared Enemy, and, having successfully established and maintained the successive positions necessary for conducting his further operations, resisted, with signal advantage, a desperate attack of chosen and veteran troops, on the 21st of March, 1801, when he received, early in the Engagement, a *mortal wound*; but remained in the field, guiding by his direction, and animating by his presence, the brave troops under his command, until they had achieved the brilliant and important VICTORY obtained on that memorable Day. The former actions of a long life, spent in the service of his Country, and thus gloriously terminated, were distinguished by the same Military Skill, and by equal zeal for the Public Service, particularly during the Campaigns in the Netherlands, in 1793 and 94; in the West Indies, in 1796 and 97; and in Holland, in 1799; in the last of which the distinguished Gallantry and Ability with which he effected his Landing on the Dutch Coast, established his position in the face of a powerful Enemy, and secured the Command of the principal Fort and Arsenal of the Dutch Republic, were acknowledged and honoured by the Thanks of both Houses of Parliament. Sir Ralph Abercromby expired on board the Foudroyant, on the 28th of March, 1801, in his 66th Year.

This is unquestionably the grandest Monument, and the most perfect in composition, that has yet been erected in St. Paul's Cathedral. The interest derived by the mind from the contemplation

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templation of historical fact, may here be obtained, unmingled with the alloy of baser matter. No false allegory is spread before the eye, to amuse the fancy at the expense of the understanding, but every thing is in place and in nature; nor are we compelled to arrest the full flow of sensibility and sentiment, by stopping to enquire into the attributes of imaginary beings, who more frequently seem to be compelled into the service, than to assume their stations with propriety and due subordination. Greatness and Art are allied; and the fall of Abercromby has conferred immortality on Westmacott.

Under the opposite east window a most noble Monument is now erecting by Flaxman, in memory of the late *Lord Howe*; but this, though fast advancing to completion, it would be premature to describe till it be open to the Public eye. Another magnificent Monument, in commemoration of the late *Marquis Cornwallis*, is also now raising, by Westmacott, against the large pannel on the left of the entrance into the choir. Both these Monuments were voted by Parliament, as was also a third, to the memory of *Lord Nelson*, which is intended to be placed opposite to that of the Marquis Cornwallis. In the small pannel over the latter is an allegorical memento, erected at the Public expense, for "Captain JOHN COOKE, who was killed commanding the Bellerophon, in the Battle of Trafalgar, in the forty-fourth year of his age;" and in the corresponding pannel, opposite to this, is another mural Monument, in commemoration of Captain GEORGE DUFF, who was killed in the same battle, "the XXIst of October, M.DCCC.V, commanding the Mars, in his forty-second year." The latter is by J. Bacon, Jun. and consists of a small antique sarcophagus (on the front of which is a sculptured medallion of the deceased) a figure of Britannia on the right, holding a wreath over the sarcophagus, and on the left a sailor, relieved from a naval flag, reclining his head, in sorrow, upon the edge of the pedestal. This also was erected in consequence of a vote of Parliament.

It may be proper to observe, that all the Monuments above

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described are of white marble, with the exception of the ground plinths to those which stand upon the pavement, and are of free-stone. It must also be noticed, that only one, Lord Nelson, of all the Persons who have yet been mentioned as commemorated in this structure, has been really interred here.

The entrance to the *Vaults* is by a broad flight of steps in the south-east angle of the great transept. In these gloomy recesses, which receive only a partial distant light from 'grated prison-like windows,' the vast piers and arches that sustain the superstructure, cannot be seen without interest. They form the whole space into three main avenues, the principal one under the Dome being almost totally dark.

Here, in the very centre of the building, repose the mortal remains of the great and 'ever to be lamented' LORD NELSON, a man, whose consummate skill and daring intrepidity advanced the naval superiority of the British Nation to a height and splendor before unparalleled. He was mortally wounded in the ever-glorious Battle of Trafalgar, near Cadiz; but his dying hours were cheered by the complete assurance of triumph, and the conscious satisfaction of knowing that 'every man had done his duty.'* His body having been brought to England in his own ship, the Victory, was inclosed, at Chatham, in a coffin, made out of the main-mast of L'Orient, which blew up in the Battle of the Nile, and being thence conveyed to Greenwich Hospital, was laid in state during three days. It was then removed, in a grand procession, by water, to the Admiralty, and on the following day (Thursday, January the ninth, 1806) was conveyed to St. Paul's, amidst a solemn procession, and with all the honours that a sorrowing country could bestow.† On this occasion the interior of the Cathedral displayed a scene the most impressive and affecting, perhaps, that was ever beheld within its walls. The Prince of Wales, and all the other Princes of the Blood, with

* The last signal made by Lord Nelson to the Fleet, on leading down to action, was, "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN SHALL DO HIS DUTY."

† See preceding Volume, pp. 605, 606.

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with a considerable concourse of Nobility and Gentry of the first rank, the Lord Mayor, Corporation, and chief Citizens of London, many Naval and Military Officers, a detachment of Seamen and Marines from the Victory, and an immense number of spectators were present; and after a grand funeral service, intermingled with music and anthems by the conjoined choirs of St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, and the Chapel-royal, the remains of the departed hero were lowered into the vaults, and the ceremonial was concluded by the verse and chorus, '*His body is buried in peace,*'—'*but his name liveth evermore.*' The Colours of the Victory were deposited with the Chieftian who so gloriously fell under them, and whose revered reliques have since been inclosed *within* a base of Scotch granite, built upon the floor of the vault, and supporting a large sarcophagus, formed of black and dark-coloured marbles, brought from the Tomb-house of Cardinal Wolsey, at Windsor.* *Viro Immortali!*

Near the tomb of Nelson, the remains of his gallant and much-esteemed friend and companion in victory, CUTHBERT, LORD COLLINGWOOD, have since been interred. This brave Admiral, who was second in command to Lord Nelson† in the Battle of Trafalgar, and upon whom the entire command devolved after

* See Beauties, Vol. I. p. 260.

† In the Dispatches written by Admiral Collingwood, after the engagement off Trafalgar, is the following passage:—"Such a Battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British navy and the British nation, in the fall of the Commander in Chief, the loss of a Hero whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his country; but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell, does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought: his Lordship received a musket-ball in the left breast, about the middle of the action, and sent an officer to me immediately with his last farewell, and soon after expired." Lord Nelson was born in September, 1758; and Lord Collingwood in ———, 1750.

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the death of that Hero, had the hard fortune never again to see his native land, although he survived till the tenth of March, 1810.

Of the other persons buried in the Vaults, the priority of notice is certainly due to SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN, upon whose low Tomb, beneath the south-east window, is this inscription:—"Here lieth *Christopher Wren*, Knight, builder of this Cathedral Church of St. Paul, who died in the year of our Lord, MDCCXXIII. and of his age, XCI." On the adjacent wall, at the head of the tomb, within a border of ovals, are the words, '*Subtùs conditur*,' &c. a repetition of which has been recently inscribed over the entrance to the choir.*

This great man, whose mathematical, mechanical, and architectural knowledge surpassed that of almost every other individual of his time, was born on the twentieth of October, 1632, at *East Knoyle*, in Wiltshire, his father, Dr. Christopher Wren, Dean of Windsor, being then Rector of that parish. Having made a rapid progress in classical and mathematical learning, under private tutors, he was sent to Westminster School (of which the celebrated Dr. Busby was then Master) but was soon afterwards removed to the University of Oxford, and admitted a Gentleman-Commoner at Wadham College, in his fourteenth year. Previously to this he had invented a new Astronomical Instrument on the principle of the Orrery, together with a curious Pneumatic Engine, and a peculiar kind of Sun-dial. The strength of his talents, and his vigorous application to study, soon procured him the esteem and friendship of Dr. John Wilkins, the then Warden of his College, and afterwards Bishop of Chester, and of Dr. Seth Ward, Savilian Professor of Astronomy, and afterwards Bishop of Sarum: by the former he was introduced to the acquaintance and favour of Prince Charles, the Elector Palatine, to whom, when about the age of sixteen, he presented several Mechanical Instruments of his own invention.

In the following year (anno 1647) he invented several other Mathematical Instruments; and having obtained the friendship of

* See before, p. 274.

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of that learned Anatomist, Dr. Scarborough, he assisted him in his preparations and experiments; and afterwards made some curious illustrative models, in pasteboard, of the muscles, 'as they naturally rise in Dissection,' for the use of the celebrated Lectures delivered by the Doctor in Surgeon's Hall. On the 18th of March, 1650, he proceeded Bachelor of Arts, and in the following year, at his father's request, he composed a short Algebraical tract, relating to the Julian period, very useful in Chronology. He was elected a Fellow of All-Souls College in the beginning of November, 1653; and the eleventh of December following he took the degree of Master of Arts. In the mean time he became one of the first members of the Philosophical Society at Oxford; at whose first assemblies, held at Dr. Wilkins's lodging, at Wadham College, he exhibited many new theories, inventions, experiments, and mechanic improvements.* In 1656 he discovered a method of infusing liquors immediately into the mass of blood in an animal body: this, like many other of his inventions and discoveries, was falsely challenged by the Germans and other foreigners; which occasioned the Royal Society to publish a paper in defence of Sir Christopher's just claim.

In August, 1647, he was chosen Professor of Astronomy in Gresham College, though he had not yet completed his twenty-fifth year; and, in 1648, he solved the celebrated problem respecting the newly discovered Elliptical Astronomy, which had been proposed by Mons. Pascal, as a challenge to all the English Mathematicians. Shortly after, in 1659, he suggested a method for finding the variations of pressure in the Air, which led to the use of the Barometer as a weather-glass.

The meetings of the Society, which had been commenced at Oxford, were continued at Gresham College, and, in the year 1660, the Members were incorporated by Charter into the 'Royal Society,'—scarcely any person having been more instrumental to

* See *Parentalia*, pp. 198, 199, for a long list of these Inventions, &c. together with many curious particulars concerning them in the following pages of that work.

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this happy end than our ingenious Philosopher, who shortly afterwards was appointed Savilian Professor of Astronomy, at Oxford, (Dr. Ward having resigned) and in the following year he was advanced to the degree of Doctor of Laws. During the four years next ensuing, he produced various inventions in Mechanics and Experimental Philosophy, and wrote several valuable Treatises and Essays, on different abstruse and scientific subjects.

In the year 1665 he made a journey to France, for the purpose of making observations in the science of Architecture. The Palace of the *Louvre* was then building, upwards of a thousand hands being constantly employed on the works. This Palace, he remarked, in a Letter to a Friend, "was for a while his daily object;" and, in the same writing, after noticing his own introduction to *Bernini*, the Architect, he says, "*Bernini's* design of the *Louvre* I would have given my skin for, but the old reserved Italian gave me but a few minutes view: it was five little designs in paper, for which he hath received so many thousand Pistoles."*

After his return to England he prepared his designs for the reparations of St. Paul's, and, after the dreadful conflagration of London, in September 1666,† was appointed Surveyor-General and principal Architect for rebuilding the whole City. His noble plan for the Improvement of the Capital has been already mentioned;‡ but the disputes about private property, and the tenacity with which the inhabitants of the City adhered to the sites of their old houses, unfortunately prevented the accomplishment of a Design which must have rendered London the most beautiful

* *Parentalia*, p. 262. "When Sir Christopher was at Paris," says Aubrey, in his Miscellanies (Chap. v. p. 52; *ex ore C. Wren*) about 1665, he was taken ill and feverish, and had a pain in his reins. He sent for a Physician, who advised him to let blood, thinking he had a Pleurisy; but bleeding much disagreeing with his constitution, he would defer it a day longer. That night he dreamed that he was in a place where Palm trees grew (suppose Egypt) and that a Woman in a romantic habit reached him Dates. The next day he sent for Dates, which cured him of the pain in his reins!"

† See preceding Volume, pp. 406—440. ‡ Ibid. pp. 436—439.

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beautiful Metropolis in the world. All the extraordinary talents of this enlightened genius were now brought into action; and so great was his application in the subsequent years of his long life, that to employ the words of the Parentalia, 'the number and variety of his Works form such a body of *Civil Architecture*, as will rather appear to be the production of a whole *Century*, than of the life and industry of one *Man*; of which no parallel instance can be given.'*

* *Parentalia*, p. 343. The following is a Catalogue of the Religious and principal Secular structures erected by Sir Christopher Wren, all of which are in London, excepting where otherwise noticed:—

Churches.

St. Paul's Cathedral.
Allhallows the Great, Thames Street.
Allhallows, Bread Street.
Allhallows, Lombard Street.
St. Alban, Wood Street.
St. Anne and Agnes, Aldersgate.
St. Andrew, Holborn.
St. Andrew Wardrobe, Black Friars.
St. Antholin, Budge Row.
St. Austin, Watling Street.
St. Bartholomew, Royal Exchange.
St. Bennet, Gracechurch Street.
St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf.
St. Bennet Fink, Threadneedle Street.
St. Bride, Fleet Street.
Christ Church, Newgate Street.
St. Christopher le Stocks, partly rebuilt.
St. Clement Danes, Strand.
St. Clement, Eastcheap.
St. Dionis Back-church, Fenchurch Street, repaired, with new steeple.
St. Dunstan's in the East, near Billingsgate.
St. Edmund the King, Lombard Street.
St. George, Botolph Lane.
St. James, Garlick Hill.
St. James, Westminster.
St. Lawrence Jewry, Guildhall.
St. Magnus, London Bridge.
St. Margaret Pattens, Rood Lane.
St. Margaret, Lothbury.
St. Martin, Ludgate.
St. Mary Abchurch, Abchurch Lane.
St. Mary, Aldermanbury.
St. Mary Aldermary, Bow Lane.
St. Mary le Bow, Cheapside.
St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street.
St. Mary Somerset, Thames Street.
St. Mary at Hill, Billingsgate.
St. Matthew, Friday Street.
St. Michael, Basinghall Street.
St. Michael, Queenhithe.
St. Michael, Cornhill, except the tower.
St. Michael, Crooked Lane.
St. Michael Royal, College Hill.
St. Michael, Wood Street.
St. Mildred, Bread Street.
St. Mildred, Poultry.
St. Nicholas Cole-abbey, Old Fish Street.
St. Olave, Jewry.

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In the year 1669 he finished the erection of a Theatre at Oxford, the flat roof of which is particularly curious: in 1674 the honour of Knighthood was conferred upon him by the King; and, on the tenth of August, 1675, the foundation of the Royal Observatory was laid in Greenwich Park, in accordance with a proposal which he had made after being appointed a Commissioner to find a proper place for the purpose. Two years afterwards he completed the Monument, which had been commenced in 1671. In the year 1680 he was elected President of the Royal Society; and, in March 1683, he commenced the new Palace at Winchester, a situation with which Charles the Second was peculiarly delighted: in the same year he was appointed a Commissioner and Architect for Chelsea College. In the following year he was made Comptroller of the Works in the Castle of Windsor, and of all Manors and Lodges in the Forest of Windsor. In 1685 he was chosen Member of Parliament for Plympton, in Devonshire; and, in the Parliament which met in January 1689, he was returned from the Borough of New Windsor, but, in the month of August following, he was thrown out, by a Resolution of the House of Commons, that the right of election was in "the Mayor, Bailiffs, and select number of Burgesses only." Being again returned in the ensuing year, agreeably to that resolution, he was again thrown out by a vote directly contrary to the former, yet carried only by a majority of six.

Between the years 1690 and 1694, Sir Christopher completed the

St. Peter, Cornhill.
St. Sepulchre, Snow Hill.
St. Stephen, Walbrook.
St. Stephen, Coleman Street.
St. Swithin, Cannon Street.
St. Vedast, Foster Lane, Cheapside.
St. Peter's, Westminster, all its renovations from the years 1698 to 1723.
Chapel of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

Secular Structures.

The Monument.
Custom House.
Hampton Court.
Chelsea Hospital.
Greenwich Hospital.
Winchester Palace.
Theatre at Oxford.
Trinity College Library, Cambridge.
Frontispiece of the Middle Temple, Fleet Street.

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the building of the Royal Apartments at Hampton Court. In 1698 he was appointed Surveyor-General, and a Commissioner of the Works at Westminster Abbey; and in the following year he began to carry on the building of Greenwich Hospital, which it had been then recently determined to erect into an Asylum for disabled British Seamen, and of which he had been appointed a Director and Chief Architect. He was not only one of the first who had, by his influence, contributed to that beneficent foundation, but, to his eternal honour, the whole of the time and skill, which, during several years, he exerted in prosecuting the works, was bestowed gratuitously; 'prefering in this, as in every other passage of his life, the Public service to any private advantage of his own, by the acquest of wealth, of which he had always a great contempt.'* The building of Chelsea Hospital was also completed under his inspection, and he likewise "prescribed the Statutes and whole economy of the House."†

In the year 1700 Sir Christopher was chosen a Burgess of Parliament for the Borough of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, in Dorsetshire: in 1708 he was appointed one of the Commissioners for building the Fifty new Churches, in and about London, under the Act of Parliament passed in that year.

In 1710 his great and most important work, St. Paul's Cathedral, was completely finished, with the exception of some of the parts merely ornamental. One of the most singular circumstances relating to this building, and which could hardly be credited, if there were not full evidence of the fact, is now to be mentioned: it equally shows the weakness of popular credulity, and the ingratitude of the Government. In October, 1675, as has been stated,‡ the salary of Sir Christopher was fixed at 200l. per annum; a sum which the other Commissioners judged too small, but which the Architect, who, like all great minds, contemned every interested attention to pecuniary emolument, had made his own choice. Most inadequate, however, as this was to his acknowledged merit, a report was industriously rumoured that he

* *Parentalia*, p. 323. † Ibid. p. 327. ‡ See before, p. 240.

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he had a large annual salary for the building, and therefore, it was for his advantage to prolong its completion. On this false assumption, in an Act of Parliament, passed in the ninth of William and Mary, (anno 1697) for 'Completing and adorning the Cathedral Church,' a Clause was inserted to "*suspend a moiety*" of the Surveyor's salary, "until the said Church should be finished; thereby the *better to encourage him* to finish the same with the utmost diligence and expedition." Under this illiberal restraint, Sir Christopher, who must have despised both the insult and the imputation, had the greatness of character to *proceed* with the work, as if no such restriction had existed; and, on the completion of the structure, in the ninth of Queen Anne, when another Act of Parliament was passed, 'declaring the Church finished,' the Commissioners by the same Act were empowered to pay him "the arrears of this moiety of his salary." How different a treatment was this from what Bernini met with for his designs of the *Louvre!*

That the charge of delay in the building of this Cathedral was most unjustly promulgated, may be readily seen by comparing the time and circumstances with those attending the erection of St. Peter's, which is the only modern fabric that can be placed in competition with it. The expenses of St. Paul's were principally defrayed by a small imposition on sea-coal imported into London, the annual proceeds of which were frequently less than the yearly charges for materials and labour; it was begun and finished under one Architect, and under one Bishop of London, and that in the short space of thirty-five years: whilst, on the contrary, St. Peter's, "though assisted by the police and interests of the Roman See, by the ready acquisition of marble, and attended by the best artists of the world, in sculpture, statuary, painting, and mosaic-work;" was no less than 145 years in the building; during which time no fewer than twelve Architects had been successively employed in superintending the works, and nineteen Popes had sat in the Papal Chair.*

In

* All the names, as well of the Popes as the Architects, may be seen in the *Parentalia*, p. 293.

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In the evening of his days, at the advanced age of eighty-six, Sir Christopher was doomed to be subjected to an affront still more decided than the former one. In the year 1718 (fourth of George the First) the Administration, for some base purposes of political arrangement, suspended his Patent for the 'Office of Surveyor of the Royal Works,' and promoted to that situation an Architect of such incompetent abilities, that he was disgracefully turned out within a twelvemonth afterwards.

Till this period Sir Christopher had chiefly resided at the House appropriated to the Surveyor-General's Office, in Scotland Yard, but after his dismissal, says the Parentalia, "he betook himself to a country retirement,* saying only with the Stoic, '*Nunc me jubet fortuna expeditiùs philosophari;*' in which recess, free from worldly affairs, he passed the greatest part of the five last following years of his life, in contemplation and studies, and principally in the consolation of the Holy Scriptures; cheerful in solitude, and as well pleased to die in the shade as in the light."

His vigour of mind continued, with a vivacity rarely found at his age, till within a few days of his dissolution, which occurred on the twenty-fifth of February, 1723, in his ninety-first year;† and was occasioned by a cold contracted in coming from Hampton Court to London. He died, as he had lived, with great calmness and serenity, and after a short indisposition. His funeral was attended by many persons of honour and distinction, and was conducted with great solemnity, from his house in St. James's Street, Westminster (where he had dwelt occasionally) to St. Paul's Cathedral.

Sir Christopher was twice married; first, in 1674, to Faith, daughter of Sir Thomas Coghill, of Blechingdon, in Oxfordshire;

* This was at Hampton Court, where Sir Chrisopher had a House that belonged to the Surveyor-General of the Crown, which had been presented to him by Queen Anne, and was held under an Exchequer Lease.

† *Sic bene complevit* NESTOR *sua fata, novemque*
Addiderat lustris, altera lustra novem.
Ovid Trist. L. 4.

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shire; who dying soon after, he married, secondly, Jane, daughter to William, Lord Fitz-William, Baron of Lifford, in the Kingdom of Ireland.

The illustrious Newton, whose signet stamps an indelible character, has described our Architect as one of the "greatest geometricians of his age;" and Mr. Robert Hooke, who was intimately acquainted with him, bears testimony to his extraordinary talents, in these few but comprehensive words: "I must affirm," he says, "that since the time of Archimedes, there scarce has ever met, in one man, in so great a perfection, such a mechanical hand, and so philosophical a mind." Evelyn also, after mentioning the variety and number of his works, "all of them so many trophies of his skill and industry," concludes by saying, that they were conducted "with that success, that if the whole Art of Building were lost, it might be recovered and found again in St. Paul's, the Historical Pillar, and those other Monuments of his happy talent and extraordinary genius." An extensive collection of original designs, drawings, papers, &c. of Sir Christopher Wren, are now preserved in the Library of All Souls College, Oxford.*

Near the Tomb of Sir Christopher is a monumental tablet, sculptured with flowers, and cherubim withdrawing a curtain, inscribed in memory of the REV. DR. WILLIAM HOLDER, a Residentiary of this Church, and SUSANNAH his Wife, the daughter of Dean Wren, and sister to the Architect. The former was eminent for his skill in Theology, Music, and the Mathematics; and became much celebrated from having taught a young gentleman to speak who had been born deaf and dumb. From him also Sir Christopher received his first initiation into the Mathematical Sciences: he died on the twenty-fourth of January, 1697, aged eighty-two. His wife, according to the inscription, among

* How extremely low the Surveyor's salary was for the erection of St. Paul's has been already seen; and the *Parentalia* states (p. 344) that his 'allowance for building *all* the *Parochial Churches*' in London was no more than 'about 100l. per annum; and the same for the repairs of Westminster Abbey.'

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among other "excellent endowments of Prudence, Virtue, and Piety," was famed for her "knowledge of Medicinal Remedies; wherein God gave her so great a blessing, that thousands were happily healed by her, and no one ever miscarried. King Charles the Second, Queen Catharine, and very many of the Court had also experience of her successful hand." She died at the age of sixty-one, on the thirtieth of June, 1688. Another memorial in white marble, sculptured in bas-relief, by Bird, with the figure of the deceased playing on a spinnet, an attendant angel sustaining music books, cherubim, &c. commemorates the virtues and acquirements of Miss JANE WREN, the only daughter of Sir Christopher, who died in December, 1702, at the age of twenty-six. MARIA, the wife of Christopher Wren, Esq. son to the Architect, with her parents, PHILIP and CONSTANTIA MUSARD, have also a memorial here: all the above persons lie buried within a short distance of each other.

Among other eminent Characters who have been interred in these Vaults, and have recording memorials (chiefly inscribed grave stones) are the following:

"In the vault beneath this stone are deposited the remains of Dr. THOMAS NEWTON, D. D. Lord Bishop of Bristol, and Dean of this Cathedral who died Feb. 14, 1782, aged seventy-eight."

"ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN, EARL of ROSSLYN, Baron Lucy, born 13th of February, 1733; died 2d of January, 1805."

"MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN BRAITHWAITE, Bart. died 22d of August, 1803, aged sixty-four."

"Here lie the remains of SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, Knt. President of the Royal Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. He was born at Plympton, in Devonshire, the 16th of July, 1723; and died at London, the 23d of Feb. 1792."

The body of this great Artist, after having been laid in state at the Royal Academy, agreeably to the express orders of his Majesty, was buried with great funeral pomp, on the third of March, 1792; the company who attended his funeral consisting of many of the most distinguished persons in the kingdom, "who were

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were emulous in their desire of paying the last honours to the remains of him whose life had been distinguished by the exertions of the highest talents, and the exercise of every virtue that can make a man respectable and beloved.* The Royal Academicians and Students also accompanied the celebration, and the spectators, both in the Cathedral and in the streets were extremely numerous.

"A. Ꝝ. Ω. The great Historical Painter, JAMES BARRY, died 22d of February, 1806, aged sixty-four."

"JOHN OPIE, Esq. He was born in May, 1761, at St. Agnes, in Cornwall, and died at his house, in Berners Street, 29th April, 1807."

The funerals of the two latter Painters were conducted, with much ceremony and respectful attention, though not in so pompous a style as that of Reynolds. All the three were interred in graves nearly contiguous to each other; the remains of Barry and Opie lying towards the sides of the vault, and those of Sir Joshua in the middle.

"WILLIAM HOARE, Esq. born at Bath, Sep. the 3d, 1759; died the 3d of February, 1808."

"WILLIAM BOYCE, M. D. Organist, Composer, and Master of the Band of Music to their Majesties George II. and III. died February the 7th, 1779, aged sixty-nine."

The learned but eccentric *Abraham Badcock*, who died in 1797, at the age of forty-eight, and the yet more eccentric *John Benoist de Mainaudoc*, D. M. the upholder of Animal Magnetism, who died in Southampton Street, Bloomsbury, at the age of fifty-nine, in

* A very elegant Print, engraved by Bartolozzi, was afterwards presented to each of the gentlemen who attended the funeral. The principal figure is a beautiful female, clasping an urn; near her is a boy, or genius, holding an extinguished torch in one hand, and pointing with the other to a tablet on a sarcophagus, inscribed with these words:—*Succedet fama, sinusque per ora feretw.* A fine Portrait of Sir Joshua, from the Picture by himself, in the Council Chamber of the Royal Academy, engraved by W. Bond, has been recently published in the fourth number of the Fine Arts of the English School, accompanied with a Biographical Memoir, by James Northcote, Esq. R. A.

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in the year 1797, are also buried in these vaults, in that part appropriated to the Parish of St. Faith.

The CHURCH of ST. FAITH was originally a distinct building, standing near the east end of St. Paul's, but when the old Cathedral was enlarged, between the years 1256 and 1312, it was taken down, and an extensive part of the Vaults was appropriated to the use of the Parishioners of St. Faith, in lieu of the demolished fabric. This was afterwards called *Ecclesiæ sancta Fidei in Cryptis*, and, according to a representation made to the Dean and Chapter, in the year 1735, measured 180 feet in length, and 80 feet in breadth. After the Fire of London, the Parish of St. Faith was joined to that of St. Augustine, and, on the rebuilding of the Cathedral, a portion of the Church-Yard belonging to the former was taken to enlarge the avenue round the east end of St. Paul's, and the remainder was inclosed within the Cathedral railing. On the union of the Parishes, or more accurately, from the time of the Great Fire, the Vaults ceased to be used, except for interments; but the Dean and Chapter having, in the year 1723, caused a railing to be set up, by which the space of ground appropriated to the Parish of St. Faith was reduced to 154 feet by 54½, a long disagreement ensued, and had nearly terminated in an expensive suit-at-law. A final agreement, however, was at length entered into, in May, 1757, and enrolled in Chancery in the year following, in which it was declared that "the Parishes of St. Faith and St. Augustine shall be at liberty to bury their inhabitants and others in that part of the Vaults under the said Cathedral, containing 2600 square feet, be the same more or less, clear of walls and piers, which is separated from the other part of those Vaults by a rail, and which they have been accustomed to bury in; but not so near the foundation of the said Cathedral as may injure the same; paying for every such burial the usual fees of 6s. 8d. to the Dean and Chapter, and 6s. 8d. to the Clerk of the Works, or to such person as the Dean and Chapter shall appoint;" and, "secondly, that the said Parishes may and shall bury their inhabitants in all and every part of the north-

north-east part of the Church-Yard adjoining to the said Cathedral, containing 25,810 square feet, be the same more or less, clear of the pavements, in common with the Dean and Chapter, paying the usual fee of 3s. 4d. to the Dean and Chapter for every burial." In the course of the dispute, the ancient lease was referred to, which had been granted by the Dean and Chapter in 1552, to the Parish of St. Faith, and which vested in the latter for 'fourscore and nineteen years,' at the yearly rent of 12d. all that part of the vault called the *Crowds*, or Jesus Chapel,' together with an adjoining Chapel on the south-west, called 'the Chapel of our Lady and St. Nicholas,' and 'the entry to the same;' but reserving to the said Dean and Chapter, and their Successors, 'free ingress and egress through the said entry to their *Crowds*, commonly called their store-house or wine-cellar.' By the same instrument, the Churchwardens of St. Faith made over to the Dean and Chapter, and their Successors, for ever, "all that Vault or *Crowds* within the said Church of St. Paul's, lately named, called, or reputed for the Parishes, the Virgin lying within the same,* and all the appurtenances of the same," &c.

It appears from Stow, that the ancient *Church of St. Faith in Cryptis*, and which must have been what was granted as above to the Dean and Chapter, was under the choir of St. Paul's, and adjoining to the west end of Jesus Chapel;† which latter must, of course, have been immediately beneath the Chapel of Our Lady. "The said Chapell of Jesus," continues this historian, "being suppressed in the raigne of Edward the Sixt, the Parishioners of St. Fayth's Church were removed into the same Jesus Chapell, as to a place more sufficient for largenesse and lightsomenesse

* Could this be the Virgin *St. Faith*, who is said to have suffered martyrdom during the persecution of the Christians under the Emperor Dioclesian; or a figure of the Virgin Mary?—The term *Crowds* seems, from the above, to have been an appellation that was indiscriminately bestowed upon any inclosed part of the Vaults.

† Sur. of Lond. p. 266; first Edit.

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lightsomenesse than their former Church was; and so it still remaineth to that use.* The old Church of St. Faith afterwards "served for the Stationers and others dwelling in Paul's Church-Yard, Paternoster Rowe, and the places neare adioyning."†

Jesus Chapel was first regularly founded under a Patent of Henry the Sixth, dated in his thirty-seventh year, and beginning thus:—"Many leige men and Christian people having began a Fraternitie, and Guild, to the honour of the most glorious name of Jesus Christ, our Saviour, in a place called ; Crowdes of the Cathedrall Church of Paules in London, which hath continued long time peaceably, till now of late; whereupon they have made request, and we have taken upon us the name and charge of the foundation to the laude of Almightie God the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, and especially to the honour of Jesus, in whose honour the Fraternitie was begun," &c. He afterwards appointed Guardians to the Fraternity, which consisted both of 'Brethren and Sisters,' and granted it a common Seal, with license to purchase lands or tenements to the amount of 40l. per annum. Confirmations were granted by the Henries, Seventh and Eighth; and some Chantries were founded here; but the whole was suppressed by Edward the Sixth. Several eminent persons were buried here, whose epitaphs may be seen in Dugdale's History of this Cathedral.

A most atrocious *Robbery*, the perpetrators of which are yet unknown, was committed in this Church in the month of January last; when the very rich service of *Plate* belonging to the Cathedral was carried away, with silver book-covers, &c. and not any part of it has hitherto been recovered. This service, as appears from an account given by Mr. Malcolm,‡ consisted of the following articles:—

X A silver

* Sur. of Lond. p. 266.

† Ibid. See also preceding Volume, pp. 422, 423.

‡ Lond. Red. Vol. III. pp. 144, 145. Most of the articles had inscriptions, copies of which are inserted in the same work.

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A silver, gilt, Chalice, with the Paten, and another of the same materials, embossed with a Saint bearing the Agnes Dei. A pair of Patens. A most superb silver, gilt, and embossed Prayer-Book, adorned with angels, a glory, pillars, &c. A Bible, edition 1640, with a silver, gilt, cover, representing a Temple, with Moses and Aaron in the intervals between the columns; with Jacob's Dream on one side, and on the other the Prophet Elijah fed by a Raven. Two large silver, gilt, Plates, embossed with representations of the Last Supper, and the Widow bestowing her Mite; the rims adorned with Cherubim, &c. and the arms and crest of the Rev. Charles Smith, a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Archdeacon of Colchester, who gave them to this Church in the year 1699; together with two enormous Tankards, finely embossed, with inscriptions explanatory of the subjects. A very large silver, gilt, Plate, having in the centre the figure of an Angel, exhibiting an inscribed label; and on the back, the arms of the Deanery. Another very large silver Plate, with the Lord's Supper on it, extremely well-executed; and a rich border of cornucopiæ and emblematical figures. Another very large silver Plate, with I. H. S. in a glory. Large Tankards of silver, gilt, highly embossed. A pair of silver, gilt, Candlesticks, two feet nine inches in height, exclusive of the spike, with triangular feet; and two other Candlesticks of the same materials, about two feet in height.

In the nave of St. Paul's, and round the area of the Dome, are displayed between forty or fifty *Flags* or *Colours*, that have been taken at different periods by our brave Seamen and Soldiers from the discomfited foes of Old England. Those captured by our land forces were won from the French, at Louisbourg, Martinique, and Valenciennes; and are generally in a most shattered and decayed state: they are arranged on each side the nave above the great cornice.* The naval Colours consist of nine large Flags, trophies of the signal victories obtained by the Fleets commanded by the Lords Howe, St. Vincent, and Duncan, during

* These are described in Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. III. pp. 129—131.

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ing the first revolutionary war; two of them are French, three Spanish, and four Dutch. They were brought to the Cathedral with much solemnity, on the nineteenth of December, 1797, by detachments of Seamen and Marines, that day having been appointed for the celebration of a General Thanksgiving for the great triumphs of the British Arms by sea. On this occasion, their Majesties and the Royal Family, with both Houses of Parliament, many Admirals, and other naval Officers, the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London, &c. were present in St. Paul's at the celebration of Divine Service; and the Colours having been first placed upon the altar, in acknowledgment of the protection afforded by the Deity, were afterwards suspended in their present situation.

There are two annual *Celebrations* in this Cathedral, of an impressive and important nature: these are the Anniversary Meetings of the SONS OF THE CLERGY, and of the Charity-Children of the Metropolis and its Vicinity. The former had its origin in the year 1655, when a worthy Divine, the Rev. George Hall, preached on the eighth of November to an Assembly of theSonsof the Clergy, whose fathers or whose families had been reduced to indigence through the sequestrations made in consequence of non-conformity with the ordinations of Parliament. The relief obtained on that occasion, suggested the propriety of an annual Sermon; and the promoters of the institution were afterwards incorporated by a Charter granted by Charles the Second, July the First, 1678, under the title of "the Governors of the Charity for the Relief of the Poor Widows and Children of Clergymen; with license to hold an estate, not exceeding the annual value of 2000l. a further license was granted in 1714, to extend to the additional sum of 3000l. above "all charges and reprises." The Anniversary Meetings were chiefly held at Bow Church, Cheapside, till 1697, since which time they have been at St. Paul's; and the Governors, as a means of rendering the receipts more extensive, have, for upwards of a century, had the service combined with a grand performance of Sacred Music,

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principally Handel's: this performance is also preceded by a Rehearsal. The Collections are generally from 800l. to 1000l.: the Meetings are held in the beginning of May.*

The *Assembly* of the CHARITY CHILDREN generally takes place in the month of June. The entire circle beneath the Dome is by temporary seats and scaffolding converted into an amphitheatre, where between five and six thousand children, boys and girls, are stationed during the ceremony, and occasionally join in the singing and Hallelujah Chorusses. The seats in the Area, and along the nave of the Church to nearly the great west door, are appropriated to the Society of Patrons of the Anniversary, the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Public gegerally; but none are admitted without tickets. Independently of the higher feelings which such a congregation is calculated to excite, the whole scene is strikingly beautiful, especially when beheld from the elevation of the Whispering Gallery. On one occasion, the Children were expressly assembled here by Royal Command; this was on the twenty-third of April, 1789, the day of the General Thanksgiving for the King's Recovery.† Their Majesties, and the Royal Family, with both Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London, the Chief Officers of State, and most of the dignified Clergy, were at the same time present; and the whole ceremony was of the most solemn and affecting description.

The Cathedral *Font* is of veined alabaster, standing under the second arch from the west door between the nave and the south aisles. It is very large, and in form like an oval vase, fluted, with a cover of the same character. It should have been mentioned, in the account of the Paintings of the Dome, that the highly-finished sketches made for them in oil, by Sir James Thornhill, to shew to Queen Anne, are now in possession of the Dean and Chapter.

* Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. III. pp. 145, 146.

† See preceding Volume, pp, 544, 545: in the same Volume, also, in the Index of Places, under the head St. Paul's Cathedral, will be found various references to Historical and Remarkable Occurrences that have been transacted in this building.

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Chapter, and hang in the Chapter-Room; and that others on paper, in bistre, are preserved in the Dean's Vestry.

In the area before the west front, within a circular railing, is a Statue of QUEEN ANNE, in her regal robes, standing upon a sculptured pedestal, at the lower angles of which are four figures, representing Britannia, Hibernia, America, and France.* This is a very indifferent performance of Bird's, (who received 350l. for the Queen's statue, and 1180l. for the whole) and its sooty aspect, and mutilated figures, make it appear yet worse; it having

 been

* This ill-contrived group, furnished a subject for some strong irony to Sir Samuel Garth; as may be seen in the following satirical lines, written by him:—

Near the vast bulk of that stupendous frame,
Known by the Gentile's great Apostle's name,
With grace divine, great *Anna's* seen to rise,
An awful form, that glads a nation's eyes;
Beneath her feet four mighty realms appear,
And with due reverence pay their homage there.
Britain and *Ireland* seem to own her grace,
And ev'n wild *India* wears a smiling face;
But *France* alone with downcast eyes is seen,
The sad attendant of so good a Queen:
Ungrateful country! to forget so soon
All that great *Anna* for thy sake has done:
When sworn the kind defender of thy cause,
Spite of her dear religion, spite of laws;
For thee she sheath'd the terrors of her sword,
For thee she broke her Gen'ral—and her word;
For thee her mind in doubtful terms she told,
And learned to speak like oracles of old;
For thee, for thee alone—what could she more?
She lost the honour she had gained before;
Lost all the trophies which her arms had won,
(Such Cæsar never knew, nor Philip's son)
Resign'd the glories of a ten years reign,
And such as none but *Marlborough's* arm could gain:
For thee in annals she's content to shine,
Like other monarchs of the *Stuart* line.

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been much damaged about thirty-eight years ago by a poor negro maniac.

The whole extent of the area upon which St. Paul's stands, is stated to contain two acres, sixteen perches, twenty-three yards, and one foot. The entire expense of erecting the Cathedral was 736,752l. 2s. 3½d. exclusive of the charge for the iron Balustrade, which stands upon the dwarf wall surrounding the Church-Yard. This Balustrade, which is very strong and well-wrought, has seven iron gates, and altogether weighs 200 tons and eighty-one pounds: it cost 11,202l. 0s. 6d.

Though St. Paul's Cathedral was intended to be the grand ornament of the Metropolis, there is not, unfortunately, a single point of view from which it can be seen in its entire proportions; and it is from this cause that its effect is much less imposing than it would otherwise be, and that the comparison which travellers make between this edifice and St. Peter's at Rome, is so greatly to the advantage of the latter. The houses surrounding the Church are in general lofty dwellings, and so nearly contiguous to the Cathedral, that they completely prevent the spectator from viewing it as a whole. The most adjacent spot from which it may be beheld with any thing of its due grandeur, is from near the end of Wood Street, in Cheapside; but a still better view is obtained from about the centre of Blackfriars Bridge, whence it appears to rise in all its majestic elevation and dignity, yet even in this prospect all the lower part of the edifice is excluded from sight by intervening buildings. In the approach from Ludgate Street, the west front is seen under much disadvantage, as the avenue is not only too contracted for the extent of the front, but the lines in respect to each other have an oblique direction. A right line drawn east and west with St. Paul's, would cross Bridge Street, near Bridewell. The height of the ground, combined with the altitude of the building, is such, that this edifice, as the Parentalia has remarked, may "be discerned at Sea eastward, and at Windsor westward."

Among the various appendages to the *Old Cathedral*, which Historians

ST PAUL'S.

The View taken from Bank Side

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Historians have noticed, the most famous was PAUL'S CROSS, which stood in the north part of the Church-Yard, and was used for various purposes, as well secular as profane. Stow acknowledges that its "very antiquitie" was to him "unknowne;" but, "I reade," he continues, "that in the yeare 1259, King Henry the Third commanded a General Assembly to be made at this Crosse, where he in proper person commaunded the Mayor, that on the next day following, he should cause to be sworne before the Aldermen, every stripling of twelve years of age, or upward, to bee true to the King and his heires, Kings of England."* About three years afterwards the same Monarch caused the Bull of Pope Urban the Fourth, granting absolution to himself and others, from their oaths to maintain the Articles made in the Parliament of Oxford, in 1258, to be read here. From these and other events,† it would seem that the Cross was the general place for holding assemblies of the people at this early period; whether for matters of political import, or of ecclesiastical reference.

In the year 1299, Ralph de Baldock, then Dean of St. Paul's, *anathematized*, or cursed, at "Paul's Crosse," all those who had sacrilegiously violated the Church of St. Martin in the Fields, for "an hoord of gold," &c.‡ In the next century, the ancient Cross was destroyed, or dilapidated, by a tempest; yet though several Bishops of London, and, in particular, William Courteney and Robert de Braybrooke, collected considerable sums for rebuilding it, by offering the usual bait of indulgences to all contributors, it was not re-erected till about 1449, when, according to Stowe, it was "new builded," by the Bishop Thomas Kempe, "in form as it now standeth."§ This form was an hexagon pulpit of timber, covered with lead, elevated upon a flight of stone steps, and surmounted by a large cross; and thus it stood till the year 1643, when, in pursuance of an order of Parliament, it was demolished by the willing hands of the Lord Mayor, Sir Isaac Pennington.

* Sur. of Lond. Edit. 1598, p. 268. † See before, pp. 129--131, and note.

‡ Stow's Lond. p. 268. § Ibid.

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At this Cross the 'lovely' Jane Shore did penance, by order of the Duke of Gloucester;* and here, too, the celebrated Dr. Shaw first broached the project of Richard to ascend the throne, though with fatal consequence to his own reputation and life.† From this Cross, likewise, the marriage contract between James the Fourth, of Scotland, and Margaret, daughter of Henry the Seventh, was publicly announced, in February, 1502; when *Te Deum* was sung, twelve bonfires set a blazing, and twelve hogsheads of Gascoigne wine given to the populace, "to be drunken of all men freelie."‡ Here likewise the first English, or Tindal's Translation of the Bible, was publicly *burnt*, by order of Bishop Stokesley; and many are the examples of bearing the faggot, and making public recantations of their faith, of persons of both Religions, at this place: the last who appeared was a Seminary Priest, who, in 1593, made his recantation. Previously to this, Sir Thomas Newman, Priest, bore the faggot here, on the singular occasion 'for singing mass with good ale.'§

In a Manuscript in the British Museum,‖ are the following particulars relating to the promulgation of the 'Pope's sentence against Martin Luther,' made on the 12th of May, 1521, at St. Paul's Cross. "The Lord Thomas Wolsey, by the grace of God, *Legate de latere*, Cardinal of St. Cecelia, and Archbishop of York, came unto St. Paul's Church of London, with the most part of the Bishops of the Realm, where he was received with procession, and censed by Mr. Richard Pace, he then being Dean of the said Church. After which ceremony done, four Doctors bare a canopy of cloth of gold over him, going to the high altar; where he made oblation. Which done, he proceeded forth as above said, to the Cross in St. Paul's Church-Yard, where was ordained a scaffold for the same cause; and he sitting under his cloth of estate, which was ordained for him, his two crosses

* See preceding volume, p. 226. † Ibid; and 227, note.

‡ Howe's Stow's Ann. p. 484. § Pennant's Lond. p. 330.

‖ Vitellius, B. IV. Cott. Lib.

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crosses on every side of him; on his right hand (sitting on the place where he set his foot) the Pope's ambassador, and next him the Archbishop of Canterbury; on his left hand, the Emperor's ambassador; and next him the Bishop of Durham; and all the other Bishops, with other noble Prelates, sat on two forms. And then the Bishop of Rochester [Fisher] made a Sermon, by the consent of the whole Clergy of England, by commandment of the Pope, against one Martin Eleutherius, and all his Works; because he erred sore, and spake against the Holy Faith; and denounced them accursed which kept any of his books. And there were many burned in the Church-Yard, of his said books during the Sermon, which ended, my Lord Cardinal went home to dinner, with all the other Prelates."

In the year 1534, that unfortunate victim of priestcraft, and intolerance, Elizabeth Barton, commonly denominated the *Holy Maid of Kent*, was, with her accomplices, exposed upon a scaffold at St. Paul's Cross, whilst their confession was publicly read from it, previous to their execution at Tyburn; and in the year 1538, February the fourteenth, the famous *Rood of Grace*, or Crucifix, from Boxley, in Kent, was shewn openly at the Cross, by the enlightened Bishop Fisher, and its artful construction, by which its supposed miraculous motions had been effected, fully explained to the people, after which it was consigned to the flames on the spot.

When the opposition of the See of Rome to the Divorce of the 'Eighth Harry,' from Queen Catherine, had determined that Monarch to abrogate the Pope's authority, an Order of the King in Council was issued, commanding, among other things, that from 'Sonday to Sonday,' such as should preach at 'Paule's Crosse, should 'teach and declare to the people,' that neither the Pope, nor any of his predecessors, were any thing more than simple BISHOPS of Rome, and had no more real authority within this realm than any other foreign Bishop; the paramount jurisdiction which they claimed, being only usurped and 'under sufferance

ferance of Princes.* The Bishop of London also was ordered, at his peril, 'to suffer none other to preach' there, but 'such as would preach and set forth the same.'† From this Pulpit, likewise, the death-bed gift of the tyrant to the City of London, of the Church of the Grey Friars, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, &c. with lands to the value of 500 marks, yearly, 'for the relieving of the poore people,' was announced by the Bishop of Rochester, Henry Holbetch. ‡

On the accession of Queen Mary, the orations pronounced from the Pulpit Cross vacillated in favour of the ancient regimen, and that Princess appointed several of her best Divines to preach here in furtherance of her design to restore the Papal Supremacy. Several tumults were the consequence, and two attempts were made, by some over-zealous reformists, to assassinate the preacher whilst in the midst of his discourse, yet, on both occasions, the weapon was propelled with an erring aim. §

The reign of Queen Elizabeth was in like manner ushered in by the appointment of able men to preach from this Cross, but on the very opposite tenets of the Reformation, and of the rejection of Papal authority. Dr. Bill, the Queen's Almoner, commenced these discourses on the ninth of April, 1559; and was followed by Horn, Jewel, Sandys, and many others, who soon afterwards were promoted to the highest dignities of our Church. Here also, by the Royal Command, a sermon of Thanksgiving was preached, after the signal discomfiture of the *Invincible Armada*. Another Sermon preached at this Cross, and 'set out by Command,' was for the ungenerous purpose of stigmatising the memory of the unfortunate Earl of Essex, as if, says the Earl of Clarendon, who alludes to this circumstance, 'there

* Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 92. Edit. 1631. † Ibid.

‡ Howe's Stow's Sur. p. 592.

§ See before, p. 235, and preceding volume, pp. 266, 267.

‖ Strype's Ann. Vol. I. p. 133; and Penn. Lond. p. 351.

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there had been some sparks of indignation in the Queen, that were unquenched even with his blood."*

The last Sermon, attended by sovereign presence, at St. Paul's Cross, was that preached by Bishop King, before James the First; yet religious discourses continued to be delivered here, down to the time of the Civil Wars, as is apparent from the Journals of the House of Commons, under the date of September 24, 1642, when an order of Parliament was made, that the Lord Mayor, and Court of Aldermen, for the time being, should thenceforth nominate and appoint "all and every the Minister, or Ministers, that shall preach before them on the Lord's day," &c. "at Paules Church, Paules Cross, the Spittle, and other places;" and that all sums of money accustomed to be paid "for and towards the satisfaction of such Ministers," should be discharged as usual. Before this order the Preachers had in general been appointed by the Bishop of London.

It is evident from different prints, that the greater part of the congregation at St. Paul's Cross, sate in the open air, but the King and his train, and most probably the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and principal Citizens, had covered galleries. There appears also to have been a covered space at the side of the Church, to which the preacher used to resort in inclement weather, called the *Shrowds*, or *Shroudes*, and from hence in 1548, the venerable Hugh Latimer, the Ex-Bishop of Worcester, delivered a Sermon.† The

* *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 192. Edit. 4th. 1685.

† In another discourse, preached by this Bishop in Lincolnshire, in 1552, the following passage occurs:—"The citizens of Naim had their burying-place without the city, which, no doubt, is a laudable thing; and I do marvel that London, being so great a city, hath not a burial-place without: for no doubt it is an unwholsome thing to bury within the city, especially at such a time, when there be great sicknesses, and many die together. I think verily that many a man taketh his death in *Paules Church Yard*, and this I speak of experience; for I myself, when I have been there on some mornings to hear the sermons, have felt such an ill-savoured unwholsome savour, that I was the worse for it a great while after; and I think no less but it is the occasion of great sickness and disease."

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The Preachers, who were occasionally called from the University, or other distant places, to lecture here, were mostly entertained from contributions and funds, under the controul of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. A kind of Inn, called '*The Shunamites House*,' was kept by the appointment of the Church, for the reception of such Preachers; and at one period they were each allowed 45s. for a sermon, 'with sweet and convenient lodgings, fire, candle, and all necessaries, during five days;' but those allowances were afterwards reduced to 40s. for a sermon, and four days board and lodging at the '*Shunamite's*.' The funds for their support are stated to have accumulated to the then considerable sum of 1770l. besides annual rent charges to the amount of 44l. 6s. 8d.

Within the precincts of the old Cathedral, which appears to have been first inclosed with a wall, by permission of Edward the First, with gates to shut at night, in order to exclude the entrance of profligate and disorderly people, by whom almost every sort of crime had been committed here, under shelter of the darkness, stood the BISHOP'S PALACE; the origin of this edifice does not appear, but that it existed as early as 1199, is evident from the foundation of a Chantry in that year, for one Priest, within the Chapel of the Palace, by the Bishop William de St. Maria; another Priest was afterwards added, by Sir Gerard Braybroke and others; and both of them were united by Bishop Clifford, in 1408. The Palace was a building of great extent, and not unfrequently became the lodging-place of our Kings and Princes, as well as of Foreign Ambassadors. Here, we are informed by Froissart, Edward the Third, and his Queen were entertained, after a great tournament in Smithfield, and "durynge al the feastes and justes,"* made on the same occasion. The young Edward the Fifth, was also brought hither previous to his appointed coronation; Catherine of Arragon was likewise conducted to this Palace to meet her spirited lover, Prince Arthur, and after the nuptials at St. Paul's, the royal pair were splendidly entertained and lodged

* Froissart's Chron. Vol. II. p. 104. Lord Berner's Translation.

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lodged here during several days; and here in the reign of Edward the Sixth, Margaret, Queen Dowager of Scotland, the King's aunt, was lodged and banquetted with equal splendour.

Among the Harleian Manuscripts, No. 2296, is the Copy of an Indenture, executed by Edmund, Bishop of London, June the third, second and third of Philip and Mary, to Thomas Darbieshire, conveying the old Palace for the term of sixty-one years, at the 'accustomed yearlie rent of seven marks.' This building suffered the general fate of the City in the Great Fire of 1666: it was situated near the site of the present *Chapter House*, which is a strong and regular fabric of brick, designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and consisting of a large hall, and spacious apartments on the ground-floor, with a commodious Chapter-room, &c. above. The present town residence of the Bishops of London is in St. James's Square.

Near the east end of the Bishop's Palace, was *Pardon Church-Haugh*, in which was a *Chapel*, originally founded by Gilbert Becket (father to the celebrated Archbishop of that name) who was Portreve of London in the reign of King Stephen, and who was buried within it. This Chapel having been suffered to run to decay, was rebuilt by Dean Moore in the reign of Henry the Fifth, and dedicated to St. Anne, and St. Thomas of Canterbury: agreeably to his intentions, a Chantry was also founded here by his executors for three Priests; to whom a fourth was added in the succeeding reign, by Walter Cakton. This Chapel and plot of ground was "environed," says Stow, "by one great *Cloyster*," about which "was artificially, and richly painted, the Dance of Machabre, or *Dance of Death*, at the special request and dispence of Jenkin Carpenter [a Citizen and Mercer] in the raigne of Henry the Sixth."* This was a favourite subject with religious communities, and appears to have been originally designed from a poem, written by one Machabre, a German, in his own language, but afterwards translated into French, and painted with the corresponding delineations round the Cloister of the Church

* Sur. of Lond. p. 264. Edit. 1598.

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Church of the Holy Innocents, in Paris. This picture represented an extended train of all orders and degrees of men, from the Pope to the very lowest of the human race, each figure having *Death* for his partner; and the meagre spectre who leads the dance, being depicted shaking his waning hour-glass. Our own poet, Lydgate, a monk of St. Edmundsbury, who flourished about the year 1430, translated the French verses into English, and his lines have been preserved by Dugdale, who has also given a print of the subject.* Walpole remarks, that 'Holbein, by borrowing the thought, ennobled the pictures:' this alludes to the famous Dance of Death, painted by that artist, at Basil. Stow says, that many persons were buried in this Cloister, "some of worship, and others of honour, the monuments of whom, in number and curious workmanship, passed all other that were in that Church."† Over the east side of the Cloister was also 'a faire *Library*, well furnished with faire-written books, in vellum,'‡ founded in the reign of Henry the Sixth, by Walter Shirvngton, a Canon-residentiary of St. Paul's, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. This Library, with the whole Cloister, the Tombs, and the Chapel, was demolished in the year 1549, by order of the Protector, Somerset, who wanted the materials for carrying on his extensive Palace in the Strand.

Another Chantry *Chapel*, founded near the north door of St. Paul's, by the same Chancellor, was also pulled down when the Chantries were suppressed, in Edward the Sixth's reign. On the north side of the Church was also a spacious *Charnel House*, with a *Chapel* above; the latter of which was built about the year 1282, (tenth of Edward the First) at which time Henry Wallies, Mayor of London, with other Citizens, agreed to assign a yearly rent of ten marks towards the new building, and five marks for a Chaplain, "for cause of shops by them builded without the wal of

* Dug. Mon. Ang. Vol. I. p. 367. † Sur. of Lond. p. 265.

‡ In Dug. Hist. St. Paul's, App. p. 61, is a Catalogue of these books: one of the MS. is in the British Museum.

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of the Church-yard."* This foundation having fallen to decay, through a misapplication of the revenues, was re-endowed under licence from Henry the Sixth, by Jenkyn Carpenter, and two Brotherhoods were likewise established here. Several eminent Citizens were interred in this Chapel; three of whom, *Robert Barton, Sir Henry Barton,* Mayor in 1416, and Sir Thomas Mirfine, Mayor in 1518, were "entombed, with their images of alabaster over them, grated about with iron."† These tombs were all demolished in the year 1549, and the building was converted into warehouses and dwellings, with sheds "for Stationers builded before it." At the same time, the bones of the dead, which had been 'couched up in the Charnel,' and which, 'by report of him who paid for the cariage,' amounted 'to more than 1000 cart loads,' were conveyed into Finsbury Field, "and there laid on a moorish ground, in short space after raysed (by soylage of the Citie) to bear three winde-milles."‡

In the eastern quarter of the Church-yard, near the north side of St. Paul's School, "was of old time a great and high *Clochier* (or Bel-house) four square, builded of stone, and in the same, a most strong frame of timber, with foure belles, the greatest that I have heard off: these were called Jesus Belles, and belonged to Jesus Chapel." On the tower was a lofty spire of timber, covered with lead, erected about the year 1216, and having an image of St. Paul on the top." This Bell Tower was won at dice from Henry the Eighth by Sir Miles Partridge, Knt. who "caused the belles to be broken as they hung," the building to be taken down, and the materials sold. Stow says, that "in place of this Clochearde, of old times, the common Bell of the Citie was used to be roong for the assembly of the Citizens to their Folk-motes."§

The ancient *Chapter House* stood in the midst of a beautiful Cloister, of two stories, adjoining to the south transept: this was of an octagon form, having large buttresses at the angles, ornamented

* Stow's Lond. p. 266. † Ibid. p. 267. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.
‖ Sur. of Lond. p. 677.

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mented with pinnacles, and a pointed window in each front, with a pediment above, decorated with trefoils, cinquefoils, &c.

More westward was the parish church of St. Gregory, in the Cathedral tower above which was the *Lollard's Prison*, whither the Bishops of London committed heretics. This was the scene of at least one 'foul and midnight murder,' perpetrated in 1514, on a respectable Citizen, named Richard Hunne, by Dr. Horsey, Chancellor of the diocese, with the assistance of a bell-ringer; and afterwards defended by the Bishop, Fitz-James, and the whole body of Prelates, who protected the murderers from punishment, lest the Clergy should become amenable to civil jurisdiction. Though the villains, through this interference, escaped without corporal suffering, the King ordered them to pay 1,500l. to the children of the deceased, in restitution of what he himself styles 'the cruel murder.'* The last person who is recorded to have been imprisoned in the Lollard's Tower, was a *Peter Burchet*, of the Middle Temple, who mistaking the person of John Hawkins, Esq. (afterwards the famous seaman, Sir John Hawkins) for that of Sir Christopher Hatton, assailed him in the high street beyond Temple Bar, and desperately wounded him with his dagger, on the eleventh of October, 1573. On his examination for this offence, he was found to entertain 'heretical opinions,' and was therefore committed to the Lollard's Tower, till a Consistory could be held in St. Paul's Church; in which he narrowly escaped the condemnation of death, "through the earnest persuasion of divers learned men," who prevailed on him to make a reluctant recantation. He was afterwards committed to the Tower of London, where he barbarously murdered one of his keepers with a billet of wood, for which crime he was arraigned and condemned at Westminster, and, on the 12th of November, was hanged on a gibbet erected near the spot where he had wounded Hawkins, his right hand having been first "stricken off, and nayled to the gibbet."†

On

* See Fox's Mar. Vol. II. pp. 8 to 14; and also preceding Volume, pp. 239, 240.

† Howe's Stow, p. 677.

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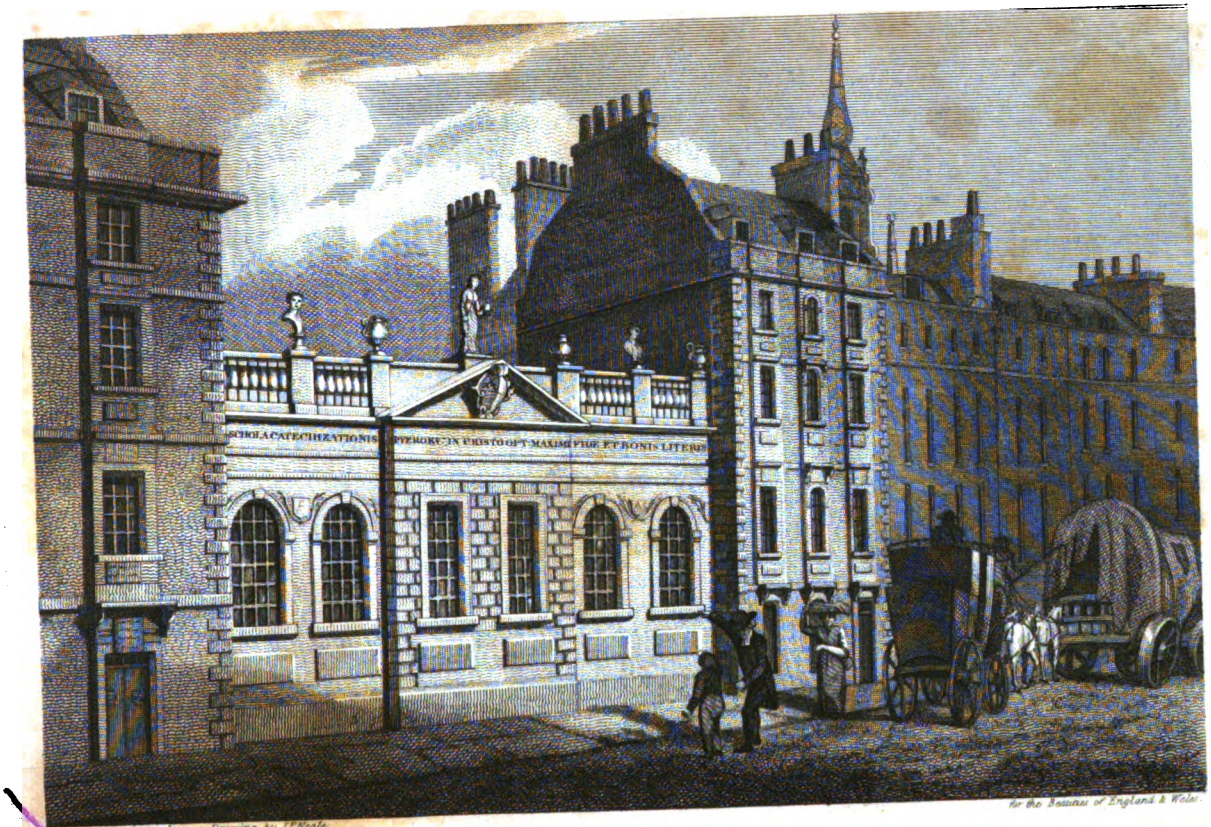

Engraved by Owen, from a Drawing by J. C. Nicholls.

for the Beauties of England & Wales.

ST PAUL'S SCHOOL,
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On the south side of St. Paul's Church-yard, near the entrance from Ludgate Street, is a narrow passage leading to *St. Paul's College*, where are dwellings for such of the minor Canons as choose to reside there. Further on is *Dean's Yard*, in which is a large respectable building, originally erected by Sir Joseph Sheldon, but now appropriated as a town residence of the Deans of St. Paul's.

On the east side of the Church-yard is that eminent institution ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL, which was founded and endowed by DR. JOHN COLET, Dean of St. Paul's, on the site of a more ancient Seminary, that had been subordinate to the Cathedral establishment; and was one of the *tres principales ecclesiæ Scholas, in Londonia*, celebrated by Fitz-Stephen, as of ancient dignity and privilege. Dugdale mentions a Charter of the time of Henry the First, by which the Bishop, Richard de Belmeis, granted to "*Hugh*, the Schoolmaster, and his successor in that employment, the habitation of Durandus, at the corner of the turret, [that is the Clochier, or Bell-tower], where William, Dean of St. Paul's had placed him, by his the said Bishop's command; together with the custody of the Library belonging to the Church." Henry, a Canon of St. Paul's, who had been educated under the said Hugh, succeeded, and besides the house he had given to him by the same Bishop, "a meadow at Fulham, with the tithes of Ilings and Madeley," to augment the revenues of the School; a further augmentation was made by Bishop Nigel, in the reign of Richard the First, who gave "unto this School all the tithes arising from his demesnes at Fulham and Horsete*." The appointments were made by the Chancellor of St. Paul's, but the Dean and Chapter only had authority to give possession to the Master; who was to be sober, honest, and learned; and a teacher not only of grammar, but of virtue, '*Eis non solum grammatices, sed etiam virtutis Magister*†? In the course of ages this School

* Dug. Hist. St. Paul's, pp. 9, 10.

† Mal. Lond. Vol. III. p. 185.

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fell to decay, but at what particular period is not known with certainty.

The present foundation was commenced in the year 1509, and completed about five years afterwards, by *Dean Colet*, whose piety induced him to consecrate it to the honour of the Child Jesus, ('Christ Jesu *in pueritia*,') and his 'blessed mother Mary!' This benevolent Prelate was the eldest son of Sir Henry Colet, Knt. Mercer, and twice Lord Mayor of London, and Dame Christian, his wife; and notwithstanding the numerous progeny of his parents, who had twenty-one children, ten sons, and eleven daughters, he proved the only survivor. He was born in St. Anthony's Parish, in this City, in the year 1466, and is supposed to have been taught the rudiments of learning in the School attached to his parochial Church. In 1483, he was sent to the University of Oxford, where he continued about seven years, and made great progress in logic, philology, and the mathematics. He then travelled into France and Italy, and in consequence of some successful disputations, conducted agreeably to the scholastic regimen of those times, became, in foreign Universities, exceedingly admired for his learning and talents. After his return from the Continent, he obtained various promotions in the Church, and having commenced Doctor of Divinity, about the year 1504, was soon afterwards preferred to the Deanery of St. Paul's, by Henry the Seventh, whose favor he had obtained, and who, whatever were his faults, was not inattentive to the promotion of men of talents. It was impossible, remarks a contemporary writer, 'that in the then clerical state of the Metropolis, the monarch could have made a better choice. Learned, benevolent, pious, exemplary in the performance of his duty, and equally so for the regularity of his life, the people, who daily experienced his munificence, idolized the Dean; consequently his death,' which was occasioned by a consumption, after an imperfect recovery from the sweating sickness, 'was a subject of general lamentation.' He died on the 16th of September, 1519,

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in which year the disease just named, raged in England with uncommon violence.

Whilst Dr. Colet was at Oxford, he became acquainted with the learned *Erasmus*, and to the arguments employed by these friends against the subtle distinctions of the old school-men, and to the boldness with which they canvassed the abuses of the Catholic hierarchy, the Reformation was much indebted for its advancement; so much so indeed, that the Bishop and Vicars of his own Church, would gladly have consigned the Dean to 'the stake and martyrdom,' if his enlightened and powerful friends, combined with the undeviating regularity of his own conduct had not preserved him. In a summary, that has been given of his character, he is stated to have been 'the complete [Christian] Philosopher, and capable of the most rigid self denial, a conqueror of himself, another Socrates: though inclined by nature to love, luxury, somnolency, fond of wine and levity, avaricious and high-spirited, he yet mastered all those propensities through a mental conviction of the pernicious consequences attending their indulgence, so effectually, that he was chaste, abstemious, an early riser, temperate, grave, generous, and meek, even to the bearing of reproof from his own servant.' He was buried in St. Paul's, under a monument erected by himself, in the south aisle of the Choir, with the inscription 'JOANNES COLETUS,' only; but the following epitaph written by Lilly, the grammarian, was afterwards added:

Inclyta Joannes Londina gloria gentis
Is tibi qui quondam Paule Decanus erat,
Qui toties magno resonabat pectore Christum,
Doctor et interpres fidus Evangelii;
Qui mores hominum multum sermone diserta
Formârat, vitæ sed probitate magis.
Quique Scholam struxit celebrem cognomine JESU,
Hac dormit tectus membra Coletus humo.

Floruit sub Henrico 7, et Henrico 8, Reg.
Obiit Anno Domini, 1519.
Disce mori mundo, vivere disce Deo.

In the 'Life of Dean Colet,' by Dr. Knight, is a translation from a Latin Letter written by Erasmus to Justin Jonas, in which is the ensuing account of the foundation of ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL*. Speaking of the Dean, Erasmus says;—

"Upon the death of his Father, when, by right of inheritance, he was possessed of a good sum of money; lest the keeping of it should corrupt his mind, and turn it too much toward the world, he laid out a great part of it in building a new School in the church-yard of St. Paul's, dedicated to the child Jesus: a magnificent fabric; to which he added two dwelling houses for the two several masters: and to them he allotted ample salaries, that they might teach a certain number of boys, *free*, and for the sake of charity. He divided the School into four apartments. The first, *viz.* the porch and entrance, is for *catechumens*, or the children to be instructed in the principles of religion; where no child is to be admitted, but what can read and write. The second apartment is for the lower boys, to be taught by the second master or usher: the third for the upper forms, under the head master: which two parts of the school are divided by a curtain, to be drawn at pleasure. Over the master's chair is an image of the child Jesus, of admirable work, in the gesture of teaching; whom all the boys, going and coming, salute with a short hymn: and there is a representation of God the Father, saying, '*Hear ye him*;' these words being written at my suggestion. The fourth, or last apartment, is a little chapel for divine service. The school has no corners, or hiding places; nothing like a cell or closet. The boys have their distinct forms, or benches, one above another. Every form holds sixteen; and he that is head, or captain of each form, has a little kind of desk by way of pre-eminence. They are not to admit all boys of course; but to choose them in according to their parts and capacities. The wise and sagacious founder saw that the greatest hopes and happiness

* Though Dr. Knight's is an interesting work, the length of time that has elapsed since its publication, would now render a more extended history of this noble Seminary, a public *Desideratum*.

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pieces of the Commonwealth were in the training up children to good Letters, and true Religion, for which purpose he laid out an immense sum of money; and—after he had finished all, he left the perpetual care and oversight of the estate, not to the Clergy; not to the Bishop; not to the Chapter; nor to any great Minister at court, but amongst the married Laymen, to the *Company of Mercers*, men of probity and reputation: (and when he was asked the reason of so committing the trust, he answered to this effect;) *that there was no absolute certainty in human affairs; but for his part, he found less corruption in such a body of citizens, than in any other order or degree of mankind.*"

In framing the Statutes for the government and regulation of his School, Dr. Colet was exceedingly particular, though he appears to have been somewhat at a loss, as to what he should appoint to be taught, and what works the scholars should be suffered to peruse. He prefaced his instructions, by stating his ardent wish that the children should be brought up 'in good manners and literature;' and declares that he had built a school for '*one hundred and fifty three boys*, to be taught free in the same: and ordained there a Master, a Sub-master, and a Chaplain, with sufficient and perpetual stipends, ever to endure, and set Patrons, Defenders, Governors, and Rulers of the same School, the honest and faithful fellowship of the Mercers of London.'

In the Statutes, the Dean defines the qualifications, &c. of the Masters, and directs that they shall 'be learned in pure Greek and Latin; and shall neither hold benefice with cure,' lectured, nor professor-ship, that no impediment might divert their attention from the duties of the School: that the salary of the High Master should be one mark per week, with a gown annually of four nobles value, and that upon his demise, the Sub-master, whose stipend was to be six shillings and eight pence a year, with a gown as before, should be chosen to succeed in preference to any other Candidate: that the Chaplain shall be an honest virtuous Priest, and 'help to teach in the School,' his salary to

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be eight pounds yearly, with a gown of the value of twenty-nine shillings and eight-pence.

He then directs, that 'Children of all nations and countries, indifferently,' should be taught, to the number of one hundred and fifty-three,' that number having been fixed on in allusion to the fish taken by St. Peter*. 'The Master to admit these Children as they offered, but first to see that they can say the Catechism, and also read and write competently; and to pay 4d. for writing their name: which money the poor scholar that swept the school was to have. Thrice a day, viz. morning, noon, and evening, prostrate, to say the prayers contained in a table at the school. No tallow candles, but only wax to be used, no meat, drink, or bottles, to be brought; nor no breakfasts nor drinkings in the time of learning. That the Scholars use no cock-fighting, nor riding about of victory, nor disputing at St. Bartholomew's; which are but foolish babbling, and loss of time†. That they have no remedies, [that is play days begged] under penalty of twenty shillings from the High Master, except the King, and Archbishop, or a Bishop, present in his own person, desired it. The children every Childermas day to go to Paul's Church, and hear the Child-bishop sermon, and after to be at the high mass, and

* See John, Chap. XXI. ver. 11.

† This alludes to a custom of that period which is but little known. On the eve of St. Bartholomew, after the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had rode through the fair, it was usual for them to go to Christ's Hospital, where they heard a disputation between the Scholars of St. Paul's school, St. Anthony's school, and those of the Hospital, for whom were provided three exercises; the rewards to the victors were, for the first, a silver pen, gilt, of the value of five shillings, and the master had a reward of six shillings and eight-pence; for the second, a silver pen, partly gilt, valued at four shillings, and five shillings to the master; and for the third, a silver pen of the value of three shillings, and the master had a premium of four shillings. Two Masters of Arts, sat as judges, who had each for his attendance a present of a silver rule, valued at six shillings and eight pence. When the disputations were ended, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen entered the Hall in which the Children commonly dined, and before their departure, partook of fruit and wine.

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and each offer a penny to the Child-bishop; and with them the Masters and Surveyors of the school. In general processions, when warned, they shall go two and two together, soberly; and not sing out, but say devoutly seven psalms with the litany. That if any child admitted here, go to any other school to learn there, such child for no man's suit be again received into the School. That one Scholar shall preside on every form, and that the teaching commence at seven in the morning, continue till eleven, re-commence at one, and terminate for the day, at five; with prayers at morning, noon, and evening. The children to be taught always in good literature, both Latin and Greek, and good authors, such as have the very Roman eloquence joined with wisdom; especially Christian authors, that wrote their wisdom with clean and chaste Latin, either in verse or prose.'

The direction of the institution, is then stated to be vested in the Mercer's Company, who are directed to choose eleven persons annually, as 'Surveyors of the School,' who are to receive the rents arising from the endowments, pay the salaries, &c. All the affairs relating to the estates to be managed by the Surveyors. The Dean then says with emphatic laconicism, '*let* not the *lands* of the School, but by the *space of five years*,' and in conclusion, solemnly charges the Company 'to guard and promote the foundation for ever, to the utmost of their ability, as they fear the just vengeance of the Deity for neglecting it, and to make such other regulations, as time and circumstances might render necessary, with the advice and assistance of *good-lettered*, and *learned men*.'

The annual rental of the tenements and lands, (which lie chiefly in Buckinghamshire,) given by the munificent founder for the support of his School, amounted at that period, to the sum of 118l. 4s. 7d. and according to Dr. Knight, the Dean estimated that when the yearly expenses of the School were defrayed, there would be an overplus of 38l. 16s. 3d. Since then, the revenues are known to have experienced a vast increase, through the progressive augmentation in the value of property, but to what

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amount has not been publicly stated. Various subsequent donations have also been added to the original endowments; and independently of all other advantages, there are now no fewer than twenty-seven Exhibitions belonging to this seminary. The most valuable Exhibition is given to the *Captain* of the School, who leaves it annually at Easter; this is not confined to any particular College, and is tenable with any collegiate preferment, excepting a Fellowship; it amounts to 40l. per annum, for four years, and 50l. for each of the three succeeding years*.

The School described by Erasmus was consumed by the Fire of London, in 1666, and the present edifice was erected between that period and the year 1670, at the charge of the Mercers' Company, under the particular direction of Robert Ware, Esq. the Warden. Though a singular building, it is not an unhandsome one: it forms a parallelogram, extending north and south, and consists of a centre, which is properly the *School*, and two wings;

* The following Extracts relating to the Exhibitions, are painted on a tablet within the Library.

"ORDERS made at several Courts of Assistants, held by the worshipful Company of Mercers' relative to Scholars of St. Paul's School, intending to offer themselves as Candidates for Exhibitions.

"1732, March 16. Ordered that no person be permitted to petition for an Exhibition, who does not lodge his petition in the Clerk's office, one month at least before the apposition Court; and that the Clerk communicate the same to the Wardens of the School for the time being.

"1754, March 22. That when any Petitions are presented to the Court of Assistants for Exhibitions to be granted to Scholars educated in this School, the High Master shall be called in, and asked as to the qualifications of those Scholars as shall have so petitioned.

"1763, March 24. That no Scholar who shall go to the University without the consent of the Court of Assistants, or the Surveyor-accomptant of the School for the time being, be permitted to Petition for any one of the School-exhibitions.

"1773, March 4, That no Scholar be permitted to Petition for an Exhibition until he shall have been full four years in the School, upon the foundation, by the appointment of the Surveyor, or Accomptant for the time being."

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wings; the north wing being appropriated to the use of the head Master, and the south wing to the second Master: these wings which include a number of convenient and elegant apartments, are of brick, with stone facings, window-frames, cornices, &c. and rise to nearly twice the height of the School; the latter is all of stone, and has a projecting centre, terminated by a pediment, in the tympan of which is a shield charged with the arms of the founder; and over the apex is a statue designed to represent *Learning*. Along the whole runs a cornice and balustrade, crowned with busts and vases; and below the cornice are these words, *Ædes Præceptoris Grammaticæ*. Six large windows raised to a considerable height from the ground, admit the light into the School; those below the pediment are square-headed, the others are semi-circular, and the spaces between the latter are ornamented with sculptures in relief. The School-room is a spacious apartment, having the motto '*Doce, disce, aut discede,*' over the entrance. Over the throne of the high Master are the words, '*Intendas animum studiis et rebus honestis;*' and above his seat is an animated bust of DEAN COLET, in statuary marble, copied (with the attitude improved) by the late Mr. Banks, from a more ancient one. Another bust in white marble, on the left of the Chair, represents the late highly respected Master *Mr. George Thicknesse*: this was executed with the proceeds of a voluntary subscription made by his grateful pupils. The scholars are now taught by three Masters and Assistants; the high Master, besides his residence at the School, has the ancient house of Dean Colet, at Stepney, attached to his situation as first preceptor.

The School is divided into eight classes, or forms; on the lowest of which the children are taught the rudiments of languages, and are thence advanced according to their proficiency to the other forms, till they reach the eighth, or highest. At this period, they are generally good grammarians and orators, and well instructed in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and sometimes in the Oriental languages. The most proficient scholars are

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those sent to the University, under the Exhibitions before mentioned, which are of different values from ten to thirty, and forty pounds, or upwards, annually. Soon after Easter, every year, a grand examination is made, which occupies two days, on the last of which the seniors of the eighth class make recitations in Greek, Latin, English, &c. previous to their entrance into some College. A small *Library* is attached to the School, which has been principally formed with books presented by the different gentlemen educated here. Though the worthy Dean lived only ten years after he had commenced this foundation, he had the pleasure of seeing his establishment flourish in such a considerable degree, that the great Sir Thomas More, in a letter which he sent to him, compared the School ' to the Wooden Horse of Troy, out of which the Grecians issued to surprize the City;' in like manner, he continues ' out of this your School, many have come that have subverted and overthrown all ignorance and rudeness.'

That the encomium of Sir Thomas would equally apply to succeeding generations, may be seen from the following list of eminent persons, all of whom received their early education in this School.

Thomas Lupset, an eminent teacher of Greek at Oxford, died 1531. *Sir Anthony Denny*, Privy-counsellor to Henry VIII. *Sir William Paget*, Lord Beaudesert, Privy-counsellor to four successive princes, died 1563. *Sir Edward North*, Lord North, Privy-counsellor, died 1563. *John Leland*, the eminent Antiquary. *William Whitaker*, D. D. regius professor of divinity in Cambridge, the Champion for the Protestant religion against Cardinal Bellarmine. *William Camden*, author of the ' Britannia,' *William Burton*, the Leicestershire Antiquary, and author of a ' Commentary on Antoninus's Itinerary,' died 1657. *John Milton*, the immortal author of ' Paradise Lost.' *Sir Peter Pett*, an eminent Civilian, one of the first members of the Royal Society. *Sir Charles Scarborough*, the erudite Physician, and Anatomist. *Samuel Pepys*, Esq. Secretary to the Admiralty, 1673, and collector of the Pepysian library, Cambridge. *Samuel Johnson*,

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Johnson, an eminent divine, and sufferer in the reign of James II. *Benjamin Calamy*, D. D. Vicar of St. Lawrence Jewry. *Dr. Richard Meggot*, Dean of Winchester, and Canon of Windsor, 1692. *Thomas Smith*, A. M. public librarian at Cambridge, and author of several eminent works. *William Nicholls*, D. D. an excellent scholar and critic. *Richard Blondell*, one of the most eminent surgeons of his time, died 1718. *Sir Thomas Davies*, Lord Mayor of London, 1677, whose knowledge was so universal, that he was able to converse with foreign ambassadors, in their several languages. *Humphrey Gower*, D. D. Master of St. John's College, and Margaret professor of divinity in Cambridge, died 1780. *Robert Nelson*, Esq. the pious author of the Companion to the Festivals and Fasts, &c. *Richard Cumberland*, Bishop of Peterborough, great-grandfather to the late Dramatist of that name, and author of that excellent work, '*De Legibus Naturæ*;' died 1718. *George Doddington*, Esq. Treasurer of the Navy, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, &c. died 1720. *Dr. Thomas Tooke*, the famous master of the grammar school at Bishop's Stortford, where he died in 1720. *Charles*, Duke of *Manchester*, died 1721. *John*, Duke of *Marlborough*, the great General. *Lord Wilmington*. *Sir Edward Northey*, Attorney-general. *Dr. George Hooper*, Bishop of Bath and Wells. *Dr. Samuel Bradford*, Bishop of Bristol. *Dr. John Leng*, Bishop of Norwich. The Right Hon. *Spencer Compton*, Speaker of the House of Commons. *Spencer Cowper*, Chief Justice of Chester. *Thomas Bentley*, LL. D. of Trinity College, Cambridge, the celebrated Critic. *Dr. Alured Clark*, Dean of Winton. *James*, Earl of *Derby*. *Sir Nathaniel Floyd*. *Roger Gale*, Esq. Rev. *Charles Gale*, *Samuel Gale*, Esq. all eminent Antiquaries. *Rev. Dr. Gregg*, Master of Clare Hall, Cambridge. *Rev. James Johnson*, LL. D. Chancellor of Ely. *Algernon*, Earl of *Montrath*. *Dr. Henry Newcome*, Hackney. *Charles*, Earl of *Orrery*, the enlightened Philosopher. *Rev. John Strype*, Editor of Stow's History of London, two vols. fol. and other valuable works in English History. *Rev. Dean Sykes*. *Sir John Strange*,

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Strange, Master of the Rolls. *Dr. Edmund Halley*, the great Astronomer. *George Thicknesse Touchet*, Lord Audley, nephew to the late High-master. The late *Sir Frederic Thesiger*, Adm. *Sir Thomas Trowbridge*, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, (the brave associate of Nelson,) who is supposed to have been lost at sea. *Thomas Taylor*, Esq. the Platonic philosopher.

The first High Master of St. Paul's School was the famous grammarian *William Lilly*, partly Editor of the '*Latin Grammar*,' which goes by his name: he died in 1522. His successors with little exception, have been all men of great talents and acquirements, as the annexed statement will evince. *John Ritwyse*, an eminent Grammarian and Critic, in part Editor of the '*Propria quæ maribus*,' &c. he died in 1532. *Richard Jonas*, whom Polydore Virgil calls a man 'equally learned and modest;' he died in 1549. *Thomas Freeman*, appointed 1549. *John Cook*, *M. A.* app. 1550, *William Malin*, Editor of Sir Tho. Chaloner's '*De Reipubl. Anglorum*,' in Latin verse. *John Harrison*, the Antiquary, Medallist, and Historian. *William Mulcaster*, app. 1596; an eminent Rabbinical Scholar, and Orientalist; *Alexander Gill*, app. 1608; who wrote '*Logonomia*,' for amending and rectifying English literature, and died in 1635. His son *Alexander Gill*, succeeded, and took the degree of *D. D.* he was the best Latin poet of his time. *John Langley*, appointed 1640, an excellent Linguist, Grammarian, Historian, Cosmographer, and Artist: he died 1657. *Samuel Cromleholme*, in whose time the school was destroyed by the great Fire: he was an universal scholar, and brought up many learned men. *Thomas Gale*, *D. D.* and *F. R. S.* appointed 1672, afterwards Dean of York, a very judicious Antiquary, and the correspondent of the most eminent literati: he wrote the inscriptions on the Monument. *John Postlethwayte*, *M. A.* appointed 1697, by the express recommendation of Archbishop Tenison, to the Mercers' Company, on account of his excellent conduct as Master of the Grammar-school of St. Martin in the Fields, founded by that Prelate. *Philip Ascough*, *M. A.* app. 1713. *Benjamin Morland*, *F. R. S.*

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F. R. S. 1731. *Timothy Crumpe, A. M.* 1733. *George Charles, A. M. George Thicknesse,* assistant, 1737, High-Master, 1748. On his resignation in 1770, succeeded the present worthy and much respected High-Master *Richard Roberts, D. D.*

The following beautiful Apostrophe to the memory of Dean Colet, occurs in some verses written on leaving St. Paul's School, in May 1802, by William Sharpe, now or late of Trinity College, Cambridge.

> But, while my vent'rous song attempts to show
> The calm enjoyments that from learning flow,
> Can I forget whose pious hand hath shed
> These valued blessings on my favor'd head;
> Whose goodness here, in rich abundance plac'd,
> Fair learning's fruit, and bade me freely taste?
> Ah no! thy name, indelibly impress'd,
> Shall live for ever in my grateful breast;
> To thee, our first, best thanks, are justly due,
> Sage friend of learning, and of virtue, too;
> Who, bless'd by Heav'n with an active mind,
> Warm'd with a generous love for all mankind,
> Like a true patriot, saw, with anxious pain,
> His country bound in superstition's chain,
> And boldly dar'd to chase the fiend away,
> And bless the world, with truth's returning ray.

General particulars of the twenty-six Wards into which the City and its Liberties are divided.

The precise era of the division of the city into Wards or *Aldermanries* is unknown, though there can be little doubt of its being as remote as the early Saxon times*. It seems probable, also, that originally, the Wards were much fewer in number than at present, and that they were progressively augmented, as the buildings were extended, and the population increased. Three such instances are upon record: the first occurred in the reign of Henry the First, when the Prior of the Church of the Holy Trinity, was admitted to a seat in the City Council, as Alderman of Portsoken

* See before p. 128—182.

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Portsoken Ward; the second took place in the year 1393, (17th of Richard the Second) when Farringdon Ward having, as Stow says, "mightily increased in buildings without the gates," was "by Parliament appointed to be divided into twain," under the respective names of Farringdon-Ward Within, and Farringdon-Ward Without; the other was in the year 1551, when the Borough and Liberties of Southwark were made a component part of the City, by the appellation of Bridge-Ward Without.

The local situations of the twenty-six Wards into which the City and Liberties of London are divided, will in general be known from their different names. Every Ward is governed by an Alderman, and a certain number of Common-Council men, (with subordinate officers) mostly, yet not always, proportioned to its extent and population. The necessary limits of this work, preclude a more particular account of each Ward, than will now be given, chiefly, on the authority of Stow; who commences his description with the Wards in the eastern part of the City, and proceeds in the same order as will here be observed.

PORTSOKEN WARD lies wholly without the City, properly so called, but includes an extensive plot of ground, extending from Aldgate to Whitechapel Bars, eastward, and from Bishopsgate to the River Thames, north and south. This *Portsoken*, says Stow, which "soundeth as much as the '*Franchise at the Gate*,' was some time a Guild, and had this beginning as I have read in the *Liber Trinitate*. In the daies of King Edgar, more than 600 yeres since there were thirteen knights, or soldiers, well-beloved to the King and Realm (for service by them done) which requested to have a certain portion of land on the east part of the Citie, left desolate and forsaken by the inhabitants, by reason of too much servitude. They besought the King to have this land, with the liberty of a Guild for ever, and the King granted their request, on condition that each Knight should victoriously accomplish three combats, one above the ground, one under ground, and the thirde in the water; and after this, at a certain day in East Smithfield, they should run with spears against all commers; all which was gloriously

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gloriously performed: and the same day the King named it *Knighten Guilde*, and so bounded it from Ealdgate to the place where the bars now are toward the east, &c. and again toward the south unto the River of Thames, and so far into the water, as a horseman entering the same may ryde at a low water, and throw his speare; so that all East Smithfield, with the right part of the street that goeth to Dodding Pond into the Thames, and also the Hospital of St. Katherin's, with the mils that were founded in King Stephen's daies, and the outward stone wall, and the new ditch of the Tower, are of the saide fee and libertie.---These Knights had as then none other charter until the time of Edward the Confessor, whom the heirs of those Knights humblie besought to confirm their liberties, which he did by a deed, written in the Saxon letter and tongue, as appeareth in the booke of the late house of the Holie Trinitie.*" Edward's grant was confirmed by William Rufus and Henry the First, in the latter of whose reign (anno 1115), the entire Soke, and its appurtenances, were given by the then Brethren of the Guild, who are called *Burgesses* of London, and whose names are recorded by Stow, to the Church of the Holy Trinity within Aldgate, which had been recently founded by Matilda, Henry's Queen. This gift was confirmed by a royal charter, and the deed granted by the Confessor, together with 'the other charters they had thereof,' was solemnly placed by the Knights upon the altar in Trinity Church, and full possession was afterwards given to the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, of all the possessions of the Guild, the final investiture being attended with much ceremony.† The Prior was also "for him and his successors, admitted as one of the Aldermen of London, to governe the same land and soke; and according to the customes of the Citie, he did sit in Court and rode with the Maior, and his brethren the Aldermen, as one of them in scarlet, or other livery, as they used, till the year 1531,"‡ when the Priory was surrendered to Henry the Eighth. Since that period, this Ward has been

* Stow, Lond. pp. 85, 86, Edit. 1597. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 88.

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been governed in a similar manner to the other parts of the City, viz. by an Alderman (being a layman) five Common-council men and various subordinate officers, as Constables, Inquest-men, Ward-beadles, &c. This Ward is divided into the five precincts of Houndsditch, High Street, the Bars, Tower-Hill, and Convent-Garden.

TOWER STREET WARD, derived its name from its contiguity to the Tower, and is divided into the twelve following precincts: Dolphin, Mincing Lane, Salutation, Rood, Dice Quay, Ralph's Quay, Bear Quay, Petty Wales, Rose, Seething Lane, Mark Lane, and Angel: the inhabitants return twelve members to the Common Council.

ALDGATE WARD, was so named from being situated contiguously to the ancient eastern gate of the city. It returns six Common-council men, and is divided into seven precincts, lying chiefly in the parishes of St. James, St. Catherine Cree Church, St. Andrew Undershaft, St. Catherine Coleman, and in Duke's Place.

LIME STREET WARD, extends into several parishes, though it has neither a church, nor a complete street within its limits; it contains four precincts, and returns four Common-council men.

BISHOPSGATE WARD, was so named from the gate which anciently divided it into two parts, and which division is yet continued in matters of local jurisdiction, under the respective appellations of Bishopsgate-Within, and Bishopsgate-Without: the former contains the five precincts of Allhallows, St. Peter, St. Martin Outwich, St. Helen, and St. Ethelburga: the latter consists of four precincts. The whole Ward sends fourteen members to the court of Common Council.

BROAD STREET WARD, is divided into the ten precincts of St. Mildred Woolchurch, St. Christopher, St. Bartholomew Upper, St. Bartholomew Lower, St. Margaret Lothbury, St. Bennet Fink, St. Martin Outwich, St. Peter-le-Poor, and Allhallows London Wall: the number of Common-council men is twelve.

CORNHILL WARD, was 'so called of a corne market,' time out of mind,

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mind there holden," is divided into four precincts, and its inhabitants elect six members to the Common-Council.

LANGBOURN WARD, "is so called of a long borne [bourn] of sweete water, which in old time breaking out into Fenchurch Street, ran down the same Streete and Lombard Street, to the west ende of St. Mary Woolnoth's Church, where turning south, and breaking itself into many small shares, rilles, or streames it left the name of *Share borne-Lane*, or *Southborne-Lane*, as I have read, because it ranne south to the river Thames." * Anciently, also, through the spreading of this stream near the spring-head, the surrounding ground became so swampy, that this district obtained the appellation of *Fenny-about*, and is so called in the City records. This Ward is divided into the twelve precincts of St. Mary Woolnoth, North, and South. Nicholas Lane, Birchin Lane, Lombard Street, Clement's Lane, Alhallows Lombard Street, St. Bennet, Gracechurch Street, St. Dionis Backchurch, St. Gabriel, and Alhallows Staining: its inhabitants are represented by ten Common-Council men.

BILLINGSGATE WARD, is divided into the precincts of Billingsgate, St. Mary at Hill, Smart's Quay, Love Lane, the three precincts of St. Botolph's Billingsgate, the two precincts of St. Andrew Hubbard, and those of St. George, Botolph Lane, Pudding Lane, and Rood Lane; in all twelve, the number of Common-Council men is ten.

BRIDGE WARD WITHIN, is divided into fourteen precincts, namely, the three of London Bridge, three of Thames Street, three of New Fish Street, the upper and lower precincts of St. Leonard Eastcheap, and the upper precincts of St. Bennet, Gracechurch Street, and Alhallows Lombard Street: its inhabitants return fifteen members to the Common-Council.

CANDLEWICK STREET WARD, derived its name from the Street now called Cannon, but formerly Candlewick, or *Candlewike Street*, from being principally inhabited by Candlewrights

* Stow's Lond. p. 156.

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in wax and tallow. Though but a small Ward, it is divided into the seven precincts of St. Mary Abchurch, St. Lawrence Poulteney, St. Martin Orgar, St. Clement Eastcheap, St. Leonard Eastcheap, and the east and west precincts of St. Michael: its number of Common-Council men is eight.

WALBROOK WARD, took its name from the ancient rivulet, which entering the City from Moorfields, divided it into two parts, and flowed into the Thames at Dowgate. It contains the following seven precincts; two of St. Swithin, St. Mary Woolchurch, St. Stephen Walbrook, St. John Baptist, St. Mary Bothaw, and St. Mary Abchurch. Its inhabitants send eight members to the Common Council.

DOWGATE WARD, derived its name from the ancient Watergate (*Dwr-gate,*) which formed the termination of the Middlesex branch of the Watling Street, and was in all probability the place of the British *trajectus*, or ferry, into Surrey.* It is divided into eight precincts, and returns eight members to the Common-Council.

VINTRY WARD, was "so called," says Stow, "of *Vintners*, and of the *Vintrie*, a part of the banke of the river Thames, where the Merchantes of Bourdeaux, craned their wines, out of lighters and other vessels†." In this Ward are nine precincts, and the inhabitants send nine members to the Common-Council.

CORDWAINERS STREET WARD, was so termed from the ancient *Cordwainer Street*, (now Bow Lane,) "which took that name of Cordwainers or Shoe Makers, Curriers, and workers of leather dwelling there‡." This Ward is divided into eight precincts, namely; St. Mary Aldermary, Upper and Lower; Alhallows Bread Street, St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Antholin, Upper and Lower; St. Pancras,

* See preceding Volume, p. 71.

† Stow's Lond. p. 189.

‡ Ibid. p. 155. The appellation *Cordwainer* was most probably derived from *Cordouan*, or *Cordovan*, a particular kind of leather made of goat skins, and first manufactured at the City of Cordouan, in the province of Andalusia, in Spain.

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St. Pancras, St. Bennet Sherehog and St. John, and St. Thomas the Apostle and Trinity: the number of Common-Council men is eight.

CHEAP WARD, which is situated in the central part of the City, derived its name from the Saxon *Chepe*, a market, this being the place where the second London market appears to have been originally established; East *Chepe* being the first. In this Ward are nine precincts, namely, St. Mary-le-Bow, Alhallows, Honey Lane, St. Lawrence Cateaton Street, St. Martin Ironmonger Lane, St. Mary Colechurch, St. Mildred Poultry, St. Stephen and St. Bennet, and St. Pancras Sopar Lane: its inhabitants return twelve members to the Common-Council.

COLEMAN STREET WARD, is divided into the precincts of St. Margaret Lothbury, St. Olave Jewry, and the four of St. Stephen Coleman Street: its number of Common-Council men is six.

BASSISHAW WARD, corruptly so called from *Basings Haugh*, or *Hall*, "the principal house of that Street, whereof the Ward taketh its name," is wholly comprised in the two precincts of Basinghall Street, and returns four members to the Court of Common-Council.

CRIPPLEGATE WARD, had its name from the ancient gate of Cripplegate, and is divided into two parts, called Cripplegate Within, and Cripplegate Without, from their relative situations to the City Walls. The former division consists of the nine precincts of St. Lawrence, St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, St. Peter, St. Michael Wood Street, St. John Zachery, St. Alban Wood Street, St. Olave Silver Street, St. Alphage, and Aldermanbury; the latter, of the four precincts of Red Cross Street, White Cross Street, Fore Street, and Grub Street: twelve Common-Council men are returned from this Ward.

ALDERSGATE WARD, derived its appellation from another ancient gate of the City, and is also divided into two districts, called Aldersgate Within, and Aldersgate Without, from their respective situations: the former contains the four precincts of St. Leonard Foster Lane, St. John Zachery, St. Mary Staining,

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and St. Anne; the latter is likewise comprised by four precincts, all within the parish of St. Botolph. Eight members are returned by the inhabitants of this Ward to the Common-Council.

The Wards of FARRINGDON WITHIN, and FARRINGDON WITHOUT, originally formed but one Ward, the large tract comprising which derived the name of *Farringdon* from William Farindon, or Farendon, Goldsmith, and Sheriff of London in the time of Edward the First. This gentleman according to Stow, *purchased* the "*Aldermanry* of this Ward," in the year 1279, and all its appurtenances both Within and Without the City, from John le Fevre, son and heir to Ralph le Fevre, (Sheriff of London in 1277,) who had himself obtained them by grant, in the fifth of Edward the First, from Thomas de Arderne, son and heir to Sir Ralph Arderne, Knt. to have and to holde to the said Ralphe and to his heires, freely, without all challenge; yielding therefore, yearly, to the said Thomas and his heirs, one clove, (or slip) of gilliflowers, at the feast of Easter, for all secular service and customes, with warrantie unto the said Ralphe le Feure, and his heires, against all people, Christians and Jewes, in consideration of twentie markes which the said Ralphe le Feure did give before hande, in name of a *gersum* or fine, to the saide Thomas, &c*. Anthony Munday, Stow's continuator, contradicts this statement, and quotes "an especial Deed" in his own possession, to prove that the entire Aldermanry was granted by William de Farndon, (Citizen and Alderman) to Nicholas, son of Ralph de Feure, "in the very same manner and form as hath been recited," for twenty *pounds*, "and not markes," with the same "warrantie or defence against all people for ever†." On comparing

* Sur. of Lond. p. 248, Edit. 1598. Stow gives the above information from an "Abstract of Deeds," which he had read, and he records the following names of attesting witnesses: G. de Rockelesley, Maior, R. Aurrar, one of the Sheriffs, H. Wales, P. le Taylor, T. de Basing, J. Horne, and H. Blackthorne, Aldermen of London.

† Sur. of Lond. p. 336, Edit. 1633. The witnesses were Domino Joh. le Bretoun Milite, tunc Custode London; Elia Russel, and Henry le Bole, tunc

comparing the dates, it will be seen that Stow's veracity is not impeached by Munday's Deed, the latter being dated '*Anno Reg. Ed. fil. R. Hen.* xxj.' and consequently referring to a period about sixteen years subsequent to the date of the abstract given by the prior Historian. There must, however, have been a *re-grant* made to William de Farendon, which has not been noticed by either author, for Stow says, "this Aldermanry *descended* to Nicholas Farendon, sonne to the said William, and to his heires, which Nicholas (also a Goldsmith) was four times Maior, and lived many years after, "and it" continued under their government by the space of eighty-two years, and retaineth their name until this present day"*.

As the population of the City increased, it became expedient to divide this extensive Aldermanry into two Wards, which was done by Parliament in the seventeenth of Richard the Second, and an Alderman was assigned to each under the same authority. *Farringdon Within* contains the eighteen precincts of St. Peter, St. Matthew, Goldsmiths' Row, Sadlers' Hall, Gutter-Lane, St. Austin, St. Michael, le Quern, North and South, St. Faith Paternoster-row, St. Faith St. Paul's Church Yard, St. Martin, Ludgate, North and South, first and second precincts of Christ Church, St. Ewin, St. Sepulchre, Monkwell Street, and St. Anne Blackfriars: its inhabitants return seventeen members to the Common-Council. *Farringdon Without* is an extensive and very populous liberty: it is divided into fourteen precincts, and sends sixteen members to the Common-Council.

BREAD STREET WARD, was so called from Bread Street, which was "itselfe so called of Bread in old time there sold; for it appeareth by records that in the yeare 1302, which was the 30th of Edward the First, the bakers of London were bounden to

tunc Vicecom. London; Steph. Assewy, Joh. de Bachkevelle, Roberto de Basing, Will. de Bettune. Rad. le Blund, Walt. de Finchingfield, Joh. de Blund, Thoma. de Estanes, Richard Assewy, et 'multis aliis.' The seal was the Goldsmiths' arms, engraved about with the words *Sigilli Willi. de Farndon.*'

* Sur. of Lond. p. 249. Edit. 1598.

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sell no bread in their shops or houses, but only in the market*." This Ward is divided into thirteen precincts, and sends twelve members to the Common-Council.

QUEEN HITHE WARD, derived its name from the water-gate, or harbour of Queen hithe, which in former times was the principal landing place for the City, but is now reduced to little more than a common plying-place for Watermen. It is divided into nine precincts, and its inhabitants return six Common-Council men.

CASTLE BAYNARD WARD, obtained its name from an ancient Castle, which stood here on the bank of the river, and was originally built by Baynard, a soldier of fortune who came to England with William the Norman. It is divided into ten precincts, and sends the same number of members to the Common-Council.

BRIDGE WARD WITHOUT, which comprehends the principal part of the Borough and Liberties of Southwark, lies wholly within the County of Surrey, and though it has long been extremely populous, is totally unrepresented in the Court of Common-Council. It is, however, yet more nominally than in fact, governed by an Alderman, who is appointed by the City, and who according to the present routine, is always the *senior* Alderman of the whole Court, and upon whom, whenever a vacancy occurs, the government of this Ward is conferred, as an honorable sinecure which relieves him from the fatigues of general business: in this situation he is styled *Father of the City*. The district called the Borough Liberty, comprises the major part of the five parishes of St. Olave, St. Saviour, St. John, St. Thomas, and St. George.

ORIGIN AND GENERAL PARTICULARS OF THE HISTORY OF THE CITY COMPANIES; COMPRISING VARIOUS NOTICES ON TRADE, COMMERCE, RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS, &c. WITH DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNTS OF THE CITY HALLS, GUILD-HALL, AND THE MANSION-HOUSE.

THE CITY COMPANIES had their origin from the early associations called *Guilds*, *Fellowships*, or *Fraternities*, of which there

* Stow's Sur. p. 279.

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there were two kinds, namely, secular, and ecclesiastical. The secular Guilds, under their primary acceptation, appear to have included the entire aggregate of the merchants and traders of a city, or town, and were called *Gilda Mercatoria;* but afterwards, as the principal trading towns increased in population, the respective craftsmen, artizans, dealers, &c. who inhabited them, obtained charters for incorporating their various callings, or in other words, for engrossing and monopolizing all the business of their own Burghs, or Cities, to the exclusion of non-freemen. Though these associations received the name of *Merchant-guilds*; yet in the earlier period of their institution, the maintenance of their peculiar "arts and mysteries," was commonly blended with ecclesiastical observances, and it was not till the times subsequent to the Reformation, that they could be properly regarded as strictly secular.

It was the opinion of Mr. Madox, as given in the *Firma Burgi*, that Merchant-guilds, "were hardly known to our Saxon progenitors," and they might, "he continues," have been brought into England by the Normans, although they do not seem to have been very numerous in France in those days." The earliest *certain* notice which this gentleman could find, of a Guild, or Fraternity, of tradesmen in this country, occurs in the record of a payment into the Exchequer, of the sum of sixteen pounds, made sometime in the reign of Henry the First, by Robert, the son of Leuestan, as the rent or ferme, for the *Guild of Weavers of London**. Henry reigned from 1100 to 1135; and it is probable that during those years, and in the remaining part of the century, the City-guilds were much increased in number, as well by regular charter, as by a sort of self assumption in different Companies, whose Guilds, being thus set up, or instituted without the Royal license, were styled *Adulterine;* and no fewer than sixteen of that description are recorded to have been fined in London, by Henry the Second, in the year 1180: among the Guilds at that time

* See Mad. *Fir. Bur.* p. 191.

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amerced to the crown, were the Goldsmiths, the Butchers, the Glovers, and the Curriers*. The *Gilda Aurifabrorum*, or Goldsmiths, paid the sum of forty-five marks on this occasion, and the richer Guilds in proportion; but on most of the others, the fine was set at one mark only†.

Though the establishment of trading Guilds in London under Royal authority, as early as the Norman times, is thus satisfactorily ascertained, it is rather a singular circumstance that the remotest date of any of the Patents of Incorporation, now known to be preserved, are those granted to the Goldsmiths and the Skinners, by Edward the Third, in the year 1327; nor is it less singular that in the routine of precedence, which, time immemorially, has governed the order of the Companies in all civic arrangements, the priority of date has been so little regarded, that we find certain Companies taking precedency of others, the periods of whose *legal* incorporation, was full fifty, or a hundred years, and even upwards, anterior to their own. The first twelve of the City Companies, as they stand on the list, are called the Chief; they are also sometimes styled, the Honorable; and it is of the one, or other of these, that the Lord Mayor elect must always be free, according to the custom of the City, before he can be sworn in.

The following are the names of all the Companies arranged in their order of precedency; and some particulars of each will be subjoined in the same order.

1. Mercers.
2. Grocers.
3. Drapers.
4. Fishmongers.
5. Goldsmiths.
6. Skinners.
7. Merchant Taylors.
8. Haberdashers.
9. Salters.
10. Ironmongers.
11. Vintners.
12. Cloth-workers.
13. Dyers.
14. Brewers.
15. Leather-sellers.
16. Pewterers.
17. Barber-surgeons.
18. Cutlers.
19. Bakers.

* Mad. *Fir. Bur.* Ann. 1180. † Ibid.

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19. Bakers.
20. Wax-chandlers.
21. Tallow-chandlers.
22. Armourers and Braziers.
23. Girdlers.
24. Butchers.
25. Sadlers.
26. Carpenters.
27. Cordwainers.
28. Painter-stainers.
29. Curriers.
30. Masons.
31. Plumbers.
32. Innholders.
33. Founders.
34. Poulterers.
35. Cooks.
36. Coopers.
37. Tylers and Bricklayers.
38. Bowyers.
39. Fletchers.
40. Blacksmiths.
41. Joiners.
42. Weavers.
43. Woolmen.
44. Scriveners.
45. Fruiterers.
46. Plasterers.
47. Stationers.
48. Embroiderers.
49. Upholders.
50. Musicians.
51. Turners.
52. Basket-makers.
53. Glaziers.
54. Horners.
55. Farriers.
56. Paviors.
57. Loriners.
58. Apothecaries.
59. Shipwrights.
60. Spectacle-makers.
61. Clock-makers.
62. Glovers.
63. Comb-makers.
64. Felt-makers.
65. Framework-knitters.
66. Silk-throwsters.
67. Silk-men.
68. Pin-makers.
69. Needle-makers.
70. Gardeners.
71. Soap-makers.
72. Tin-plate-workers.
73. Wheel-wrights.
74. Distillers.
75. Hatband-makers.
76. Patten-makers.
77. Glass-sellers.
78. Tobacco-pipe-makers.
79. Coach and Coach-harness-makers.
80. Gun-makers.
81. Gold and Silver Wire-drawers.
82. Long Bowstring-makers.
83. Card-makers.
84. Fan-makers.
85. Wood-mongers.
86. Starch-makers.
87. Fishermen.
88. Parish-clerks.
89. Carmen.
90. Porters.
91. Watermen.

THE

THE MERCERS' COMPANY existed by prescription long previous to its regular incorporation, which did not take place till the year 1393, (17th of Richard the Second,) when the members received their charter under the title of 'the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of the Mercers of the City of London,' and were empowered to purchase lands in mortmain to the value of twenty pounds annually. The Company was affluent at that period, and its property has continued to accumulate to the present time, through the various grants, donations, trusts, &c. that have been progressively made to it, or otherwise committed to the guidance of its members. This increase, however, has not taken place without some intervention, particularly during a considerable part of the last century, when the Company's affairs were much involved, through the members having engaged about the end of the year 1698, in a scheme of granting annuities, for the benefit of widows, which had first been suggested by the Rev. William Asheton, D. D. Rector of Beckenham in Kent. For every 100l. subscribed, the Annuitants were to receive 30l. during life; yet that sum having been found too large, it was lowered at different times to 25l. 20l. and 15l. per annum, but the payments were still so numerous, that the Company was at last obliged to make a complete stop in November, 1745; its bond and other debts, then amounting to about 87,000l. besides an annual charge of 510l. 1s. on account of legacies for charitable purposes. Parliamentary aid was afterwards obtained for the relief of the Annuitants, and the rents and profits of the Company's estates having much increased, a new Act was passed in 1764, empowering the Company to consolidate their debts (which made together 146,687l. 5s. 3d.) into one sum, subject to 3l. *per cent* interest *per annum;* to issue new bonds of 100l. or under; and to draw a Lottery in their own Hall, for the progressive payment of the said bonds, whenever there was "a surples of 1000l. or upwards." Since that period, the Company's affairs have become so flourishing, partly through the great increase in the value of estates, and partly in consequence of the deaths of all the Annuitants, that "for many years they have gone

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MERCERS HALL, Cheapside.

HABERDASHERS HALL, Maiden Lane.

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on drawing their Lottery about a week before Christmas,---and since the year 1796, have annually paid off bonds amounting to the sum of 7000l. or more*." The present clear income of the Company, is stated to exceed 8000l. annually; and independent of this sum, it is said to distribute upwards of 3000l. every year, for purposes of benevolence and charity.

The Mercers are recorded to have been seated near the spot where their present Hall and Chapel stand, in Cheapside, as early as the period of the first introduction of their trade into this Kingdom, and their congregated dwellings were, in former ages, distinguished by the general appellation of *The Mercery*. About the centre of this cluster stood the house of Gilbert Becket, a citizen of London, and most probably a Mercer, who was father to the celebrated THOMAS BECKET†, Archbishop of Canterbury, and whose wife Matilda, the mother of Thomas, was, according to traditionary lore, a fair Saracen, the daughter of a Pagan Prince; to whose custody Gilbert had been assigned, after having been made prisoner when travelling in the Holy Land. The legend states, that after a confinement of a year and a half, he effected an escape by the assistance of Matilda, who had fallen in love with him, and been converted to Christianity by his persuasions. She next, urged on by unconquerable affection, deserted her friends, and followed him home to England, where finding him in London, she was married to him, and had issue *Thomas*, the Archbishop, (afterwards called Thomas of Acons, or Acres, the ancient Ptolemais, from the presumed birth-place of his mother,) and a daughter named Agnes. The latter was married to Thomas Fitz-Theobald de Heili, or Helles, who within a few years after the assassination of Becket, founded, in conjunction with his wife, a CHAPEL and HOSPITAL,

* Mal. *Lond. Red.* Vol. IV. p. 543.

† There does not appear to be any good authority for the practice pursued by modern writers of inserting the à between the Christian and Surname of the Beckets, and it is therefore disused above. The chief particulars of the Archbishop's life will be found in the Beauties of England, Vol. VII. under the account of Canterbury.

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HOSPITAL, upon the very spot where the dwelling of Becket's father had stood, and where the Archbishop himself was born. This foundation was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and 'St. Thomas the Martyr of Acres;' and de Heili and his wife gave to the Master and Brethren. "alle the londe and the appurtenances, that some tyme was Gilbert Bekitte's, father of the said Thomas the Martir, yn the which londe the said Martir was born---which londes be yn the parysh of St. Mary of Colchirch, yn London, to have and to hold, &c. yn free, pure, and perpetuall almes for evermore*." Henry the Third, in his fifty-second year, made a further grant to the Master and Brethren, who appear to have been about twelve in number, "the mesny [probably messuage] and the place, with the appurtenauncez, lieing betwene the chirche of St. Olave, and the place where Saint Thomas was born," for "ynlargeing theire said ground†." Afterwards, according to the record, "by infortune and misgovernaunce, the Hospital was long despoilled, and gret part of theire evidinces lost or destroied, to the full gret hurte of the said House or Hospitall, and like to be disheritaunce thereof hereafter‡." In this state of affairs, the Master and Brethren petitioned Parliament that they might be made a body corporate, to receive gifts, &c. and be released from pensions and corrodies: they were accordingly incorporated about the year 1444.

In 1472, James, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, obtained licence of the Commons for that, in reverence of Christ and his blessed Mother, 'and in worship of St. Thomas a Becket, from whose blood the Earl was descended, and for the veneration that his father had of the place where that Saint first drew his breath, and that his mother was buried within the church of St. Thomas of Acon,' he might grant to the Master of the Hospital and his successors, 'the manor and advowson of Hakcote, and a croft, called the Little Mill Ham, in the county of Bucks,' on condition of their providing and maintaining for ever two Priests, and to pray daily

* Rot. Parl. Vol. V. p. 75. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

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daily for the King, Queen, and himself, " and after their deaths for their souls, and for those of the Earl's father, mother, Lady Dame Johane Beauchamp, late Lady of Bergavenny, his grandmother, all his ancestors, and all Christian people*."

In the times of Catholic superstition, it was customary for the new Lord Mayor, on the afternoon of the day when sworn in at the Exchequer, to meet the Aldermen, and go from this Hospital in solemn procession to St. Paul's Cathedral, whence, having prayed for the soul of the Norman Bishop, William†, they proceeded to the grave and Chapel of Becket's parents in the Churchyard, and there prayed for 'all faithful souls departed;' after which they returned to the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acons, where the Mayor and Aldermen each offered 'one penny.'

On the suppression of this Hospital, in the thirtieth of Henry the Eighth, its annual expenditure was stated at 277l. 3s. 4d. About three years afterwards, it was granted, under the appellation of the 'College of Acon,' to the Mercers' Company, together with sundry premises in the neighbourhood, and was again " set open," says Stow, (who also states, that the Mercers purchased it through the means of Sir Richard Gresham) " on the eve of St. Michael, 1541. It is now called the Mercers' Chappel, and therein is kept a free *Grammar Schoole* as of olde time had been accustomed, and had been commanded by Parliament: there is also a preaching in the Italian tongue, to the Italians and others, on the Sundaies‡."

Many

* Mal. *Land. Rev.* Vol. IV. p. 539. † See before, p. 184.

‡ Sur. of Loud. p. 213, 214. It was in the Mercers' Chapel that *Marc Antonio de Dominis*, Archbishop of Spalatro, who came to England in the reign of James I. preached his first Sermon in 1617, in Italian, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a splendid audience, after his conversion to the Protestant Religion; and he also continued his discourses in the same place. The King gave him the Deanery of Windsor, the Mastership of the Savoy, and the rich living of West Ildesley in Berkshire; but he afterwards returned to Italy, where, notwithstanding his relapse to the Church of Rome, he

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Many persons of repute and eminence were buried in this Chapel, and numerous monuments were remaining in Stow's time, but more, he observes, had been defaced. Among them were those of *James Butler*, Earl of Ormond, Dame *Johan*, his Countess, temp. Henry the Sixth; *Thomas*, Earl of Ormond, ob. 1515;* and the following Lord Mayors, viz. *Stephen Cavendish*, 1362; *Sir Edmond Shaa*, 1482; *Sir William Browne*, 1513; *Sir William Butler*, 1515; *Sir Thomas Baldry*, 1523; *Sir John Allen*, 1525; *Sir Thomas Leigh*, 1558; *Sir Richard Mallory*, 1564; and *Sir George Bond*, 1587.

The Sir John Allen, above-mentioned, who for his singular wisdom, says Weever, was made a Privy Councillor to Henry the Eighth, was the founder of "a fayre and beautiful *Chapell*, arched over with stone, which *stood* before the great olde Chappell, towards the streete, and over which was the *Mercers' Hall*, a most curious piece of worke†." Sir John was at first interred in his own Chapel, but his tomb was afterwards removed into the other, and that which he had built "was made into shops, and letten out for rent, by his successors the Mercers‡." The entire pile was at length totally destroyed by the great Fire in 1666.

The present HALL and CHAPEL of the Mercers' Company, which occupy the site of the ancient Hospital, and were erected soon after the conflagration, are situated between the Old Jewry and

he was imprisoned by the Inquisition, and died in confinement in 1625, in the 64th year of his age. Granger says, we are indebted to him for Father Paul's excellent 'History of the Council of Trent,' the Manuscript of which he procured for Archbishop Abbot; and that he was the *first* that accounted for the phænomena of the Rainbow, in his book '*de Radiis Visus et Lucis.*'

* The Butlers by the marriage of Margaret, the youngest daughter of this Earl, with Sir William Boleyn, became the direct progenitors of Queen Anne Boleyn.

† Weever, Fun. Mon. p. 401—402, has preserved a few of the inscriptions that were in this Chapel, but they are of no particular importance.

‡ Stow's Sur. of Lond. p. 214.

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and Ironmonger-lane. The front in Cheapside, which from the contiguity of dwelling-houses, &c. is almost the only part of the exterior that can be seen, is very narrow; and it presents a somewhat whimsical arrangement of architectural parts and sculptured adornments, in which propriety of design has given place to fanciful substitutions. The Doorway exhibits an ornamented arch, with cherubim above, in the act of mantling the *Virgin's head*, which is the cognizance of the Company, and is displayed upon the key-stone of the arch. Above is a cornice with brackets, sustaining a small balcony, from the floor of which, on each side, rises an Ionic pilaster, supporting an entablature and open pediment of the same order: between the pilasters and the central window, are the figures of Faith and Hope, in niches; and from a third niche over the entablature, protrudes the statue of Charity, sitting, with her three children. Two wheel-like windows, each encircled by a wreath, are seen above, under the terminating cornice; and on the top of the building, are three pedestals, that once supported as many statues. This part of the edifice will probably be soon rebuilt, as it has been condemned by the Surveyors, and is in a state of complete decay.

The entrance most used is in Ironmonger-lane, where is a small court, with offices, &c. this leads to the principal building. The Hall itself is supported on strong stone columns, of the Doric order, with their proper entablature, the space below being open on one side, and forming an extensive piazza, at the eastern extremity of which is the *Chapel*, which is neatly pewed and wainscotted, and paved with black and white marble: here Divine Service is regularly performed on every Sunday from Advent to Easter. A high flight of stairs leads from the piazza to the *Hall*, which is a lofty apartment, very handsomely wainscotted, and ornamented with Ionic pilasters, and various carvings in compartments. Here above the screen is a good full length Portrait of *Benjamin Morland*, F. R. S. who died Master of St. Paul's School in the time of George the First. Portraits (half-length) of *Thomas*

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Thomas Papilion, Esq. *Rowland Wynne*, Esq.* and another in a rich Turkish dress, are also in this apartment. In the *Committee Room* is an interesting head of *Dean Colet*, Founder of St. Paul's School, and a half-length of *Sir Thomas Gresham*, both on pannel: the latter has been a good picture, but is much damaged through injudicious cleaning. In the *Ladies Chamber*, which is a small room over the entrance from Cheapside, and like the other apartments has a carved wainscotting, is an elegant mantle-piece, finely carved, with festoons of flowers, fruits, &c.

In this building, not only the ordinary business of the Company is transacted, but the meetings also of the *Gresham Committee* are regularly held. This Committee, to whom the important trusts attendant on the magnificent bounties of Sir Thomas Gresham are delegated, consists of four Aldermen (of whom the Lord Mayor for the time being is constantly one) and eight other members of the Corporation of London, with whom, for this purpose, are associated a select number of the Court of Assistants of the Mercers' Company.

In the long list of members whose names have been enrolled in this fraternity, are included various Sovereigns and other Princes, a great number of Nobility and Gentry, and upwards of eighty Lord Mayors. In regard to the latter, it was formerly the custom whenever any member of this Company was elected to the Civic Chair, to have in the inauguration procession to Westminster, a chariot, wherein was a *beautiful young Virgin*, magnificently arrayed in the most splendid and elegant productions of the *silk* and *orris* manufactures, her hair flowing in artless ringlets over her neck and shoulders, and on her head a crown, apparently of

* Mr. Papilion and Mr. Wynne, were both Masters of this Company; the former was admitted to the freedom in 1646, and became Master in September, 1698; he bequeathed 2000l. to the Company to relieve any of his family that might in future become indigent; the latter was admitted in 1632, and became Master in September 1675; he presented the Company with 500l. towards wainscotting the new Hall, after the Fire of London.

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of gold: she was seated in an open chariot, superbly ornamented; and when the festivities of the day were at an end, was presented with a liberal present, together with the rich attire that had adorned her in the procession. Such a pageant formed part of the *Show* in the year 1701, when Sir William Gore came into the important office of Lord Mayor, and is said to have been of remote origin; but whether displayed in allusion to the 'Blessed Virgin,' the chosen patroness of the Company, or to the 'Maiden's Head,' which constitutes the Company's arms, is not exactly known*.

This Company consists of a principal, and three other Wardens, a Court of Assistants, and a Livery, altogether forming a body of about 110 members; yet it is a singular fact, that there is not a single person of the profession which gives name to the Company, at present belonging to it. Besides having the general management of St. Paul's School†, this Company supports another seminary, called the MERCERS' SCHOOL, which originated in the *Petition* to Parliament of four benevolent Clergymen, in the 25th of Henry the Sixth, one of whom, *John Neel*, or *Neil*, was Master of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acres, and the same who petitioned for the incorporation of the Brethren, as mentioned above‡. This

* The Mercers' arms are Gules, a demi Virgin with her hair dishevelled, proper, crowned, Or, issuing out, and within an orle of clouds, proper.

† See before, p. 325.

‡ The *Petition* is curious, as will be seen by the following extracts from the Parliamentary Rolls preserved in the Tower. It commences by praying "The ful worthie and discrete Communes in this present Parliament assembled, to considre the grete nombre of *Gramer Scholes* that sometyme were in divers Parties of this Realme, beside those that were in London, and how few ben in these dayes, and the grete hurt that is caused of this not only in the spiritual Partie of the Chirche, where oftentyme it apperith to [too] openly in som Persones with grete shame, but also in the temporal Partie, to whom also it is full expedyent to have competent Congenitie for many causes, as to your Wisdomes apperith." It next states, that forasmuch as to the City of London was the common concourse of the land, some for lack of School Masters

was the grammar school noticed by Stow, it having been continued by the Mercers' Company after the purchase of the suppressed Hospital. For many years it was kept in the Old Jewry, but it has recently been removed to College Hill, Upper Thames-street. Twenty-five boys are here instructed in grammatical learning, &c. and the Master is allowed a dwelling, in addition to his annual salary. Among the learned men who have been masters of this school,

ters in their own country, to be informed of Grammar there; and some for the great Alms of Lords, Merchants, &c. to such "povere creatures as never should have been brought to so great Vertue and Connyng, as thei have, ne had hit ben by the Almes abovesaid," it was therefore "expedyent, that in London were a sufficient Number of *Scholes* and good *Enfourmers* in Grammer; and, not for the singular Avail for two or three Persones, grevously to hurt the Multitude of yong Peple of all this Land: For wher ther is grete Nombre of Lerners and few Teachers, and al the Lerners be compelled to go to the few Techers, and to noon others, the Maisters waxen riche in Monie, and the Lerners pouere in Connyng, as Experyence openly shuith agenst all Vertu and Ordre of Weal-Publick,—And these Premises," it continues "moven and sturen of grete Devocion and Pitee, Maistre WILLIAM LYCHEFIELD, Person of the Parish Chirch of *Alhallowen the More* in *London*, Maistre GILBERT, Person of Seint *Andrew*, *Holbourne*, in the Suburbs of the said Citee, Maistre JOHN COTE, Person of *St. Peter* in *Cornhull* of *London*, and JOHN NEEL, Maistre of the Hous or Hospital of Seint *Thomas* of *Acres*, and Person of *Colchirche* in London, to compleyne unto you, and for Remedie besechyn you to pray the Kyng our Soveraign Lord, that he, bi the Advys and Assent of the Lords Spirituel and Temporel in this present Parliament assembled, will provide, ordeyne, and graunt to the seid Maistre *William* and his successors, that they, in the seid Parish of *Alhallowen*, to the seid Maistre *Gilbert*, and his successors, that they, in the seid Perish of Seint *Andrew*, to the seid Mastre *John* and his Successors, that they, in the said Parish of Seint *Petre*, and to the seid *John*, Maistre of the seid Hospital, and his Successors, that they, within the foresaid Parrish of our *Ladie* of *Colchirche*, in the which the said House of St. Thomas is sette; may ordeyne, create, establish, and sett a Person sufficientlie lerned in Gramer, to hold and exercise a *Schole* in the same Science of Gramer, and it there to teche al that will learne." The King in his *Responsio*, willed that the Prayer of the Petitioners should be granted, "with the advice of their Ordinary, or of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the time being."

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Grocers Hall.

Fishmongers Hall.

Published by Vernor Hood & Sharpe Poultry. June 23 1811.

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school, was *Mr. William Baxter*, a native of Shropshire, nephew to the famous Richard Baxter, and author of the Dictionary of British Antiquities, published under the title of *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*. He resigned but a short time previous to his death, which occurred in May, 1723. Two other *Schools*, several *Alms-Houses*, and various *Lectures*, &c. in different parts of England, are also supported by this Company.

THE GROCERS' COMPANY was incorporated by Edward the Third, in the year 1345, under the title of 'The Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of the Grocery of the City of London.' The Grocers, however, under their primitive name of PEPPERERS, existed as a Company long previous to that period, perhaps for centuries; and so early as the seventeenth of Henry the Third, (anno 1232); a Pepperer, named Andrew Bockerell, was chosen to fill the Civic chair, and he retained his seat during six years. Several other Pepperers were afterwards advanced to the same dignity, previous to the year 1328, when John de Grantham, another member of this Company, was elected to the Prætorian office, under the then modern appellation of *Grocer**: since that

* Mr. William Ravenhill, who was Clerk to the Company, published an Account of this Fraternity in 1689, in which he "*modestly*," as he himself observes, refers the origin of the 'Society of Grocers,' to the Romans. His subjoined remarks are more to the purpose:—"The word *Grocers* was a term at first distinguishing Merchants of this society, in opposition to inferior retailers; for that they usually sold in *gross* quantities by great weights; and in some of our old books, the word signifies Merchants, that in their merchandizing dealt for the whole of any kind. But in after times the word *Grocery* became so extensive, that it can now hardly be restrained to the certain kinds of merchandises they have formerly dealt in: for they have been the most universal Merchants that traded abroad, and what they brought home, many artists of this society found out ways afterwards to change and alter the species, by mixture, confections, and compositions, of simple ingredients; by which means many and various ways of dealing and trading passed under the denomination of Groceries: and indeed this City and nation do in a great measure owe the improvement of navigation to Merchants, originally exercising

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period numerous members of this Company have been chosen to the same situation.

The Charter granted by Edward has been several times confirmed, with additional privileges; particularly by Henry the Sixth, and Charles the First. Among their other privileges was the management of the King's Beam, an office which appears to have been vested in the Company time immemorially; they "having had all along," says Ravenhill, the historian of the Company, "the naming of the Weight-master, and the naming, placing, removing, and governing, of the four Porters attending that office, all to be elected out of their own Company, and to be sworn at their own Hall; a privilege allowed to them, as their undoubted and inseparable right, as antient as that office itself used in the City. Amongst other privileges and antient usages of this Company, I find recorded, also, that even as high as Edward the Fourth's days, this Company had power of inspection and correction

cising this mystery, as trading into all foreign parts; from whence we have received either spices, drugs, fruits, gums, or other rich aromatic commodities. It is well known, that this Company hath bred the most eminent Merchants in this City, and this society hath been so prolific, that many other societies have been branched out from hence, as will be owned by the most worthy of them. The Merchants trading to the Levant seas, and other societies, have originally been the offspring of this society, as appears by ancient records of indentures of apprentices to members of this Company.—and it is not inconsistent, and may easily be drawn within compass of belief, that there was amongst the Romans a society agreeable to this of the Grocers, who were also Merchants trading into those seas, as may be collected from Persius, a poet who wrote in Rome in the time of Augustus, describing the various inclinations of men in their course of life. He instances them in these words, viz.

"*Mercibus hic Italis mutat sub sole recenti*
Rugosum piper, et pallentis grana cymini—
SAT. 5.

"With merchandizing this with care doth run
Unto the east, under the rising sun,
To fetch rough pepper, and pale cummin seeds
For Roman wares, &c."

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tion of abuses and irregularities of all persons in the City or Suburbs, any way using or exercising any kind of Grocery, and also to assay the weights they bought or sold by; and to take notice of all defaults, and to return to be fined at the discretion of this Fellowship; and to take 4d. of every person for their labour herein: which usage was always continued; and, in the charter renewed to the Company, the fifteenth of Charles the First, this privilege is confirmed and expressed to extend to the distance of three miles from the City, as well within the Liberties as without."

This Company has had the honour to enrol in its fraternity no fewer than five Monarchs, besides many Princes, Dukes, Earls, Viscounts, and Barons; and so highly was it once regarded in the estimation of the Citizens, that in the reign of Henry the Fourth, twelve Aldermen were members at the same time. It consists of a Master, three Wardens, fifty-two Assistants, and an extensive Livery: formerly the Master was always an Alderman. Stow says, that about the year 1429, this Company had licence to purchase lands to the value of 500 marks. The two most eminent freemen among the Grocers in modern times, were unquestionably the deservedly celebrated *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, and his not less famous, but more unfortunate son, the late *Right Hon. William Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

Though the Committee of Parliament fixed upon Grocers' Hall for their place of sitting at the commencement of the unhappy disputes with Charles the First, the Company itself was distinguished for its steady attachment to that unfortunate sovereign; and it was probably on this account that Charles the Second, his profligate successor, became a member of it, when he accepted the freedom of the City in the year 1675, after having been sumptuously banquetted in Guildhall at the inauguration feast of Sir Robert Viner, Goldsmith. In the two preceding years also, the Civic Dinner was honoured by the presence of this King; in 1673, when Sir Robert Hanson, Grocer, and in 1674, when Sir William Hooker, Grocer, took possession of the Mayoralty. On all these

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occasions, the general splendour of the processional Show,* was increased by much pageantry, &c. at the charge of the respective Companies in which the Lord Mayors had taken up their freedoms.

GROCERS' HALL is situated on the north-side of the Poultry, within an inclosed court, the entrance to which is along a narrow passage, now called Grocers' Alley†. The site of this edifice, with

* About this period it was particularly the custom to make a splendid, and generally a *scenic* display of pomp and pageantry in the procession from Westminster on Lord Mayor's Day, and various pamphlets are extant under the titles of '*London's Triumph*,' '*London's Resurrection to Joy and Triumph*,' '*London Triumphant, or the City in Jollity and Splendour*,' '*London in its Splendour*,' '*The Goldsmith's Jubilee, or London's Triumphs*,' &c. which describe these various spectacles at length. Additional particulars relating to the publications here mentioned, will be found in the *List of Books* annexed to the present Volume.

In a paper relating to this Company, intituled '*Monies* taken up by them, which was the ground of their debt,' are these entries:—

'To accommodate King Charles I. in his exigencies, 1640....	*L.* 4,500
'To subdue the Rebels, and relieve the Protestants in ..... Ireland, 1641	9,000
'Lent to the City, for which they had their Seal 1643.....	4,500
	L. 18,000

The greatest part of this sum seems to have been utterly lost by the Company, and for a considerable time, they were unable to discharge the debts they had contracted, in consequence of the Great Fire, which destroyed the Houses whereon they had purposed to levy fines on the expiration of the respective leases.'

† This passage, as appears from Stow, (Sur. of Lond. p. 212,) was anciently called '*Cony-hope Lane*,' from the sign of three Conies, [Rabbits] hanging over a Poulterer's stall at the Lane end; or more properly, as the historian has spelt it in the same page, '*Conningshop Lane*,' i. e. *Coney-shop Lane*. At the upper end of this Lane, or rather between it and the Poultry Compter, was the CHAPEL *of Corpus Christi*, and *St. Mary*, which was founded, says Stow, by a Citizen named 'Jonyrunnes,' in the reign of Edward the Third, and to which belonged a Guild or Fraternity, that 'might expend 20*l.* by the year.' This foundation was suppressed by Henry the Eighth, and afterward purchased

with the "building thereupon," was originally purchased by the Company, in the year 1411, for the sum of 320 marks, of the Baron, Robert Fitz-Walter, hereditary Castilian-Banneret, or Standard-bearer, to the City of London*. Here they immediately laid the foundation of a stately *Hall*, which being mostly destroyed by the Fire of London, was rebuilt "with a Gothic front and bow window:" the charge for the great parlour and court-room being defrayed by Sir John Cutler, who was four times Master of the Company. In that edifice were kept the accounts, and transacted the business, of the *Bank of England*, from the time of its incorporation till its removal into Threadneedle-street, in June 1734. The present Hall was built upon the ancient site between the years 1798 and 1802, from designs, by Mr. Leverton, Architect; and though not a splendid fabric, is well adapted to its inclosed situation. It is chiefly constructed of brick, but the basement-story is faced with stone, and the entrance-porch, is ornamented with rustic work. From the base rise ten pair of stone pilasters, of the Tuscan order, (between which range the principal windows) supporting an architrave and cornice of the same material; and on the summit, over the centre of the building, on a large pedestal, are the arms and supporters of the Company; having on each side a loaded Camel, in emblematical commemoration of the manner in which the commodities of the Grocers' trade were anciently conveyed over the Desarts of Arabia, &c. these are of considerable size, and as well as the arms, are composed of Coade's artificial stone.

purchased by one Hobson, a Haberdasher, who 'turned the Chapel into a fair warehouse, with shops towards the Street, and lodgings over them. Not any vestige of this building now remains.

* The Grocers' arms are argent, a chevron, gules, between nine cloves, sable, 4, 2, and 3; an esquire's helmet: crest, a loaded camel, passant, proper: the supporters, griffins: motto, 'God grant Grace.' The arms are antient; the helm and crest were granted by William Harvey, Clarencieux, in 1562; the supporters were granted by Thomas Benote, Clarencieux, temp. Henry VIII.

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Here are full length portraits of *Sir John Cutler*, Bart. mentioned above,* *Sir John Moore*, Lord Mayor, in 1682, and *Sir John Fleet*, Lord Mayor, in 1693, of tolerable execution. Various *Free-Schools*, *Alms-Houses*, *Exhibitions*, &c. are supported in different parts of England by this Company, whose expenditure

* *Sir John Cutler*, whom the rancid Satire of Pope, and the ironical representations of Pennant, have damned to immortality as a complete picture of avarice, has been *hardly* dealt with; and were the particulars of his life impartially detailed, his character would be seen to be very far removed from that disgustingly iniquitous, and unblushing parsimony which those writers have attributed to it. Pope speaking of the Duke of Buckingham in his Moral Essays, has thus stigmatized Sir John Cutler:—

His Grace's fate, sage Cutler could foresee,
And well, he thought, advis'd him, '*Live like me*;'
As well, his Grace replied, '*Like you, Sir John?*
That I can do, when all I have is gone.'

And again:—

Thy life more wretched, Cutler! was confess'd;
Arise, and tell me, was thy death more bless'd?
Cutler saw tenants break, and houses fall;
For very want he could not build a wall.
His only daughter in a stranger's power;
For very want he could not pay a dower.
A few gray hairs his rev'rend temples crown'd,
'Twas very want that sold them for two pound.
What e'en denied a cordial at his end,
Banish'd the doctor, and expell'd the friend?
What! but a want, which you perhaps think mad,
Yet numbers feel—the want of what he had!
Cutler and Brutus dying, both exclaim,
'Virtue and Wealth! what are you but a name!

That the Satires of Pope were not always sketched with the pencil of truth, is well known; and his high-charged pictures of the Duke of Chandos, Lady Mary Wortley Montague, Colonel Ducket, and others, who had the misfortune to be subjected to the unqualified bitterness of his irony, need not now be pointed out as examples of the fact. Whether he had any good authority for his character of Sir John Cutler is very doubtful. Certain it is, that Sir John had *two* daughters, one of whom was married to John Robertes, Earl of

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penditure for charitable purposes, is stated to amount to about 1000l. yearly.

About the middle of the last century, the garden of this Hall served as a public promenade for the Citizens; and a part of the ancient building which had been purchased from Lord Fitz-Walter, and had been his family mansion, was inhabited by the Beadle of the Company; but it has since given place to other erections.

THE DRAPERS' COMPANY, which was an ancient society or Guild, was first incorporated in 1439, by Henry the Sixth, under the style of 'The Master, Wardens, Brethren and Sisters of the Guild or Fraternity of the blessed Mary the Virgin, of the mystery of Drapers,' &c. and is governed by a Master, four Wardens, and a Court of Assistants. About 100 Lord Mayors are recorded to have been members of this respectable Community; and the names

of Radnor, and the other to Sir William Portman, Bart. alliances that could neither be said to degrade their rank, nor their family. That he was a benefactor to his Company might be *presumed*, even were it not evinced by the Records, from the circumstance of their having commemorated him both by a Portrait and a Statue: Pennant describes the latter as a good performance, by which he was 'represented standing, in a flowing wig, waved rather than curled, a laced cravat, and a furred gown, with the folds not ungraceful.' The same gentleman states that his kinsman and executor, *Edmund Boulter, Esq.* expended 7666l. on his funeral expences. If this be the fact, we may surely infer that his memory must have been *deserving* of some veneration, or such an enormous expenditure in those days (about 1699) would never have been incurred. The truth is, as a contemporary writer (Moser in Eur. Mag. for Dec. 1811,) has stated, that Sir John Cutler, knowing that frugality is the parent of generosity, chose to save in one way that he might spend in another. 'His house was in Old Palace Yard, Westminster; where many instances of his bounty to the poor, have been mentioned: and to shew that upon proper occasions he did not spare his money, we state from the record, and from the inscription which we have often seen, that he, at his sole charge in 1682, built the north gallery of the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster; and subscribed to many public charities.' He is said to have much promoted the civic subscriptions in favour of the Royal cause, for which and other services, he was created a Baronet by Charles the Second, in November, 1660.

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names of many other eminent persons are enrolled among its freemen.

Drapers' Hall, which is situated in Throgmorton-street, near its junction with Broad-street, was erected on the site of a large mansion, that had been built in the time of Henry the Eighth, "in the place of olde and small tenements," by Thomas Cromwell, "Mayster of the King's Jewel-house," and afterwards Earl of Essex.* Cromwell's House, which he had thus constructed for a City residence, was subsequently purchased by the Drapers, and made their "Common Hall;" till about the period of the Great Fire, which was here stopt in its progress northward. The present edifice was built on a part of the site of the ancient mansion; it consists of a spacious quadrangle, inclosing an open court, which has a broad piazza, or ambulatory, surrounding it, and exhibits a series of arches, enriched with Lion's heads and other sculptured ornaments. The buildings are chiefly of brick, but the front and entrance in Throgmorton-street are highly enriched with stone ornaments and pilasters, and have an air of much elegance. Over the gateway is a large sculpture of the Drapers'

* In erecting this mansion, Cromwell was guilty of an act of aggression, which Stow has detailed with much *naiveté*. "This House," says the historian, "being finished, and having some reasonable plot of ground left for a garden, he caused the pales of the gardens adjoining to the north part thereof on a sodaine to be taken downe, twenty-two foote to be measured forth right into the north of every man's ground, a line there to be drawne, a trench to be cast, a foundation laid, and a high bricke wall to be builded: my father had a garden there, he had also an house standing close to his wall; this house they *loosed from the ground, and carried on rowlers into my father's garden twenty-two feete, ere my father heard thereof*; no warning was given him, nor other aunswere, when he heard thereof, and spake to the surveighers of that worke, but that their maister, Sir Thomas, commanded them so to do: no man durst go to argue the matter, but each man lost his land; and my father paid his whole rent, which was 6s. and 8d. a year, for that half which was left; and so much of mine owne knowledge have I thought good to note, that the sodaine rising of some men, causeth them in some matters to forget themselves. *Sur. of Lond.* p. 140, Edit. 1597."

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Drapers' Arms, in which, however, the supporters are erroneously represented as Lions instead of Leopards.* A cornice and frieze, the latter displaying Lions' heads, Rams' heads, &c. in small circles, with various other architectural decorations are likewise exhibited on this front, which was newly built about thirty-six years ago, shortly after a disastrous fire that broke out in the vaults beneath the Hall, (which had been let as a storehouse) and destroyed a considerable part of the building, together with a number of houses in Austin-Friars.

The *Hall*, properly so called, occupies the eastern side of the quadrangle; the ascent being by an elegant stair-case, coved, highly embellished with stucco-work, gilding, &c. and in a niche, by a well-executed *Bust* of his present Majesty. The stately screen of this magnificent apartment is curiously decorated with carved pillars, pilasters, arches, &c. and the cieling is divided into numerous compartments, chiefly circular, displaying in the centre, a representation of Phaeton in his car, and round him the signs of the Zodiac, and various other enrichments. In the wainscotting is a neat recess, with shelves, whereon the Company's *Plate*, which, both for quantity and workmanship is of great value, is occasionally displayed. Over the Master's chair is a half-length portrait, on pannel, of *Henry Fitz-Alwyn, Fitz-Leofstan*, the first Mayor of London, whom the Drapers claim as a member of their own community, in contradiction to Stow, and other writers, who describe him as belonging to the Goldsmiths: this has the traditional merit of being a likeness, yet with very little probability, as its execution is at least between three and four centuries too modern for the time in which he lived. Above the screen, at the opposite end of the Hall, is a very masterly picture of the immortal NELSON, by Sir William Beechey, for which the Company, in

* The Drapers' arms are azure, three clouds proper, radiated, or, each surmounted by a triple crown, of the last, supported by Leopards; crest, a ram couchant: motto, 'Unto God only be the Honour and Glory.' The arms were given by Sir William Bruges, Knt. Garter, King at Arms; the crest and supporters by William Harvey, Clarencieux, in 1561.

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in veneration of the splendid talents, and 'never to be forgotten' services, of this great Admiral, gave the sum of four hundred guineas.

The *Court-Room* adjoins to the Hall, and forms the north side of the quadrangle. This also is wainscotted and fitted up with great elegance. Here are full-length paintings of all our *Sovereigns* from the time of William the Third, together with good portraits of *Mr. Smith*, (a three-quarter length) the late Solicitor to the Company, and father to the present one; *Sir William Boreman*, an Officer of the Board of Green Cloth, in the reigns of Charles the First and Second, who endowed a Free-School at Greenwich; and *Mr. Henry Dixon*, of Enfield, a former Master, who bequeathed lands for apprenticing boys, and rewarding them at the expiration of their servitude. In this apartment is likewise a large and interesting picture ascribed to Zuchero, which exhibits a Lady with light coloured hair, in a laced ruff, and a close black habit, richly decorated; in her left hand a small book; her right hand on the head of a little boy, apparently between three and four years of age, arrayed in a reddish coloured vest, of a closely wrought pattern, and holding a flower: both are standing in a matted room, and on a table near them is a glass with flowers. This painting was cleaned and copied by Spiridione Roma, and has been engraved by Bartolozzi. It is said to represent *Mary*, Queen of Scots, and *James* her son, (afterwards King of England) but if this be the fact, the figure of the Prince could not have been painted from the life,* since it is certain, as several writers have observed,

* For other notices concerning this picture, see Gent. Mag. Vol. XLVIII, pp. 585, 643; and Vol. XLIX. pp. 188, 231. Another objection has been made to the genuineness of this Picture on account of the hair being light-coloured, while on the contrary in most of the known portraits of the Queen, her hair is dark, or black: yet this objection is rendered nugatory by a passage in Haynes's State Papers (p. 511) which speaking of Mary, when a prisoner at Tutbury, says "She is a goodly personage; hath an alluring grace, a pretty Scottish speech, a searching wit, and great mildness. Her hair of itself is black; but Mr. Knolls told me, that *she wears hair of sundry colours.*"

served, that his unfortunate mother never saw her son after he was a twelvemonth old. Another fine picture in this room represents *Sir Joseph Sheldon*, (by Gerard Voest) Lord Mayor, in 1677, sitting. The fire-place is very handsome; and has over the centre, a small oblong compartment in white marble, finely sculptured in relief, with a representation of the Company receiving their Charter. The cieling is stuccoed, somewhat similarly to the Hall, with various subjects allusive to the Drapers' trade, and to the heraldic bearings of the Company. Both this apartment and the Hall were rebuilt after the Fire here, in 1774. From this room, a long gallery leads to the *Ladies' Chamber*, where balls, &c. are occasionally held: here above the mantle-piece is a large painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller, of the benevolent *Sir Robert Clayton*, Lord Mayor in 1680; he is pourtrayed in his official robes, seated near a table, on which is the mace, and leaning against it, the City sword: this picture is finely executed. A smaller portrait here represents *Mr. Thomas Bagshaw*, who died in 1794, having been Beadle to the Company forty years, and was thus honoured by the Court of Assistants for his faithful services. The windows overlook the private *Garden*, in the middle of which is a small bason of water, with a fountain and statue. The larger Garden which adjoins to this, is constantly opened to the public in fair weather, from morning till sun-set, excepting on Saturdays, Sundays, and the Company's festival days. This is a pleasant and extensive plot of ground, neatly laid out with gravelled walks, a grass plat, flowering shrubs, lime trees, pavillions, &c. Beneath the Ladies' Chamber is the *Record Room*, which is constructed with stone and iron, and made fire-proof, for the more effectual security of the Company's archives, books, plate, &c. Various *Free-Schools*, *Alms-Houses*, *Lectures*, and *Exhibitions*, (one of which is in the Arabic Language at Cambridge) are supported by this Company, whose expenditure for 'charitable uses,' is stated by Maitland to amount to about 4000l. annually.

THE FISHMONGERS' COMPANY, as it now exists, was formed by the junction of the two Companies of *Salt-Fishmongers*

and *Stock-Fishmongers*, and was incorporated by Henry the Eighth, by the name of 'The Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Fishmongers,' &c. in the year 1536. The Salt-Fishmongers had been first incorporated so early as 1433, the Stock-Fishmongers not till 1509; yet long before either of those dates, the Fishmongers were united as a Brotherhood, and from the great extent of their trade during the prevalence of the Catholic Religion, they had obtained great sway and affluence. In the reign of Edward the First, (anno. 1290,) they were fined 500 marks for being guilty of forestalling, contrary to the laws and constitutions of the City; and during the following century, so strong a prejudice had been excited against them from charges of fraudulent dealing, that in 1382, the Parliament enacted, that "no Fishmonger should for the future be admitted Mayor of this City:" this prohibition, however, was removed in the following year. About that time, there seems to have been a very strong prejudice existing against these traders, and in the Parliament then held, Nicholas Exton, speaker for the Fishmongers, particularly "prayed the King to receive him and the Company under the immediate Royal protection, lest they might receive corporeal hurt." This request originated from the various street tumults, wherein the Fishmongers were the objects of popular indignation and insult:* for a considerable period also, there were continual disputes between this Company and the Goldsmiths in regard to precedence.

Before the union of the two Companies we learn from Stow, that the Fishmongers had 'six several Halls'—"in Thames Street twain, in New Fish Street twain, and in Old Fish Street twain;"† but after their joint incorporation, they agreed to have but one, namely

* See more particulars of the Fishmongers in the preceding Volume, p. 651.

† Sur. of Lond. p. 169. This author says further, that 'this Company are now not able to shew the reason why they were joined in fellowship with the Goldsmiths, and do give their arms, &c.' The accuracy of this passage seems dubious, for the arms of the two Companies are different in every respect.

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namely "in the House given unto them by the Lord Fanhope, [Sir John Cornewell] in the parish of St. Michael, Crooked Lane." The fabric here mentioned was destroyed by the Fire of London, after which the present FISHMONGERS' HALL, was erected from the stately designs of Sir Christopher Wren, and it may be considered as a noble specimen of his intention to ornament the banks of the river Thames, had his entire plan for rebuilding the City been carried into effect. This Hall occupies an extensive plot of ground between Thames Street and the river, at a short distance from the north end of London Bridge, the chief front being towards the river, of which it commands a fine view. The entrance from Thames Street, is under a short passage, ornamented in front with sculptured pilasters, sustaining an open pediment, in which are the Company's arms, and on each side a dolphin. The buildings environ a square court, paved, with flat stones; the *Hall*, which forms the south side of the court, is a very spacious and lofty apartment, handsomely fitted up, with a capacious gallery going round the whole interior. At the upper end, behind the seat of the *Prime-warden*, is an ornamental niche, wherein is a full sized statue, carved in wood, and painted, of the brave *Sir William Walworth, Knt.* who was a member of this Company, and is represented in the dress of his time, his right hand grasping a *real* dagger, reputed to be the identical weapon with which he struck Wat Tyler from his horse. Below the niche are inscribed the following lines:--

Brave WALWORTH, Knight, Lord Mayor, yt slew
Rebellious *Tyler* in his alarmes,
The King therefore did give in lieu
The dagger to the Cytyes armes*.
In the 4th yeare of Richard II. Anno Domini, 1381.

There

* If there be not much poetry in this artless verse, there is at least some fiction; for the dagger as it is called, in the first quarter of the City arms, was certainly intended for the sword of St. Paul, the chosen patron of the Corporation, and was borne centuries previous to the age of Walworth, and his compatriots. Walpole says that the above statue was made by Edward Pierce, the Statuary and Architect, who died in 1698.

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There is an expression of strong muscular energy in the countenance of this statue, which was probably carved from some genuine likeness: the eyes are large, and the beard dark and bushy, with whiskers. Sir William was buried in the neighbouring Church of St. Michael: his funeral *Pall* which is curiously embroidered with gold, is yet carefully preserved by this Company; who have likewise an exact plan of the splendid *Show* that was exhibited at the time of his inauguration as Mayor, in 1380. In the windows at this end of the Hall, is some good painted glass, displaying the arms of different benefactors; and under the gallery are numerous shields properly emblazoned, of the arms of the successive Prime-Wardens.* In front of the gallery, also, is a very large and clever picture of the gallant Admiral, EARL ST. VINCENT, which was put up at the expense of the Company, in veneration of his great talents and services. It ought to be remarked that the great Nelson, and many other of the brave chieftains, whose heroism and ability have entwined the naval annals of this country with never-fading laurels, acquired the major part of their sea-education, under the command of this much esteemed Veteran.

In the *Court Room*, are full lengths of the Sovereigns *William the Third*, *Mary*, his consort, &c. and eight curious pictures apparently from the Dutch School, of various kinds of *Fish*, which are grouped with much skill, and excellently coloured. An apartment above, contains two other pictures, full lengths, of the late *Margrave*, and the present *Margravine, of Anspach*, executed in 1797, by Romney: these are in a loose, sketchy style, but of colouring, are regarded as good likenesses: the connection of the Margravine with the Company, arose from a ball, and the assembly

* The Fishmongers' arms are azure, three dolphins, naiant in pale, between two pair of Lucies saltirewise, proper, crowned, or; on a chief, gules, three couple of keys crossed, as the crowns; supported on the dexter side by a merman armed, and on the sinister a mermaid, holding a mirror in her left hand; creat, two arms sustaining a crown; the motto, 'All Worship be to God only.'

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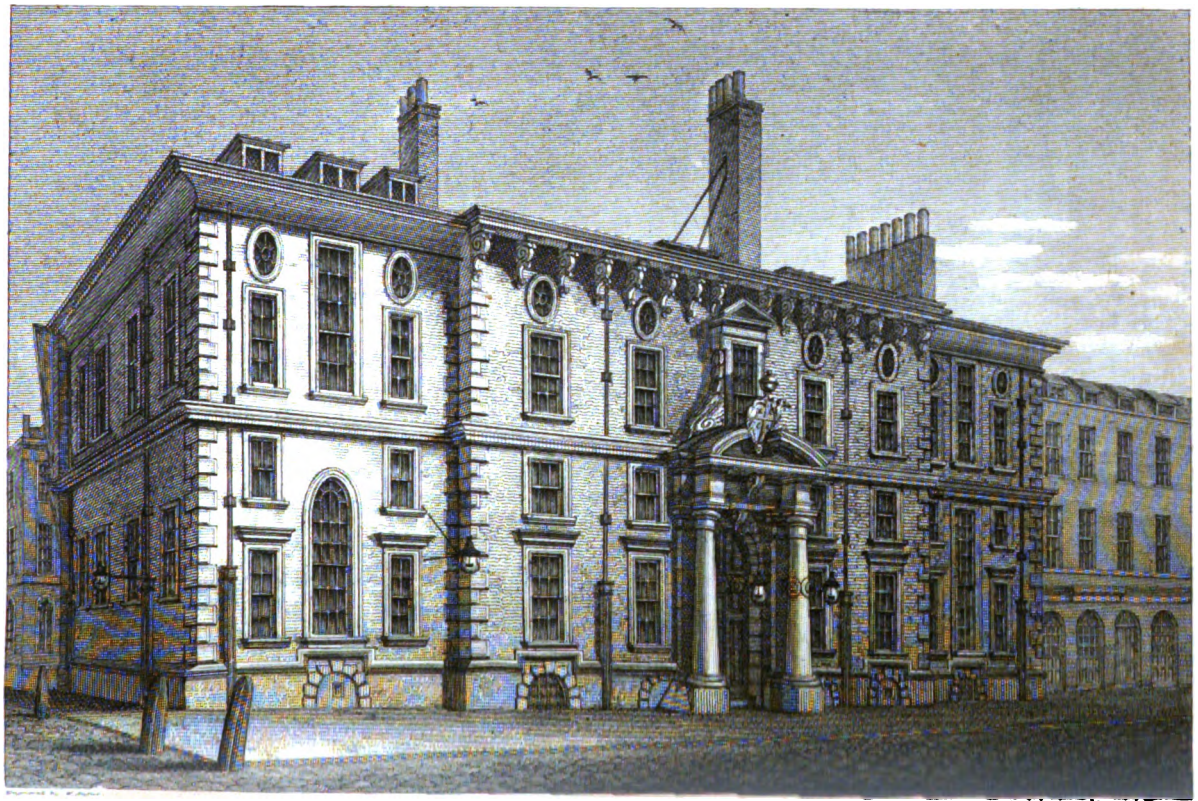

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assembly formerly held in the great Hall, under the patronage of this Lady. The chief part of this edifice, is of brick, but the front next the Thames, is ornamented with stone window cases, quoins, &c. the latter being wrought in rustic: and the summit of the building is terminated by a cornice, having a large central pediment, in the tympanum of which are the Royal arms of Charles the Second: from the wharf, is an ascent to the portal of the Hall, by a high flight of stone steps. This Company consists of a Prime, and five other Wardens, a Court of Assistants, and a Livery. About fifty Lord Mayors have been members of it, and many persons of eminent distinction are enrolled among its freemen. Their expenditure for benevolent purposes, as the support of *Alms-Houses, Hospitals, &c.* is stated to amount to about 800*l.* yearly. The Fishmongers were anciently accustomed to make a considerable display of pageantry, whenever a member of their Company was advanced to the Mayoralty.

THE GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY is of very remote institution, as already noticed, it having been fined as adulterine so early as the year 1180; yet it was not incorporated till 1327 when Edward the Third, in consideration of the sum of ten marks, granted the members his Letters Patent, under the title of 'The Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Goldsmiths,' &c. with power to purchase estates to the value of 20*l.* annually, for the support of their indigent and superannuated brethren. This grant was confirmed by Richard the Second, in 1394, on the further payment of twenty marks; and a further confirmation was granted in 1462, by Edward the Fourth, who also constituted this Company 'a body politic,' &c. By the last grant also, they were invested with the privilege of inspecting, trying, and regulating all gold and silver wares, not only within the City, but also in all other parts of the Kingdom; with the power of punishing all offenders in working adulterated gold and silver. This appears to have been an extension of a statute made in the twenty-third of Edward the First, which empowered the Warden to 'assay gold and

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silver manufactures;' which "shall be of good and true alloy, and be marked." The privileges of the Goldsmiths have since been confirmed under various Acts of Parliament, and many judicious enactments made to support their authority.

Fabian, under the fifty-third year of Henry the Third, anno 1239, gives the following relation of a violent affray between the Goldsmiths' and Taylors' Companies. "In this liii. yere in ye moneth of November fyll a varyaunce atwene the felysshyppes of *Goldsmythes* and *Taylloures* of London, whiche grewe to makynge of parties, so that wth the Goldsmythes take partie the felysshep or craft of ———, and with the Taylloures held ye craft of Stayners*; by meane of this moche people nyghtly gaderyd in the stretes in harneys, and at length, as it were prouyded, the thirde nyght of the sayd parties mette vpon the nombre of V.C. men on both sydes, and ran togyder, with such vyolence that some were slayne, and many wonded. Then outcry was made, so that ye shyreffes, with strengthe of other cōmors, came to the ryddynge of theym, and of theym toke certayne persones, and sent theym vnto dyvers prysons: and upon the morrowe, such serche was made, yt the moste of the chief causers of that fray were taken and put in warde.---Then vpon the Fryday folowynge saynt Katteryns daye, sessyons were kepte at Newgate by the the Mayre and Lawrence de Broke iustice and other: where xxx. of the sayd persones were arregned of felony, and xiii. of theym caste and hanged: and for one Godfrey de Beuyrley holpe to arme one of the sayde persones, he was also caste amonge the others †."

GOLDSMITHS' HALL, is an extensive and handsome pile, standing in Foster Lane, on the site of a more ancient Hall, which had been founded for the use of the Company in 1407, by Sir Drew Barentyne, Lord Mayor in 1398. That edifice which Stow calls "a proper house, but not large," was destroyed in the Great Fire, and the present fabric arose in its place within a few

* 'Cordewayners'. MS. of Fab. Chron. in the Brit. Mus.

† Fab. Chron. p. 364, Ellis's Edit. 1811.

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few years afterwards. The buildings are of brick, and surround a square court, paved; the front being ornamented with stone corners wrought in rustic, and a large arched entrance, which exhibits a high pediment, supported on Doric columns, and open at the top, to give room for a shield of the Company's arms.* The *Hall* itself, which is on the east side of the court, is a spacious and lofty apartment, paved with black and white marble, and most elegantly fitted up. The wainscotting is very handsome, and the ceiling and its appendages are richly stuccoed; an enormous flower adorning the centre, and the City and Goldsmiths' arms, with various decorations, appearing in its other compartments. A richly carved screen, with Composite pillars, pilasters, &c. a balustrade with vases, terminating in branches for lights, (between which are displayed the banners and flags used on public occasions,) and a beaufet of considerable size, with white and gold ornaments, form part of the embellishments of this splendid room.

The balustrade of the stair-case is elegantly carved, and the walls exhibit numerous reliefs of scrolls, flowers, and instruments of music. The *Court Room* is another richly wainscotted apartment, and the ceiling is loaded with embellishments, which give it a grand, though somewhat heavy effect. The chimney-piece is of statuary marble, and very sumptuous; the sides being adorned with male caryatides, and the whole enriched by scrolls, grapes, &c. Above it is a painting of St. Dunstan, the Patron saint of the Company, in conversation with the Holy Virgin, having in the back ground a representation of the Saint burning the Devil's nose, as described in the ancient le-

 gend,

* The Goldsmiths' arms, are quarterly, gules and azure, in the first and fourth, a Leopard's head, Or, in the second and third, a cup covered, between two buckles, all of the last: crest, a demy Goldsmith, in the dress of Elizabeth's reign, his right hand sustaining a pair of scales, his left hand holding an ingot; supporters, unicorns; motto, "To God only be all Glory." The crest and supporters, were granted by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux, in 1571.

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gend, when assailed by the fiend with temptation. Here, also, are the following portraits: *Sir Martin Bowes*, Goldsmith, Lord Mayor in 1545, said to be by Holbein; this gentleman presented his Company with an elegant Cup, (still carefully preserved among their plate,) which is thought to have been originally a Royal gift. *Sir Hugh Middleton, Bart.* the illustrious character, who expended his entire fortune in forwarding the noble design of supplying the Metropolis with water, by means of the New River. This is a fine picture, in the style of Vandyke. Sir Hugh is pourtrayed in a black habit, with his hand resting upon a shell: near him the words '*Fontes Fodinæ*' are inscribed. He bequeathed a share in the New River to this Company, for the benefit of its decayed members. *Sir Thomas Viner*, Goldsmith, Lord Mayor in 1653; and *Charles Hosier*, Esq. In the *Ball Room*, which is a large apartment, very handsomely decorated, is a portrait of his Majesty, *George the Third:* in another apartment is a large picture by Hudson, containing likenesses of six Lord Mayors, all Goldsmiths, namely, *Sir Henry Marshall*, Lord Mayor in 1745; *William Benn*, Esq. 1747; *John Blachford*, Esq. 1750; *Robert Alsop*, Esq. 1752; *Edmund Ironside*, Esq. and *Sir Thomas Rawlinson*, both in 1754, the former having died during his Mayoralty: these gentlemen are represented seated at a table, at which Blachford presides. The ASSAY OFFICE, belonging to the Goldsmiths' Company, adjoins to the Hall on the south side, the front entrance being in Cary Lane.

This affluent Community is governed by a Prime, and three other Wardens, and a numerous Court of Assistants. Its revenues are very considerable; and its disbursements for charitable purposes, are stated to amount to more than 1000l. annually: this sum is principally expended in the support of *Alms-houses* and *Free-schools*. Before the business of BANKING became a regular trade, about the middle of the seventeenth century, and also for many years afterwards, the *Goldsmiths* were the chief Bankers, their general opulence occasioning them to be regarded as

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as the most trust-worthy of the various classes of Tradesmen, that inhabited the City.

THE SKINNERS' COMPANY was incorporated by Edward the Third, in the year 1327, by the appellation of 'the Master and Wardens of the Guild or Fraternity of the body of Christ, of the Skinners of London.' At that period, the Skinners, who had long formed a very affluent and respectable class of citizens, were divided into two brotherhoods, one at St. Mary Spital, the other at St. Mary Bethlehem, but Richard the Second, in his eighteenth year, consolidated the two bodies, and Henry the Sixth, in 1438, confirmed their former grants, and directed that every person when admitted to the freedom of the Company, should in future be presented to the Lord Mayor; this custom is still observed.*

The Skinners' Company was particularly flourishing when sables, lucerns, and other rich furs were accustomed to be worn by the Monarchs, Nobility, and Gentry of England; but as commerce extended in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, other garments came into use, and the trade declined. Henry Lane, a correspondent of Hackluit, the collector of Voyages, in a Letter written in 1567, remarks, that it was "a great pity but it [the wearing of furs] should be renewed; especially in Courts and among Magistrates, not only for the restoring of an old worshipful Art and Company, but also because they are for our climate wholesome, delicate, grave, and comely, expressing dignity, comforting age, and of long continuance; and better with small cost

* In the times of Catholic superstition, it was customary for the Company of *Skinners*, to make a grand procession through the principal streets of the City on *Corpus Christi* day in the afternoon, in which, says Stow's Continuator, Munday, "were borne more than one hundred torches of wax (costly garnished, burning light,) and above two hundred Clerks and Priests in surplices and copes, singing: after which came the Sheriffs' servants, the Clerks of the Compters, Chaplains for the Sheriffs, the Mayor's Serjeants, the Councell of the City, the Mayor and Aldermen in scarlet, and then the Skinners in their best liveries." Stow's Sur. p. 248. Edit. 1633.

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to be preserved than those new silks, shags, and rags, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed."

The fur trade still continuing to decline, and particularly after the incorporation of the Eastland Merchants in 1579, who purchased skins from pedlars and others for the purpose of exportation, a controversy arose between those Merchants and the Skinners' Company, and the latter in consequence petitioned Queen Elizabeth, that "no pedlars or petty chapmen might gather or engross any skins or furs of the breed of England, but under licence of the Justices of the Peace; that those who were thus licensed should not make sale of any such skins or furs so gathered by them, except to some persons known to be of the trade of Skinners, and that all others might be restrained to buy and transport them." This petition was opposed by the Eastland Company, who, on the other hand, required, "to have free licence to buy, provide, and engross, in any place whatsoever, all manner of coney-skins, raw, or *tawed*, [that is, prepared as white leather, by artizans hence called *tawers*] and at their pleasure to transport them in any bottom whatsoever, unto any place, yielding the ordinary custom."

The claims of the Skinners' Company were also powerfully resisted by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who in the height of the dispute wrote a letter to the Lord Treasurer, urging, "that this practice of the Skinners, that all the skins of the breed of England must first pass through the hands and property of some freeman of that Company, before they should be transported, would be to the exceeding great prejudice, not only of the City, but of all other traders into foreign ports within the whole Realm," they therefore prayed, that the intended new Patent to the Skinners, which was then nearly ready to be signed by the Queen, "might be stayed, till such time as he should be better informed, touching the great inconvenience which would grow thereby, and for which purpose they had appointed a deputation of Aldermen and others to attend upon him." Through this application, the Petition of the Skinners' Company was rendered ineffectual, and the

fur

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fur trade got into fresh channels, as commercial rights were extended, and became better understood. These results lowered the influence of the Company, as a trading society, though in all other respects it is still one of the most respectable and affluent belonging to the City.

The original Skinners' Hall, which Stowe describes as "a very fayre house, sometime called Copped Hall," was purchased by the Company, together with several small tenements adjacent, as early as the reign of Henry the Third, and the Skinners afterwards held it under a licence of mortmain granted by that King. It was afterwards alienated, though by what means is uncertain; and in the nineteenth of Edward the Second, was possessed by Ralph de Cobham, the brav Kentish warrior, who having made Edward the Third his heir, was thus the cause of the Skinners being reinstated in their ancient purchase, which the Monarch restored about the time of the legal incorporation of the Company.

The present SKINNERS' HALL, is a very handsome and convenient structure, standing on Dowgate Hill, on the site of the ancient building. The front, which includes the dwelling of the Clerk, &c. has been new built within these twenty years, from designs by the late Mr. Jupp, architect, who also made considerable alterations in the other parts. It is a regular building of the Ionic order, the basement part, to the level of the first story, is of stone, and rusticated; from this rise six pilasters, sustaining an entablature and pediment, all of the same material, and in the tympanum are the Company's arms,* the supporters being represented as couchant, in order to adopt them the better to the spaces they occupy: the frieze is ornamented with festoons, and lion's heads. A small paved court separates this front from the more

* The Skinners' arms are ermines, on a chief, gules, three crowns, or, with caps, of the first; crest, a leopard couchant; supported on the dexter side by a leopard, and on the sinister by a fox; motto "To God only be all Glory." The arms are ancient; the crest and supporters were granted by William Harvey, Clarencieux, in 1561.

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ancient part of the fabric, which is of brick and neatly wrought. The *Hall*, is a light and elegant apartment, having an Ionic screen, and other adornments proper to that order; it is also handsomely fitted up in the modern style. In the *Court Room*, which was formerly wainscotted with the red, or 'odoriferous,' cedar, but is now altered, and neatly modernized, is a good head of *Sir Andrew Judde*, Knt. Lord Mayor in 1550, who was a native of Tunbridge, in Kent, and founded the free Grammar School there, of which the very able and learned Dr. Vicesimus Knox is now master. For the support of that establishment, Sir Andrew, on his death in 1558, directed by his will, that certain lands, of the annual value of 56l. 0s. 4d. and situated in the parishes of St. Pancras, All-Hallows, Gracechurch Street, St. Lawrence Pountney, St. Peter, and St. Helen, should be perpetually vested in the Company of Skinners; and in consequence of this bequest the members visit the School every year, in May, at a great expense, attended as the statutes direct, by some eminent Clergyman, whose business is to examine into the progress made by the different classes; after the examination, which is conducted with much ceremony, honorary rewards are distributed to the best scholars. The rental of the lands bequeathed by the founder, as well as of other estates given by his son-in-law, Sir Thomas Smith, Knt. to augment the endowments, and establish six exhibitions to the University, has been vastly increased, and is yet in a course of progressive augmentation; the land in St. Pancras parish, having been recently covered with houses to a considerable extent, under the direction, and principally at the charge of Mr. Burton, the architect, who, a few years ago, obtained a lease of the ground from the Company, for the purpose.*

The staircase displays some of the massy carving, and rich ornaments, in vogue at the time of the rebuilding of the Hall after the Great Fire, the expense of which is said to have been 18,000l.

* See before, p. 102. Some further particulars of the School at Tunbridge, may be seen under the description of Tunbridge, in Beauties of England, Vol. VIII.

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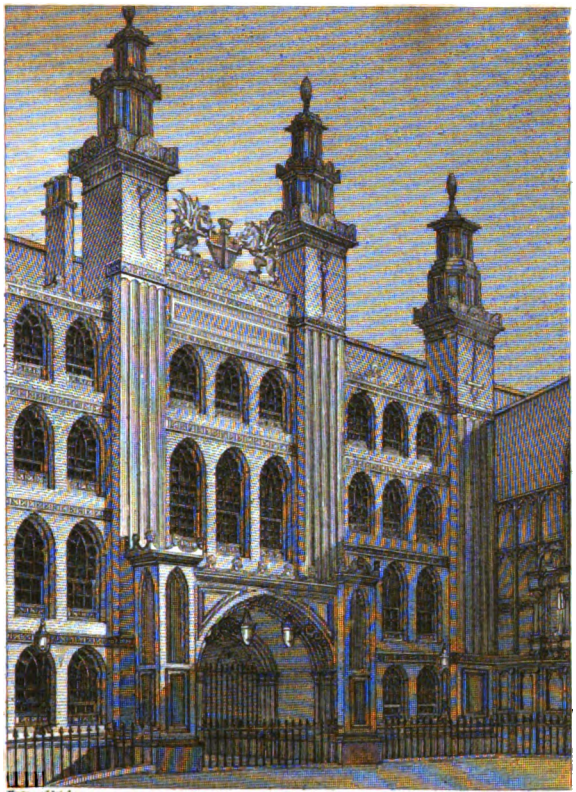

GUILD HALL,
London.

MERCHANT TAYLORS HALL,
London.

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18,000l. Before the erection of the Mansion-House, several Lord-Mayors resided here, during the year in which they held their office; and the general Courts of the New East India Company were also held in this structure, previously to the union of the two Companies in 1720.

The Skinners' Company is governed by a Master, four Wardens, and a Court of about sixty Assistants, whose disbursements for the support of *Schools, Alms-houses, Exhibitions, Lectures,* &c. amount to between one and two thousand pounds annually.

The COMPANY OF MERCHANT-TAYLORS, arose from an ancient Guild or Fraternity, dedicated to St. John Baptist, and called "time out of mind," says Stow, "of *Taylors* and *Linen Armourers* of London." This Guild received a confirmation from Edward the First, in his 28th year, with power to 'hold a feast, at Midsummer, to choose a master,' &c. At that period, and during a long succession of years, the master was denominated 'the Pilgrim,—as one that travelled for the whole Companie, and the foure Wardens were then called Purveyors of Alms.'* In the year 1466, a more regular incorporation of this Company took place, under the authority of the Letters Patent of Edward the Fourth, who was himself a freeman, as all his predecessors in the sovereignty had also been, from the time of Edward the Third. Henry the Seventh, who was likewise a member, re-incorporated the Company in the year 1503, by the new description of "The Master and Wardens of the Merchant Taylors, of the Fraternity of St. John Baptist," &c. This was done, according to the above Historian, "for that divers of that Fraternitie had beene great Marchants, and had frequented all sorts of marchandises into most partes of the world, to the honor of the King's realme, and to the great profit of his subjectes, and of his progenitors; and the men of the said mistirie, had, during the time aforesaid, exercised the buying and selling of all wares and marchandises, especially of woolen clothe, as well in grosse,

* Stow's Sur. p. 142.

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grosse, as by retayle, throughout all this realme of England, and chiefly within the said Citie."*

The members of this Company compose a very affluent body, consisting principally of Merchants, Mercers, Drapers, Taylors, &c. to the amount of upwards of 500 in number. They are governed by a Master, four Wardens, and about forty Assistants. In the long list of distinguished characters, who have been enrolled among the freemen of this most respectable Community, are included eleven Sovereigns, about as many Princes of the Blood Royal, thirteen Dukes, two Duchesses, nearly thirty Archbishops and Bishops, fifty Earls, five Countesses, between seventy and eighty Lords and Barons, upwards of twenty Lord Mayors, fifteen Abbots and Priors, many Knights, &c.

One of the most eminent *Taylors* (professionally so) on record, was *Sir John Hawkwood*, a native of Essex.† He was usually stiled 'Johannes Acutes,' and is stated, in the jocular language of Fuller, to have 'turned his needle into a sword, and his thimble into a shield.' During his apprenticeship to a taylor in the City, he was pressed, and sent into France; where, through his valour and talents, he was promoted from the station of a private soldier to the rank of Captain, and was also honoured with Knighthood. After the peace made in 1360, he became a leader among the military adventurers, or companies, called the 'Late-commers,' and having greatly signalized himself as commandant of the *White Bands*, his aid was solicited by Barnabas, (brother to the Duke of Milan,) who was then at war with the state of Mantua. In this new service, his prowess and gallantry gave so much satisfaction, that Barnabas bestowed on him his daughter in marriage, together with an estate of considerable value. He afterwards assisted Pope Gregory the Twelfth, in recovering the revolted Cities of Provence, and was rewarded with dominion

* Ibid. p. 143.

† He was the son of Gilbert de Hawkwood, a Tanner of Sible Hedingham; after his decease a Monument was erected in the Church there to his memory, by his executors.

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dominion over five towns. He next entered into the pay of the Florentines, and served them with such great success and fidelity, that on his decease, "after infinite victories obtained, and an incomparable renown amongst all men for the same," he was most honourably buried in the Great Church at Florence, where a noble Monument was raised to his memory, agreeably to a vote of the Senate.*" He died full of years and glory, in 1394. *Sir Ralph Blackwell*, who is stated to have been his fellow apprentice, and was also knighted for his valour by Edward the Third, was a member of this Company. Pennant says, "he foundod the Hall which bears his name," but this assertion appears to have been made without sufficient authority.† Among the other eminent persons, enrolled as Merchant Taylors, were the celebrated Historians, *Speed*, and *Stow*; both of whom, likewise, were Taylors by profession.

In Howe's edition of Stow's Annals, under the date 1607, is an account of a splendid entertainment given to James the First, his son Henry, and 'very many of the nobility, and other honourable personages,' by the Merchant Taylors, on the day of their annual feast, (July the 16th) and election of Master and Wardens. "Against their coming," says our author, "the Lord Mayor gave his attendance there, and at the Hall gate presented his Majestie with the sword, who presently gave it him againe, who bare it before the King into the upper large dining roome, anciently

* An Engraving of this monument has been made and published under the direction of the Society of Antiquaries.

† In the year 1668, Winstanley published a small octavo, now very scarce, with the following title: "*The Honour of the Merchant Taylors*; wherein is set forth the noble acts, valiant deeds, and heroic performances of Merchant Taylors in former ages; their honourable loves, and knightly adventures, their combating with foreign enemies, and glorious successes in honour of the English nation; together with their pious acts and large benevolences," &c. The head of Sir Ralph Blackwell, with his neck encircled by a gold chain, the City arms on the right, and those of the Merchant Taylors on the left, was prefixed.

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anciently called the King's Chamber," &c. Here the King was feasted "very royally and joyfully," and afterwards presented with a "purse of golde," by the Master; the "Clerk of the Hall," shewing him, at the same time, a Roll of all the dignified members that had ever belonged to this Company. The purse was "graciously received" by the Monarch, who in return stated, that "he was himself free of another Company, but that the Prince, his eldest son, should become a Merchant Taylor," and that "he would see, and be a witness, when the garland should be put on his head." Then all "descended into the Great Hall, where the Prince dined," and he also, having first been presented with a "purse of golde," and shewed the Roll, declared that he would become a freeman, "and therewithal commanded one of his Gentlemen, and the Clerk, to go to all the Lords there present, and require all of them that loved him, and were not free of other Companies, to be free of his Company;" this was of course acceded to, and James, during the whole ceremony, "stood in a new window, made for the purpose," and beheld all "with a gracious kingly aspect."*

MERCHANT TAYLORS' HALL, is situated in Threadneedle Street, on an extensive site, originally occupied by the "principal messuage" of a "worshipful gentleman," named Edmund Crepin, who in the year 1331, (sixth of Edward III.) 'for a certain sum of money,' made it over in trust for the Company, to John de Yakesley, the King's Pavillion-maker.† This messuage was afterwards called the *New Hall*, or *Taylors' Inn*, to distinguish it from the ancient Hall of the Company, which stood in Basing Lane.‡ The present structure was erected soon after the Fire of London, but was much altered and modernized between twenty and thirty years ago. It is a capacious, but irregular edifice of brick; the front exhibits a portal, consisting of an arched pediment, supported on columns of the Composite order, with

* Howe's Stow, p. 890, 891.

† Stow's Sur. p. 143. edit. 1597. ‡ Ibid. p. 189. edit. 1633.

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with an ornamental niche above: in the pediment are the Company's arms.* The *Hall* itself, is a spacious and handsome apartment, having at the lower end a stately screen of the Corinthian order, and in the upper part, a very large mahogany table, about thirty feet long. At the sides are numerous shields, emblazoned with the arms of various Masters of the Company; and behind the Master's seat, are inscribed in golden letters, the names of the different Sovereigns, Dukes, Earls, Lords Spiritual and Temporal, &c. who have been free of this Community. Here also are whole lengths of *William the Third*, *Queen Mary*, and other Sovereigns; and in the *Court Room*, are half lengths of *Henry the Eighth*, and *Charles the Second*, of tolerable execution, besides various other portraits, among which are those of *Sir Thomas White*, Lord Mayor in 1553, the estimable founder of St. John's College, Oxford, and *Sir Thomas Rowe*, Lord Mayor in 1568. In another apartment is a picture of '*Henry the Seventh*, presenting the charter of incorporation to the Company;' this was "painted and presented by [the late] Mr. Nathaniel Clarkson, of Islington, a member of the Court of Assistants."† The King is attended by Archbishop Warham; Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and Willoughby, Lord Brooke; and in the fore ground the Clerk of the Company is exhibiting a list of the Sovereigns enrolled among its freemen. Against the flats of the staircase are likewise portraits, whole lengths, of the following Lord-Mayors, all Merchant-Taylors, *Sir William Turner*, 1669; *Sir Patience Ward*, 1681; *Sir William Pritchard*, 1683; and *Sir John Salter*, 1741.

From

* The Merchant-Taylors' arms are argent, a tent royal, between two imperial mantles, gules, lined ermin; on a chief azure, a lion passant guardant, or: crest, a Holy Lamb in glory, proper; supporters, two Arabian Camels; motto '*Concordia parva res crescunt.*' The arms were granted by Sir Thomas Holme, Knt. Clarencieux, in the year 1480; the crest and supporters, by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux, in 1585.

† Pen. Lond. p. 379.

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From an early period this Hall has been chosen as the place of entertainment for large and honourable parties, as public corporations, &c. and the anniversary meeting of the great characters, both of church and state, who compose the 'Corporation for the Benefit of the Sons of the Clergy,' is always held here.

The Merchant Taylors' is a very affluent company, and its annual income for benevolent purposes, is said to exceed 3000l. a part of which is expended in the support of MERCHANT-TAYLORS' SCHOOL. This respectable seminary was founded in 1561, in a building called the *Manor of the Rose*, which had belonged to the Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham, and stood on the east side of Suffolk Lane, Thames Street: towards the purchase of this estate, 500l. had been previously given by Robert Hills, a former master of the Company. The old School having been burnt down in the Fire of London, the present fabric was erected on its site, about the year 1675: it is a large brick building, having a range of pilasters in front, and a small cloister running beneath the school and library within. According to the ancient statutes of this institution, '100 boys are to be taught here at five shillings per quarter, 50 at half a crown per quarter, and 100, or upwards, gratis; the quarterage to be given to the master, whose further salary was to be 10l. 6s. annually, and 30s. for water.' The scholars are instructed, by a master and three ushers, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, &c. and independently of several probationary general examinations, a grand public examination of the scholars of the upper form is made every year, on the 11th of June, by the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford, previously to the election for supplying the vacant fellowships in that establishment, which was intended, principally, by its generous founder, for the advancement of the youth educated in this school.

The first Master of this seminary was the learned *Richard Mulcaster*, who was afterwards appointed Head Master of St. Paul's School: and among the more eminent of his successors, were the following: *Nicholas Grey*, D. D. afterwards Provost of Eton College; *William Dugard*, who was committed to New-

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gate, by the Council of State, in February, 1649, for publishing 'Salmasius's Defence of King Charles the First;' *John Goad*, B. D. dismissed in 1681, after twenty years' service, in consequence of having written 'A Comment on the Church Catechism,' which gave great offence to some fanatical sectaries; *John Hartcliffe*, A. M. afterwards Canon of Windsor; *Matthew Shorting*, D. D. *Thomas Parsell*, B. D. who published '*Liturgia seu Liber Precum communium*,' &c. *George Stepney Townley*, A. M. afterwards Rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook; and the late worthy character, *Samuel Bishop*, A. M. whose 'Poems' have been collected and published in two volumes, for the benefit of his family, since his decease in November, 1795.

In the year 1698, an anniversary feast was commenced by the gentlemen who had received the rudiments of their education in this school; and with some alteration in the mode of celebrating it, has been continued till the present time. The collections made at these feasts, are appropriated to the support of *Exhibitions*, for the more intelligent of those scholars who have proved unsuccessful candidates for the Fellowships at St. John's. Many celebrated persons are recorded among the scholars on this foundation, as will be seen by the following list: *Dr. Richard Latewar*, Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth; *Dr. Matthew Gwinne*, Professor of Medicine in Gresham College; *Dr. John Rawlingson*, Chaplain to James the First; *Dr. John Buckeridge*, Bishop of Rochester; *Dr. Launcelot Andrews*, Bishop of Winchester; *Sir James Whitelocke*, Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; *Dr. John Speed*, an eminent Physician and Anatomist; *Dr. Rowland Searchfield*, Bishop of Bristol; *Dr. Robert Boyle*, Bishop of Waterford; *Dr. George Wilde*, Bishop of Londonderry; the *Lord Keeper Whitelocke*; *Dr. Joseph Henshaw*, Bishop of Peterborough; *Dr. Edward Bernard*, Savilian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Oxford; *Archbishop Juxon*; *Dr. More*, Bishop of Bath and Wells; *Sir William Dawes*, Archbishop of York; *Sir John Cook*, LL. D. Dean of the Arches; *Dr. John Thomas*, Bishop of Lincoln; *Dr. Joseph*

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seph Wilcocks, Bishop of Rochester, and *Dr. John Gilbert*, Archbishop of York.

THE HABERDASHERS' COMPANY, was first incorporated as a Brotherhood, or Guild, by Henry the Sixth, in the year 1447, under the appellation of "The Fraternity of St. Katherine the Virgin, of the Haberdashers of the City of London.' There was likewise a Fraternity of Haberdashers, which had made choice of St. Nicholas as its patron; and it seems probable that both Brotherhoods were united previously to the seventeenth of Henry the Seventh, when this Company received a confirmation by the title of "The Master and four Wardens of the Fraternity of the art or mystery of Haberdashers," &c. and its members were styled Merchant Haberdashers. The more ancient name of these traders was *Milainers*, an appellation derived from their dealing in merchandize chiefly imported from the City of Milan in Italy. They were also frequently called *Hurrers*, from dealing in hats and caps.

The business of the Haberdashers made but little progress in London, till after the extension of commerce in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the time of her immediate predecessor, the youthful Edward, there were scarcely more than a dozen of their shops in the whole City; yet within forty years after (about 1580) they had greatly increased, and we are told, though doubtless with some considerable exaggeration, that "the whole street from Westminster, was crowded with them." The Haberdashers of that age appear to have been dealers in most of the minor articles of foreign manufacture, and their shops made such a "gay appearance," that many persons were thence induced to commence an extravagant expenditure. "I marvel no man taketh heed to it," said a writer in Elizabeth's days, in reference to the circumstance just stated, "what number of trifles cometh hither from beyond the seas, that we might either clean spare, or else make them within our own realm; for which we either pay inestimable treasure every year, or else exchange substantial wares and necessaries for them, for the which we might receive great treasure."

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Among the wares which constituted a part of the *Haberdashery* of that period, were, 'daggers, swords, owches, broaches, aiglets, Spanish girdles, French cloths, Milan caps, glasses, painted cruises, dials, tables, cards, balls, puppets, ink-horns, tooth-picks, fine earthern pots, pins and points, hawk's bells, salt-cellars, spoons, knives, and tin dishes.' A yet more curious enumeration of goods vended by the "Milloners, or Haberdashers," who dwelt at the Royal Exchange, within two or three years after it had been built by Sir Thomas Gresham, occurs in Howe, who says, they "sould mouse-trappes, bird-cages, shooing-hornes, lanthorns, and Jew's trumpes."* The article *pins*, before the introduction of which, the English ladies are stated to have used points or skewers made of thorns, &c. to fasten their garments with, formed a very lucrative branch of trade; and 60,000l. annually, is said to have been paid for them to foreigners in the early years of Queen Elizabeth; yet long before the decease of that Princess, they were manufactured in great quantities in this country, and in the time of James the First, the English artizan "exceeded every foreign competitor in the production of this diminutive, though useful article of dress."

HABERDASHERS' HALL, is a respectable brick building, standing in Maiden Lane, Wood Street; the arms of the Company (but without the supporters) are exhibited on a small shield over the entrance.† The *Hall* is a lofty and spacious room, with a wainscotting twelve feet high, painted in white and blue. Over the screen at the lower end is a music gallery, and various glass chandeliers are suspended from the cieling; this apartment being appropriated, during the winter season, for City Balls and Assemblies.*

* Howe's Stow's Ann. p. 869.

† The Haberdashers' arms, are barry, nebulè of six, argent and azure, on a bend, a lion passant guardant: crest, two arms holding a laurel wreath; supported by Chamois goats: motto, 'Serve and Obey.' The crest and supporters were granted by Thomas Cooke, Clarencieux, in 1571.

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blies.* At the upper end are whole lengths of *George the First*, the gift of Sir Harcourt Masters, a Master of this Company; *George*, Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Second; *Caroline*, his consort; (the gift of Sir George Caswell, Knt. Master, and Sheriff, 1720) and *Prince Frederick*, when a youth, father to his present Majesty, George the Third. The cieling of the *Court Room* is divided into various compartments, in the style prevalent after the Great Fire; the centre displaying a large oval, and the Company's Arms, &c. being exhibited at each end. Here are the following portraits:—*William Adams, Esq.* founder of the Grammar School and Almshouses, at Newport, in Shropshire, a very fine whole length; *Thomas George Knapp, Esq.* the late Clerk and father to the present one, another well executed whole length, probably by Lawrence; *Augusta*, Princess Dowager of Wales, mother to George the Third, (given by Sir Joseph Hawkey in 1737,) whole length; *Sir Hugh Hammersley*, Knt. Lord Mayor, in 1627; *Mr. Thomas Aldersey*, Merchant, of Banbury, in Cheshire, who vested a considerable estate in the Company, for charitable uses, in the year 1594; *Mr. William Jones*, Merchant Adventurer, who bequeathed 18,000l. for benevolent

* These Meetings are under the general direction of Mr. Hoffman, the Confectioner, of Bishopsgate Street. The accidental fall of a picture, during the preparation for an Entertainment here, about thirty years ago, was the occasion of the celebrated *Spiridione Roma* being employed to clean and repair the paintings in this, and other City Halls. The picture fell on a man's head, and as Roma, in his imperfect English used to express it, '*the man passes through it.*' In this dilemma some of Mr. Hoffman's people recollected Roma (who was a native of Corfu,) their Countryman, and recommended him to repair the damage. This led to his acquaintance with the late Mr. Knapp, Clerk to the Company, and through him he was introduced to the Drapers', whose pictures he cleaned, and also painted for them the striking likeness of Mr. Bagshaw, the late Beadle, (see p. 365;) and another of less merit, of the late Clerk to the Drapers', John Smith, Esq. which has since given place to a more dignified and clever portrait of the same gentleman, by Gainsborough. Roma was subsequently employed to clean and repair the Pictures in Goldsmiths' Hall, Guildhall, and Fishmongers' Hall. See Gent. Mag. Vol. LIX. p. 701. 1789.

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lent purposes, mostly under the care of the Haberdashers; *Robert Aske, Esq.* the worthy founder of the Hospital at Hoxton; *Mr. Banks*, and two others, unknown. Over the fire-place is a small, but not ill-executed statue of *Henry the Eighth*; which, with a view of the present Haberdashers' Hospital at Hoxton, and a design for a new one by Mr. Colebach, Architect, complete the decorations of this apartment. Above the staircase is a good portrait of some celebrated *City Carver* at Festivals, name uncertain; and in the *Card Room* (over the chimney-piece) is a clever, though not graceful picture of the '*Wise Men's Offering*,' presented by Sir William Billers, Lord Mayor, in 1734, who purchased it for five guineas, in Moorfields; a whole length of *Micajah Perry, Esq.* Lord Mayor in 1739;* and a very fine half length of *Sir George Whitmore*, Lord Mayor in 1631, which was presented to this Company, about a twelvemonth ago, by some of his descendants: he is represented in a red gown, with a quilled ruff, and a gold chain.

Various *Free-schools, Alms-houses, Lectures, and Exhibitions*, are supported from the funds of this affluent Community, whose charitable disbursements are stated to amount to 3,500l. per annum. The Company is governed by a Master, four Wardens, and a Court of about twenty Assistants: the Livery amounts to between three and four hundred persons.

THE SALTERS' COMPANY, though of considerable antiquity, as appears from a grant of a Livery made to it by Richard the Second, in the year 1394, was first regularly incorporated by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1558, under the appellation of 'The Master, Wardens, and Commonalty, of the Art, or Mystery, of Salters, of London.' The Members are "usually termed Dry-Salters, and deal in logwood, cochineal, pot-ashes, and in short, in almost every chemical preparation.† They are

* It was the fall of this picture that in all probability, led to the employment of Roma, as mentioned in the preceding note, the traces of a long rent across the middle of it, being plainly visible.

† Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. IV. p. 623.

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governed by a Master, two Wardens, and a Court of Assistants.

The ancient Hall of this Company, which stood in Bread Street, was destroyed by fire in the year 1539, as was also the "re-edified" building, in the conflagration of 1666. The present SALTERS' HALL, stands in Oxford Court, St. Swithin's Lane, upon the site of the mansion and gardens of the Prior of Tortington, which after the dissolution of Religious Houses, were granted by Henry the Eighth to John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and thence-forward obtained the name of *Oxford Place*. Edward, grandson to John de Vere, dissipated his great estates from motives of pique, and indignant feeling, against Cecil, Lord Burleigh, whose daughter he had married, and Oxford Place was sold to Sir John Hart, who kept his Mayoralty here in 1589. The eldest daughter of that gentleman, married Sir George Bolles, Lord Mayor in 1617, and from their descendants the premises were purchased by the Salters' Company. All the ancient buildings having suffered in the Great Fire, the present Hall was erected in their stead. It is a small structure of brick, the entrance opening within an arcade of three arches, springing from square pillars, fluted. The only portraits here, are whole lengths of *Charles the First*, *Mr. John Freland*, the first Master of the Company, *Mr. William Robson*, who gave the Salters 5000l. for charitable uses, and *Mr. Charpentier*, the Painter; the latter was executed by the artist himself, and is a good picture. Behind the Hall is a large garden, and adjoining to it, is *Salters' Hall Meeting House*, which is rented of the Company, by a congregation of Protestant Dissenters, whose chief pastor is the Rev. Hugh Worthington, an eminent and eloquent preacher.

The benevolent distributions made by this Company, are stated to amount to between seven and eight hundred pounds annually. This sum is partly appropriated to the support of six *Alms-houses*, for as many decayed freemen, in Salters' Rents, Bow Lane; and twelve *Alms-houses* in Monkwell Street, for widows

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and daughters of Salters: the latter were originally founded by Sir Ambrose Nicholas, an Alderman of London, in the year 1578.*

THE IRONMONGERS' COMPANY appears to have been a very ancient Fraternity, although not regularly incorporated till 1464, when Edward the Fourth granted the Members his Letters Patent, under the style of 'The Master, and Keepers, or Wardens, and Commonalty, of the Art, or Mystery, of the Ironmongers, of London;' and confirmations were subsequently granted by Philip and Mary, in 1558, by Queen Elizabeth, in 1560, and by James the Second, in 1685.

The Ironmongers were originally called *Ferones*, and by that appellation they were complained of to the Mayor, Elyas Russel,

* In the Court Room, framed and glazed, is the following curious '*Bill of Fare*,' for 'fifty People' of the Company of Salters, A. D. 1506.

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
36 Chickens	0	4	5
1 Swan and 4 Geese	0	7	0
9 Rabbits	0	1	4
2 Rumps of Beef-tails	0	0	2
6 Quails	0	1	6
2 oz. Pepper	0	0	2
2 oz. Cloves and Mace	0	0	4
1½ ounce Saffron	0	0	6
3lbs. Sugar	0	0	6
2lbs. Raisins	0	0	4
1lb. Dates	0	0	4
1½lb. Comfits	0	0	2
Half hund. Eggs	0	0	2½
4 Gallons of Curds	0	0	4
1 do. Gooseberries	0	0	2
Bread	0	1	1
One Kilderkin of Ale	0	2	3
Herbs	0	1	0
2 Dishes of Butter	0	0	4
4 Breasts of Veal	0	1	5
Bacon	0	0	6
Quar. load of Coals	0	0	4
Faggots	0	0	2
3½Gallons of Gascoigne wine	0	2	4
One Bottle Muscovadine	0	0	8
Cherries and Tarts	0	0	6
Verjuice and Vinegar	0	0	2
Paid the Cook	0	3	4
Perfume	0	0	2
One Bushel and a half of Meal	0	0	8
Water	0	0	3
Garnishing the vessels	0	0	3
	L. 1	13	2½

The Salters' arms, are per chevron, azure and gules, three covered salts, or, sprinkling, argent; supported by leopards, each gorged with a crown, chained; crest, a man's hand holding a salt, as the former: motto, '*Sal sapit Omnia.*' The arms were granted in the 20th year of Henry the Eighth, by Thomas Benolt, Clarenceux, the crest and supporters by Robert Cooke, Clarenceux in 1587.

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as early as the year 1300.* During the middle ages, they seem to have united the professions, both of Merchant and Factor, "for while they had large warehouses and yards, whence they exported and sold bar iron, and iron rods, they had also shops, wherein they displayed abundance of manufactured articles, which they purchased of the workmen in Town and Country, "and of which they afterwards became the general retailers. The display of manufactured steel, and iron goods, now made in the shops and warehouses of the Ironmongers, is very splendid, and bespeaks considerable affluence, as well as great ingenuity and science.

IRONMONGERS' HALL is a stately, modern edifice, standing on the north side of Fenchurch Street; and is either the third or fourth that has been raised on the same site.† The original Hall was rebuilt in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The present fabric was constructed from designs by Thomas Holden, Architect, whose name, with the date, 1748, appears upon the front, which is of Portland stone, and of elegant architecture: the interior buildings are principally of brick. The basement story is wrought in rustic, and has in the centre a large arched doorway, with a window on each side; and in each of the retiring parts, or wings, are two other windows. The super-structure is enriched by four pilasters of the Ionic order, sustaining a corresponding entablature and pediment. In the central, and largest inter-columniation, over the entrance, is a spacious Venetian window, and above it, a circular one within an arch: the spaces between the outer pilasters, contain smaller windows, (with angular pediments) and over them are circular ones. In the tympanum of the pediment, are the Company's arms,‡ having instead

* See preceding Volume, p. 617.

† In the Churchwardens accounts for the parish of Alhallows Staining, in which the Hall is situated, is the following entry. "Paid for a kylcherkin of good ale, weche was drunkni, in Yrynmongers' Hall, all charga born 12s. 2d."

‡ The Ironmongers' arms, are argent, on a chevron gules, three shackles, or, manacles, or, between three steel gads, azure: crest, two scaly lizards combatant, proper, each gorged with a collar, or, the collars chained together: supported by lizards'

IRONMONGER'S HALL,
Fenchurch Street.

DRAPER'S HALL,
Throgmorton Street.

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instead of supporters, a large cornucopia on each side, in bold relievo, pouring out fruits and flowers: the whole building is terminated by a neat balustrade, crowned with vases. The vestibule is spacious, and divided into avenues by six columns of the Tuscan order: on the right, is the entrance to the *Court Room*, which is a handsome apartment, having a small niche in the north wall, containing a well carved statue of *Edward the Fourth*, in armour, with a regal mantle, and crowned; below it are two antique Chairs, loaded with carvings of the Company's arms[t] here also are portraits of *Nicholas Leate, Esq.* Master in 1626-7, and *Mr. John Child*, senior Warden in 1782; the latter is a clever picture: the pannel over the chimney-piece, exhibits a tolerable painting of 'Westminster Bridge.' In the *With-drawing Room*, to which there is an approach by a very handsome oval geometrical staircase, is a small statue of *Sir Robert Jeffrey*, Knt. Lord Mayor, in 1686, the benevolent founder of the 'Ironmongers' Almshouses,' or 'Hospital' in Kingsland Road: the chimney-piece in this room is particularly elegant.

The *Hall*, or *State Room*, is a spacious and magnificent apartment, the main stairs leading to it from the vestibule. The entrance opens by folding doors, and is decorated with Ionic ornaments, a divided pediment, and a good bust. It contains two fireplaces; one on the north side, and the other at the east end, beneath the orchestra, which is supported by two pillars: on the north side also, is a grand beaufet, adorned with Ionic columns and pilasters. Behind the chairs of the Master and Wardens, which stand against the west wall, are some extremely rich carvings, in the midst of which, are the Royal arms of England. The whole room, above the windows, is encompassed by a cornice, from which rises 'a semi-oval cieling, richly stuccoed with the Company's arms, satyrs' heads, cornucopias, palm-branches, flowers, scrolls, and three large pannels,' enclosed by elaborate and elegant

 borders.

lizards, same as the crest; motto, 'God is our Strength.' The arms were granted in 1455, by Lancaster, King at Arms; the supporters by William Harvey, Clarencieux, King at Arms, in September, 1560.

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borders. The cieling is coloured of a French grey, but the ornaments are white, as are the walls, and the carvings are gilt. Here are several portraits, most of which are inscribed with the words 'a good,' or a 'worthy benefactor.' It is probable, as Mr. Malcolm has observed, that the 'oldest' were painted by Edward Cocke, as the Wardens in the year 1640 "agreed to pay him 3l. 5s. each, for five pictures *more* of benefactors."*

In a window on the north side, is a curious small whole length, in painted glass, of *Sir Christopher Draper*, Lord Mayor in 1586, who is depicted standing in a niche, with a roll of paper in one hand, and his gloves in the other: the colours, with the exception of the face, are clear and bright. This gentleman gave the ground on which the Hall, and two adjoining houses now stand, to the Company. The other portraits are as follow:—*Mrs. Margaret Dane*, kneeling before a book, in a scarlet robe, black cap, ruff, &c. she bequeathed 2000l. to the Company for charitable uses, in May 1579; *Mr. Thomas Hallwood*, who gave 400l. for the maintenance of four poor Scholars at the University; *Mr. Thomas Lewin*,† whose bequest of 'a great Messuage and garden,'

* Lond. Red. Vol. II. p. 36.

† This gentleman by will, in 1545, gave his great messuage and garden, in the parish of St. Nicholas Olave, and fourteen houses in the same parish, to the Company, for ever, on condition that they should provide a Priest, to sing masses four days in the week, and to preach four sermons in the Church of St. Nicholas Olave, yearly; for this he was to have 10l. as a salary, and the best of five houses in the church-yard, for his residence. He was also to have a gown, whenever the Company gave their liveries; for which he was to say grace at all the festivals of the Company, who were to procure, at their own expense, the bread, wine, and wax, necessary for the celebration of the two hundred and eight masses, annually. The remaining four houses, adjoining to the Priest's (or others on Bread Street Hill) were to be appropriated to as many poor men, rent free, with annual pensions of 6s. 8d. each. The Company were also to observe an *Obit* for him and others in St. Nicholas Church, which was to consist of "a whole *Dirge*, over even, and mass of *Requiem*, on the morrow, by note;" expending at those times 2l. 13s. 4d. in bread, cheese, and money for the poor. He also directed them to provide one lamp, to burn before the Holy

garden,' in 1545, had almost induced the Company to convert his mansion into a new Hall; *Mr. Ralph Hawdson*, a former Clerk to the Company, who, in January 1653, bequeathed the rents of five messuages, in the parish of St. Olave, Hart Street, of the then annual value of 71l. 10s. for charitable purposes The estate thus bequeathed, has been recently let to the East India Company, (anno 1808) at the yearly rent of 300l. for the term of 378 years, renewable every twenty-one years, on payment of a fine of 500l. at each renewal. *Sir Robert Jeffrey*, whose statue was before mentioned, in his Alderman's robes, a laced band, large wig, square-toed shoes; and besides a gift to the Company of 200l. and two silver flagons of thirty pounds each, this gentleman bequeathed to them in trust, a very considerable property, for benevolent and pious uses. *Sir William Denham*, Alderman, in a ruff, and civic robes. *Sir James Cambell*, ditto, with a white beard and hair: this gentleman bequeathed 1000l. to be lent in portions of 100l. to ten young men, free of the Company, for three years, at 4 *per cent* per annum, the interest to be given to the Sheriff, for relieving 'honest poor freemen of London from confinement, not exceeding five pounds to each.' *Thomas Michell*, who in April, 1527, gave to the Company, a 'croft of land' estimated at ten acres, situated in Old Street, (where St. Luke's Church, and Ironmongers' Row, now stand) together with a Messuage called the Ship, in the Parish of St. Mildred in the Poultry: he is represented in a small ruff, black gown, and chesnut-coloured hair. *Mr. Rowland Heylyn; Thomas Thorold, Esq.; Mr. Thomas Betton*, who devised a considerable property to the Company, for various benevolent purposes, but particularly for the ransoming of British subjects, captives in Barbary or Turkey: this is a fine and well-coloured picture. ADMIRAL LORD VISCOUNT HOOD, by Gainsborough;

Holy and Blessed Sacrament of the altar, as far as 40s. per annum would admit; and to honour the same, two tapers upon the altar, to the extent of 53s. 4d. per annum; and to pay five pounds per annum to two poor Scholars at Oxford or Cambridge. See *Mal. Lond. Red.* Vol. II. p. 33.

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Gainsborough; given by his Lordship on his admission into this Company, after having been presented with the freedom of the City for his meritorious services. This picture is much esteemed for the excellence of the likeness: his Lordship is represented in an Admiral's uniform, resting on the fluke of an anchor, with a telescope in his hand.

The affairs of this Company are conducted by a Master and two Wardens, assisted by a Court of the whole Livery, who are about 100 in number. Besides the benefactions mentioned above, numerous others have been made in trust by various donors, for purposes of beneficence and public good: the entire revenue of the Company, amounts to about 4000*l.* annually.

In the *Court Books* of this Company, which have been preserved from the time of Queen Mary, are many curious entries respecting supplies for the exigencies of state; as well as various particulars regarding the providing of men, arms, and ammunition; the purchase of corn for the City; the ceremonies and expenses attendant on processional pageants, &c. Among the former, is the following singular *Precept*, directed to the Company "*By the Maior.*"—

"Theis are to will, and comannd youe, that forthw^th^ youe prepare in a redynes, the sume of LX*£*. of the stocke of youre halle, (and if youe have not so moche in store, then youe shall borrow the same at ynterest, at th' only costs and lossis of yor hall;) to be lent to the Queen's Matie for 1 wholl yeare; not in any wise cawsyng any brother of yor companye to bear any pticular charge, or losse, towardes the same, but onlye of the rents and stocke of yor said hall; wch some of LX*£*. you shall pay uppon Twysdaye next comyng in the mornyng, at Mr. Stonley's howse in Aldarsgate Strete; and thear you shall receive an aquyttaunce for the same in forme appoynted. Fayle youe not herof as youe will awnswer for the contrarye at your pyll. Yeoven at the Gwyldhall of London, the XXVII of August, 1575."

In 1577, another Precept was received from the Mayor, requir-

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ing the Company to provide "100 able men, apprentices, journeymen, or others free of the City, of agilitie and honest behavr, between the ages of nineteen and forty, to be trained for, "harquebussets," every one of them "havyng a murryan, a sworde, and a dagger, and a caliver, with sufficient furniture for the same; and one halfe pound of powder, besides toche powder: 25 of the number, householders, and free of the Company to muster in their doublets, hose, and jerkins, in 13 days."

In November, 1578, the Company were required to purchase 416 quarters of wheat, to be deposited as their quota for the ensuing year, in the *Bridge House*, where the City collectively, was to store up 20,000 quarters, at 20s. *per* quarter. In the following June, the Company were directed to carry into the Southwark market, '15 quarters of meal *per* week,' till all their old corn was sold at the market price; their stock to be renewed with wheat of the growth of that year. In the autumn of 1580, when wheat was dear, the Company were commanded to take on three days, weekly '8 quarters of corn, well ground' to the Market of Queenhithe, and "to retail it at 3s. *per* bushel, and not more, at their peril."

In the year 1589, the Queen in Council, ordered, that the City should furnish twenty last of gunpowder, to be ready for emergencies; in consequence of which this Company were enjoined to keep 1920lb.

The accounts of the Pageantry are too long for extract: in 1628, a Precept from the Mayor, informed the Company, that they were assessed 77l. as their proportion of the sum of 4300l. which had been expended in *Pageants*, when the King passed through the City.*

THE VINTNERS' COMPANY was originally composed of the two bodies denominated *Vintinarij*, and *Tabernarij*; the former being the importers and wholesale dealers in wine, and the latter the retailers, who kept taverns and cellars in different parts of

* See Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. II. pp. 42—49. whence the above particulars have been derived.

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of the City, for selling it in small quantities, "These Vintners," says Stow, "as well Englishmen as strangers borne, were of old time great Bourdeaux Merchants of Gascoyne and French wines;"* and they were hence denominated the 'Merchant Wine-tunners of Gascoyne.' We learn from the same authority, that in the reign of Edward the Third, 'Gascoigne' wines were sold in London "not above iiij pence," and Rhenish wines "not above sixe pence the gallon."† The above Sovereign empowered the 'Merchant Vintners' to carry on an exclusive importation trade for Wine, from Gascony, in the year 1365; yet it was not till the fifteenth of Henry the Sixth, anno 1437, that "the successors of those Vintners, and Wine-drawers, that retailed by the gallons, pottell, quart, and pynte,"‡ were incorporated by the appellation of 'The Master, Wardens, and Freemen, and Commonalty, of the Mystery of Vintners of the City of London.' All the freemen of this Company have the privilege of retailing wine without a licence.

In the year 1637, a presentment was made by the Attorney General, in the Star Chamber, against 'divers vintners,' for selling Wines "both in gross and retail, above the set prices;" and this, as it would seem, was done with the connivance of the King, Charles the First, himself, for the purpose of exterting money from the Company, who to prevent more grievous exactions, offered "to pay his Majesty, 40s. upon every tun of wine, retailed and vended:" this offer, "after many hearings and several long debates," was accepted, and the Vintners had in return, some further privileges granted to them, among which, were "to sell a penny in a quart above the rates set;—to dress meat;—and to sell beer and sugar."§

VINTNERS' HALL, is a respectable brick edifice, situated on the south side of Upper Thames Street, upon the site of a mansion called *Stody Place*, or the "manor of the Vintry,' which was given to the Company, "with the tenements round about;" by Sir

* Sur. of Lond. p. 187. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

§ Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. IV. p. 518; on the authority of 'an original MS.' now in the British Museum.

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Sir John Stody, or Stodie, Vintner, Lord Mayor in 1357. The Vintners "builded for themselves a faire Hall there, and also 12 Almes-houses, for 13 poore people which are kept of charitie, rent free."* These buildings were all destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, after which the present fabric was raised: it forms three sides of a quadrangle, with a dwarf wall, an iron palisade, and neatly wrought iron gates, in front; the piers of the gates are of stone, sculptured with grapes, and vine leaves, and on the top of each, is a Bacchus seated upon three tuns. The *Hall*, which occupies the south side of the quadrangle, is a large and lofty apartment, paved with marble, neatly wainscotted, and ornamented with a handsome screen, and various shields, of arms of different Masters of the Company. Behind the seats of the Master and Wardens, are painted in golden letters, in compartments, the names of numerous benefactors towards the rebuilding of the *Hall* after the Great Fire, &c. and of subscribers towards the rebuilding of the Vintners' Alms-houses at Mile-End, since the year 1800. In different windows also, in painted glass, are the arms of the Company,† and the Royal arms of Charles the Second; in the same window with the latter, which is over a recess on the north side, is a sun-dial, with a fly upon it, 'painted curiously.'‡

In the *Court Room*, which according to an inscription on a window, was finished in 1672, over the fire-place, is a small, but well painted old picture of 'St. Martin, (the Patron Saint of the Company,) dividing his Cloak with the Beggar;' agreeably to the ancient legend, which represents the Saint on horseback, as passing the Gates of Amiens on a cold winter's day, when meeting with a poor beggar who was almost naked, he drew his sword,

* Stow's Sur. p. 187.

† The Vintners' arms are sable, a chevron between three tuns argent. These arms were granted by ——— Clarencieux, King at Arms, in the year 1427.

‡ Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. IV. p. 520. The statue and picture of St. Martin and the Cripple, the figures of Bacchus, &c. and the fine piece of ancient tapestry, mentioned by Mr. Malcolm as being here in the year 1780, are not now to be seen.

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sword, and cutting off one half of his Cloak (which was the only garment he had remaining, having already bestowed the rest to the like charitable uses) he presented it to the shivering mendicant, reserving the other half for his own use. In this room also are some good portraits of *Charles the Second*, *James the Second*, and his Queen *Mary*; *Prince George* of Denmark, &c. as well as two clever modern heads of *Mr. John Wright*, a late Master, and the late *Benjamin Kenton, Esq.* who was Master in 1776;* both the latter were esteemed as very excellent likenesses. Mr. Kenton died in May, 1800, at the advanced age of eighty-two: the life of this gentleman, who was professionally a Vintner, affords a most striking illustration of the apothegm, that 'Industry and Perseverance lead to affluence;' for although of the most humble origin,* and possessed of no other education than what he had received at a common Charity-school, he realized upwards of 100,000l. the greatest part of which, nearly 65,000l. he bequeathed to various Charitable Establishments and uses: of this sum he gave 2,000l. to the general fund of the Vintners' Company, and 2,500l. for the rebuilding, &c. of the Alms-houses at Mile-End.†

This Company is governed by a Master, three Wardens, and twenty-eight Assistants. "They have considerable possessions," says Maitland "out of which they pay large sums annually, for the relief of the poor."

THE CLOTHWORKERS' COMPANY, though a very ancient Guild, was not incorporated till the year 1482, when Edward the Fourth, granted the Members his Letters Patent, by the style of 'The Fraternity of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the Sheermen of London;' but this appellation was changed on their re-incorporation by Queen Elizabeth, to that of 'The Master, Wardens, and Commonalty, of Freemen of the Art and Mystery of Clothworkers

* His mother kept a green-stall in Whitechapel road, in the house where he himself was born, at the corner of Fieldgate.

† A short Memoir and Portrait of Mr. Kenton, were given in the European Magazine for November, 1808.

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CLOTH WORKER'S HALL,
Mincing Lane.

VINTNER'S HALL,
Thames Street.

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workers of the City of London.' Elizabeth's Charter was confirmed by Charles the First, in the year 1634. This Company is governed by a Master, four Wardens, and a Court of about forty Assistants. Its Members possess considerable estates, both in their own right, and in trust for Charitable purposes, their annual expenditure for which, is stated at about 1400l.

CLOTHWORKERS' HALL, is a small building principally of red brick, on the east side of Mincing Lane, Fenchurch Street: the front is ornamented with four fluted columns, crowned with Corinthian capitals, of stone, and supporting a frieze and cornice. The *Hall* is a lofty apartment, wainscotted to the ceiling, which is richly stuccoed with compartments of fret-work, and other ornaments. The arms of England, of the City, and Company, and of various Masters and benefactors, are exhibited in large compartments of richly coloured painted glass in the windows. The screen is of oak, with four pilasters of the Corinthian order, supporting an entablature, and compass pediment. At the upper end of the Hall, are carved statues as large as life, of *James the First*, and *Charles the First*, in their royal robes.*

THE DYERS' COMPANY, was incorporated by Edward the Fourth, in the year 1472, and had granted, among other privileges, the liberty of keeping Swans upon the river Thames. This is said to have been originally one of the twelve principal Companies, though it now ranks only as the thirteenth. The ancient *Dyers' Hall*, which stood on the south side of Upper Thames Street, near Cold Harbour, was destroyed in the Great Fire; as was also the new fabric which arose upon its site, on the 22d of April, 1681. The ground was afterwards let out by the Company, and is now occupied by large warehouses, yards, &c. which still bear the name of Dyers' Hall. The present Hall is a small but neat brick edifice, in Great Elbow Lane, Dowgate Hill.

THE

* The Clothworkers' arms are sable, a chevron, ermin, between two babicks, in chief, and a thistle in base, proper: crest, a ram, passant; supporters, griffins, spotted sable: motto, 'My Trust is in God alone.' The arms were granted by Thomas Benolt, Clarencieux, in 1530; the crest and supporters by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux, in 1587.

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THE BREWERS' COMPANY was incorporated by Henry the Sixth, in the year 1438, and confirmed by Edward the Fourth, with the further privilege of making bye-laws. The chosen patrons of this Company, were the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St. Thomas Becket, and they originally bore the arms of the latter impaled with their own; after the Archbishop, however, had been uncanonized, and his bones taken up and burnt, by order of King Henry the Eighth, the arms were separated by Clarencieux, and the Brewers had a new crest granted to them in lieu of the bearings of the Saint.

The 'art and mystery' of Brewing, is doubtless of very remote origin, though the time of its introduction into this country is unknown. Malt liquor is stated to have been used in Britain as early as the fifth century, and it is 'pretty certain, that considerable Breweries were in operation in London, before the Norman Conquest.' These however, appear to have been confined to the production of *Ales*, of different qualities and strength, the prices of which were regulated by the Magistracy, at least as early as the year 1256.*

In 1302, ground malt was sold as low as at 3s. 4d. the quarter;† yet within thirteen or fourteen years after, it rose to 13. 4d. the quarter, and upwards; owing to the great dearth which then prevailed,‡ The price of Ale partook of the general dearness, and the best sort rose to threepence, and fourpence a *lagena*, (flaggon or gallon) which occasioned a Proclamation to be issued, restraining the price to *one penny*; and commanding also, that 'no wheat should be malted.'---This, says Bishop Fleetwood, 'the Londoners had usually done to the great consumption of corn, and

* In the 51st of Henry the Third, it was determined by *authority*, that when a quarter of Barley was sold at 2s. then Ale might be afforded 4 Quarts for 1d.; and when Barley was at 2s. 6d. the quarter, then Ale was to be 7 Quarts for 2d. and so to increase, and decrease, after the rate of 6d. the Quarter. Fleetwood's *Chron. Prec.* p. 411. Fo.

† Dug. Hist. of St. Paul's, p. 32.

‡ Walsing. Chron. anno 1315, and 1316.

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and sold it at three half-pence per flaggon.* From this period for upwards of 150 years the general price of a gallon of ale seldom varied more than from one penny to three half-pence.

It seems probable, from various circumstances, that the use of *Beer* was not generally introduced till about the reign of Henry the Seventh, in whose time the breweries, which then stood on the banks of the Thames, at St. Catherine's (Wapping), and are distinguished by the name *Bere-house*, in the map given in the *Civitates Orbis*, were twice 'spoiled by the King's officers,' either 'for sending too much abroad unlicensed, or for brewing it too weak for home consumption.' In Rymer's *Fœdera*, under the date 1492, is a license granted to John le Merchant, a Fleming, to export fifty tons, or butts of beer, *(quinquaginta dolia servitæ vocatæ Bere)*; and we find that one of the King's attendants into France, in the same year, was 'Petrus Vanek, a *Beer*-brewer, of Greenwich, in Kent.'† Twelve years afterwards the price of ale had advanced to about three-pence the gallon, and that of beer was about one half-penny cheaper.

In the twenty-third year of Henry the Eighth the Brewers were restrained by statute from making 'any more sorts, or kinds of beer, than two, the strong and the double,' and it was ordered 'that the same should be sold after the rate and price of 6s. 8d. the barrel, of the best, and 3s. 4d. the barrel of double beer, or ale, and not above.' Notwithstanding this, the prices of both liquors were gradually and considerably increased, till at length, in 1591, the Lord Mayor, Sir John Allot, issued a proclamation

 under

* Bishop Fleetwood's Works, p. 403.

† Rym. Fœd. Vol. XII. p. 471, and 485. In 1504, the ale of London was sold at 1l. 10s. *per dolium*, and the beer, *per dolium*, at 1l. 3s. 4d. *Dolium*, says Fleetwood, (*Chron. Pres.*) "does here, I believe, signifie a pipe, or butt, which contains 126 gallons; so that the ale comes to near 3d. the gallon:"—and the beer to rather more than 2¼d. for the same quantity. In the work generally called 'Arnold's Chronicle,' printed by Pynson, about 1521, is the following 'Receipt' for making Beer: "x quarters malte, ii quarters wheete, ii quarters ootes, xi pound weight of hoppys, to make xi barrels of sengyll beer."

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under his official oath,* requiring the Brewers to return to the rates prescribed by the statutes.

Shortly after, the Brewers' Company, feeling aggrieved at this order, presented a petition to the Lord High Treasurer, Burleigh, through whose means they had been re-incorporated by Queen Elizabeth, soliciting his interference to fix such reasonable prices for beer and ale, as might enable them to obtain a convenient living by their trede, and "as thereby the common-wealth of the City, and the Suburbs of the same, might be well served." What the effect of this petition was does not appear, but the following extract from it must be regarded as curious, as it contains a record of prices which were then considered to be excessively high. After

* The oath of the Lord Mayor, as given in detail in the Red Book of the Exchequer, is as follows: "Ye shall swere That ye shall serue weele and trewly oure souerayne Lord Edward the Sixt by the grace of God, &c. in the Office of Mairalte in the Cittee of London, and the same Cite ye shall kepe surely and saufly unto the Use of oure said Souerayne Lorde the Kyng of Englond and of his Heires Kynges of England. And the Profit of the Kyng ye shall do in all Thyngs that to you longeth. And the Rightes of the Kyng and that that longith to the Corone ye shall trewely kepe. Ye shall not assent unto Decres nor Concelement of the Rightes nor of the Franchises of the Kyng. And there where ye may know the Rightes of the Kyng or of the Corone, be it in Landes, Rentys, or in Franchises or in Suytes conceled or withdrawen ye shall put youre Power to calle it ageyn, and if ye may not do it, ye shall tell it unto the Kyng or to those of his councell of whom ye shall understande for to be certeyne that they shall enforme the Kyng thereof. And ye shall trewely and rightwisely trete the peeple of your Baillée. And Right ye shall do to every Persone, as well to straunge as to priuey, to Pore as to Riche in that that longeth to you for to do. And that for Highnes, nor for Riches, for Gift, Promys, Fauour nor Hate, ye shall no wrong do to eny Persone, nor to no Man ye shall the Right lette. Ye shall not take, by the which the Kyng may lese or by the which the Right may be lettyd. And also that ye shall sette goode kepyng upon th' assise of Brede, Wyne, Ale, Fysh, Flesh, Corn, and of all other Victualles. And also of Weeyghtes and Mesures in the seide City doyng sadde and due Execucion upon the Defautes that there shall be founde according to all the Statutz thereof made not repeled. And that in all Thynges to the Meire of the seide Cite longyng for to be done well and trewly, ye shall have you and doo: So God help you and Holy doing."

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After reciting the rates made in the statute of Henry the Eighth, the petitioners state;—"At which prices and rates your said Orators, considering the price of malt, being now sold at 13s. the quarter; the great price of hops, which is now 3l. 6s. 8d. or 4l. 10s. the hundred weight, which heretofore were sold at 6s. 8d. per hundred weight, and yet 100 pounds of hops [were] then well worth 300 of hops which now are sold; the price of barrels being now 20s. or 22s. the last, heretofore sold for 9s. the last; the price of coals, being now sold at 24s. or 26s. the chaldron, not long since at 12s. or 13s. the chaldron; the great and excessive price of all manner of victuals and charges of housekeeping, and other necessaries belonging to your said Orator's trade; the great and excessive rents of their houses, far exceeding the rents given for the same in any former age, are not able to utter and sell such good and wholesome ale and beer, as is fit the said City, and the Suburbs of the same, ought to be served with, without their utter undoing."*

The demand for beer from Foreign Countries increased greatly during the whole reign of Elizabeth, and the liberty of exporting it was only checked, by proclamation, during the occasional occurrence of dearth and scarcity. One record states, that 500 tons were exported at once 'for the Queen's use;' or, as it has been explained, for the service of her army in the Low Countries; considerable quantities, also, were sent to Embden and Amsterdam.

During the succeeding reigns, to the present time, as the exigencies of state have become more urgent, the prices of ale and beer have been highly augmented through the operation of the successive imposts that have been laid on malt and hops, the duties on which now form a very important branch of the public revenue. So great indeed, has the consumption become, that in the year ending on January the fifth, 1812, the duties on malt alone, produced the vast sum of 3,315,389l. The most rapid increase in price has taken place in the course of the present reign, at the commencement of which, in 1760, ale was sold at 5d. the quart, and strong beer, or *porter*, (which had first come into general use in the time of George the

* See the petition at large in Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. II. pp. 144—146.

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First) at 3d. the quart. Since then the prices have been progressively advanced, and ale is now retailed at eight-pence the quart; and porter at five-pence the quart: the former price at a first view appears to be equal to the sum for which *eight gallons* of ale could have been obtained in the reign of Henry the Third, yet, when the increase in the value of money is properly estimated, it will be found that the augmentation has not been greater than in the proportion of one and a half to one.*

BREWERS' HALL stands on the north side of Addle Street, where the Company's arms, as customary, are displayed over the entrance; this opens into a small paved court, having the Hall in front, the basement of which is of stone, and the superstructure of red brick. The style of the building is anomalous, but approaches nearer to the Doric than to any other order. A high flight of steps, with a ballustrade leads to the great door of the *Court Room*, above the basement; here, at the east end, is a handsome screen, adorned with Composite columns, a frieze, cornice, and pediment, and some good carving, busts, &c. In one of the windows (inclosed within a circular border of barley) are the arms of England and of several benefactors in painted glass. In the *Withdrawing-room*, which was wainscotted, in 1670, at the charge of Sir Samuel Starling, Knt. who was Lord Mayor in that year, are portraits of *James Hickson*, Esq. a whole length, in a scarlet gown and large ruff; *Richard Platt*, Esq. aged 76, 1600, a half-length, in a black furred gown, with a prayer book, diminutive

* The quantity of Porter brewed in *London*, by the twelve principal houses from the 5th of July 1811, to the 5th of July 1812 was as follows:

	Barrels.		*Barrels.*
Barclay, Perkins, and Co	270,259.	Goodwyn, and Co.	81,022.
Meux, Reid, and Co.	168,078.	Elliot and Co.	58,035.
Truman, Hanbury, and Co.	150,164.	Cocks and Campbell, (late Brown and Parry's)	51,274.
Whitbread, and Co	122,446.	Taylor and Co.	51,220.
Calvert, Felix, and Co.	108,212.	Clowes, and Co	34,010.
Meux Henry, and Co.	102,493.	Total	1,318,037.
Combe, Delafield, and Co.	100,824.		

The quantity of Ale brewed in the London district, during the same period, by the eight principal Ale-Brewers was 105,563 Barrels.

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native ruff, and little black cap; and *Dame Alice Owen*, aged 63, 1610, foundress of the school and alms-houses at Islington. Mr. Platt was Sheriff of London, and, in 1599, founded the free grammar-school and alms-house at Aldenham, in Hertfordshire. In the large eastern window of this apartment, are the City arms, and St. Thomas Becket's impaled with those of the See of Canterbury, in painted glass; and at the sides of the window are portraits of *Charles the First*, and some other sovereign, probably *James the Second*. Some small pieces of painted glass, well executed, in the windows on the north side, represent an ancient moated House, and the arms of the See of Canterbury, and of this Company.

The LEATHERSELLERS' COMPANY, according to Stow, "was incorporate in the 21st year of Richard the Second,"* yet Maitland has stated it to have been incorporated by Charter of Henry the Sixth, in 1442. Henry the Seventh empowered the Wardens to inspect all leathers made of sheep, lamb, and calf-skins, throughout the Kingdom, in order to prevent frauds. After the Dissolution of Religious Houses, this Company purchased the "Nuns Hall, and other howsing thereunto appertayning,"† of the "Priorie of blacke Nuns;"‡ dedicated to the Holy Cross and St. Helena, in Bishopsgate Street, and made it "their Common HALL." The superstructure of this building which had been founded about the year 1212, having become ruinous, the Company erected a new Hall upon the old foundations in 1567, making the ancient pavement serve for the new floor, and leaving the beautiful crypt beneath it in tolerable preservation. The whole fabric, however, was pulled down about nineteen years ago, and all the ancient work unnecessarily and wantonly demolished. The *Hall* was a spacious and very handsome apartment, curiously ceiled and wainscotted in the Elizabethian style; and the screen was richly carved, and decorated with Ionic columns, an elegant cornice and frieze, busts, scrolls, festoons, and other ornaments. The meetings of the Company are now held in a building of some antiquity in Little St. Helens.

The PEWTERERS' COMPANY was incorporated by Ed-

 ward

* Surv. of Lond. p. 133. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

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ward the Fourth, in the year 1474; and the Wardens under various acts of Parliament, have been authorised to inspect all articles made of pewter in any part of the kingdom; this privilege was conferred in order to prevent the sale of base pewter, and the importation of pewter vessels from abroad. By a statute made in 1534, all Englishmen, being Pewterers, are strictly enjoined not to exercise their art in any foreign country under pain of disfranchisement; they are also restrained from taking the son of an alien as an apprentice.

PEWTERERS' HALL is a substantial brick edifice, enclosing a small court, in Lime Street. The site of these premises, described as "a garden and nine tenements," was bequeathed to the Company, in August 1487, by Mr. *William Smalwood*, who was Master in the second year of Henry the Seventh, and is commemorated by an old portrait in the Court Room: he is represented standing in a black furred gown and hat, with his will in his left hand, and his gloves in his right. The Company arms, and a dial, with the motto *Sic Vita*, and a spider and a fly crawling on it, painted on glass, are in one of the windows.

The BARBERS' COMPANY, formerly called BARBER-SURGEONS, received its first charter * of incorporation from Edward the Fourth, on the 24th of February, 1461-2, "by the means of Thomas Morestede, Esq. one of the Sheriffs of London in 1436, Chirurgeon to the Kings of England, Henry the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth: he deceased 1450. Then Jacques Fries, Physician to Edward the Fourth, and William Hobbs, Physician and Chirurgeon for the same King's body, *continuing the suit*, Edward the Fourth, in the second of his reign, and Richard, Duke of Gloucester, became founders of the same Corporation, in the Parish of the saints Cosme and Damiane;" who are recorded, in the Romish calendar, as brethren, *physicians*, and martyrs. Originally, the arts of surgery and shaving were carried on in this City by the same person, as they still are in

* Munday's Stow, p. 389. Edit. 1633. Edward's Charter, is still preserved by the Company. The seal (which is of green wax) has been a very fine one, and is yet in tolerably good preservation. It is nearly an exact counterpart to that engraved in Speed's Chronicle, p. 674. Edit. 1611.

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in some parts of Europe, and the *Barbers'* Company was vested with the superintendance of all persons practising Chirurgery, the inspection of their instruments, medicaments, &c. In 1512, also, an act of Parliament was passed to restrict any one from practising Surgery within the City, or in seven miles round, excepting those who were duly examined "by the Bishop of London, or the Dean of St. Paul's, and such persons expert in Surgery, as they should think proper to call to their assistance." Previously to this, however, the business of the Barber, and the profession of the Surgeon, were begun to be separated, and the Surgeons afterwards formed themselves into an independent Company. Various disputes and feuds were the consequence, till at length, "for the general improvement," another act was passed in the 32d of Henry the Eighth, to unite the rival Companies into one corporate body, under the appellation of "The Master or Governors of the Mystery or Commonalty of Barbers and Chirurgeons of the City of London:" by the same statute it was enacted, that no person practising the art of Shaving should thenceforth intermeddle with that of Surgery, excepting as to the *drawing of teeth;* and that no Surgeon should interfere in what was proper only to the Barbers' trade.* From the time of the passing of that act, the Company obtained the name of *Barber-Surgeons.* James the First granted them a new charter, giving them full jurisdiction over all persons practising surgery within seven miles of London, and directing that two of the four Governors, chosen annually by the Company, should be Surgeons, and that ten examiners, all Surgeons, should be appointed for life, and have authority to examine professors of the art, in presence of two, or more, Governors, and to license them under their seal, if duly qualified. Charles the First confirmed the charter given by his father.

After the union of the Companies, the Master was one year chosen from the Barbers, and the next from the Surgeons; and the Court of Assistants, in which was the appointment of the

* In dissections, as in all other cases wherein Shaving the *head* is requisite, the *Barber* must still be employed, under a penalty of forty shillings on the Surgeon who invades the profession of his once associated brother.

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Demonstrators of Anatomy and Osteology, was composed of equal numbers (fifteen) of each profession. In the course of years, however, as the trade and name of the Barber became more and more exposed to the sarcasms of the proud, the illiberal, and the vulgar, considerable dissensions arose among the Members of the Company, the Surgeons wishing to obtain that precedency and rule over their less scientific brethren, to which their studies, and situations in life, undoubtedly entitled them, but which the Barbers strenuously resisted, both in right of their more ancient incorporation, and from a feeling, (only half erroneous perhaps) that the Surgeons had already usurped the more lucrative and honourable branches of their own original profession. The schism was at length terminated by the Surgeons applying to Parliament in the year 1745, and obtaining an Act for a separation; under which statute the Barbers were again constituted 'a body politic by themselves.' In the course of the legislative proceedings, it appeared that 'no Barber could follow his business in London, without being free of the Company.'

Barbers' Hall is situated on the west side of Monkwell Street, on the very outskirts of the City, the foundations of the building being partly laid upon the ancient wall. At what time the original structure was erected does not appear: but it was enlarged at different periods down to the time of Charles the First. The Theatre of Anatomy was built by Inigo Jones in the years 1636, and 1637; Walpole calls it "one of his best works." This *Theatre* through being a detached building escaped conflagration; but all the other parts suffered in the Great Fire of 1666; and the Theatre itself, which had an elliptical cupola, and was decorated with figures of the seven liberal Sciences, the Signs of the Zodiac, cedar benches and doors, &c. was pulled down about the year 1783, the Company having no use for it, and three houses were soon afterwards erected upon its site. The present buildings were erected by subscription within a few years after the Fire, and are of brick; the entrance and dwelling of the Clerk, fronting the street, are separated from the other parts by a small paved court. The *Hall* is a good room, but not large; the west end is semicir-

cular,

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sular, and remarkable from the singular circumstance of its having formed the interior of one of the towers (or bulwarks, as they are called in the Minutes,) that defended the City wall. Here are two full length paintings of Human figures, shewing the disposition of the muscles, &c.

The *Court Room*, which has a small elliptical cupola in the centre, built in 1752, is an apartment affording much interest from the various pictures with which it is decorated. The principal of these is the celebrated piece by Holbein, of "HENRY THE EIGHTH *delivering the Charter of the Barber-Surgeons, to the Court of Assistants and Company;*" this fine picture, which is painted on pannel, and in a very excellent state of preservation, measures ten feet, two inches in length, and six feet in width. The bluff Sovereign is represented in his Royal robes, and crowned, seated on a Chair of State, and holding in his left hand a sword, erect, resting upon his knee: on each side, are the principal Members of the Company, kneeling, with others behind, standing, and the King is in the act of presenting the Charter with his right hand to Thomas Vicary, the then Master. The names of thirteen of the chief members are above their heads; and near the top of the picture on the left is this inscription:

HENCIO OCTAVO OPT. MAX. REGI ANGLIÆ
FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ, FIDEI DEFENSO
RI AC ANGLICANÆ, HIBERNICÆQ.
ECCLESIÆ PROXIME A CHRISTO SUPREMO
CAPITI, SOCIETAS CHIRURGORUM,
COMMUNIBUS VOTIS HÆC CONSECRAT.
Tristior Anglorum pestis violaverat orbem,
Infestans animos, corporibusque sedens;
Hanc Deus insignem cladem miseratus ab alto
Te medici munus jussit obire boni
Lumen Evangelii fulvis circumvolat alis,
Pharmacon adfectis mentibus illud erit;
Consilioq, tuo celebrant monumenta Galeni,
Et scleri morbus pellitur omnis ope.
Nos igitur, supplex medicorum turba tuorum,
Hanc tibi sacramus religione domum,

Muneris

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Muneris et memores quo nos, Henrice, beasti,
Imperio optamus maxima quæque tuo.

All the Members are in gowns trimmed with fur; the three on the right of the King, represent the Doctors Chamber, Butts, and Alsop; all of whom at the time of the giving of the Charter, were past Masters of the Company. *Dr. John Chamber* was Henry's principal Physician, and Dean of St. Stephen's College, Westminster, where he built the curious Cloister, a part of which still remains in the Speaker's House: he has on a close cap, and his hands are wrapped in the large sleeves of his gown. *Dr. William Butts*, who was also King's Physician, and had been admitted into the College of Physicians, as '*vir gravis; eximiâ literarum cognitione, singulari judicio, summâ experientiâ, et prudenti consilio Doctor*,' is also in a cap, and has a gold chain over one shoulder: his conduct, on the presumed degradation of Archbishop Cranmer, has been finely pourtrayed by Shakespeare in his play of Henry the Eighth. *Dr. J. Alsop* is represented with lank hair, and uncovered. The names inscribed over the persons on the King's left hand, are as follow: *T. Vicary, J. Aylef, N. Symson, E. Harman, J. Monforde, J. Pen, N. Alcoke, R. Fereis, W. Tylly, and X. Samon.* Vicary, who has a gold chain like Butts, was Serjeant-Surgeon to the Sovereigns, Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; and is reputed to have been the author of the first work on Anatomy that was ever written in the English Language. Sir John Ailife was also an eminent Surgeon, and had been Sheriff of London in 1548: according to the inscription on his monument in the Church of St. Michael Bassishaw, he was 'called to Court,' by Henry the Eighth, 'who lov'd him dearly well;' and was afterwards knighted for his services by Edward the Sixth.

This picture is not only finely and forcibly coloured, but is also finished with such carefulness, and minuteness of pencilling, that even the subordinate parts, as the rings on the King's fingers, the ermine of his robes, &c. will bear a very close examination, and still appear true to nature. It is remarkable likewise

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from furnishing an example of a beginning alteration of costume, in respect to shirts; the wrists of Henry being encircled by small *ruffles*, and the necks of several of the Members displaying a raised *collar*. An engraving from it was made in 1736, at the expense of the Company, (who have the Plate still in their possession,) by B. Barron, whose reduced drawing in red chalk is also preserved in this apartment.*. The painting itself was borrowed by James the First, (whose grand-mother Margaret, was Henry the Eighth's sister,) and his Letter on the occasion is yet preserved by the Company: it asserts, that 'the portrait of Henry was both like him, and well done.'†

On the same side of the room with this picture, are two excellently painted whole lengths said to represent 'a Spanish Gentleman, and a Lady, his sister,' but unknown whom; and a mezzotinto Head of '*John Paterson, Esq.*' formerly Clerk to this Company, and Member of Parliament, for Ludgershall, in Wiltshire. This Gentleman was Deputy for the Ward of Farringdon Within: he projected various useful plans for the improvement of the City, and was the principal means of the streets being paved with Scotch

* Barron agreed to engrave the Plate for 150 Guineas; viz. 100 Guineas in money, and 50 Guineas in 100 Prints.

† The whole of the Letter is as follows; but it is not pointed:—

'James R.

'Trustie and well-beloved, Wee greete you well. Where Wee are informed of a Table of Painting in yor Hall, wherein is the Picture of o^r Predecessor of famous memorie, K. Henry the 8th, togeth^r wth diverse of yor Companie, wch being both like him, and well done, We are desirous to have copyed: Wherefore o^r pleasure is, that you presently deliver it unto this bearer, Our well beloved Servant, Sr Lionell Cranfield, Knight, one of Our Maisters of Requests, whom Wee have Commanded to receave it of you, and to see it wth all expedition Copied, and redelivered safely: and so Wee bid you Farewell. Given at Our Court at Newmarket, the 13th Day of Januarie, 1617.'

'To Our Trustie and well beloved, the Companie of Barber Surgeons in London.'

This Letter which 'was sealed with his Highnes signet' (now lost) was taken into consideration at a Court held on the 27th of the same month, when it was ordered, that 'the Picture be taken down, if conveniently it may be,' and delivered to Sir Lionell.

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Scotch granite, &c. in the regular way which they now are. He presented his Company with a very beautiful painting of a *Duchess of Richmond*, said to be by *Sir Peter Lely*; yet more probably by Vandyke. The Duchess is represented sitting, with a lamb and olive branch; the drapery is very finely coloured.

The principal other pictures in this room, are *Charles the Second*, sitting; *Mr. Lisle*, Barber-surgeon to that Monarch; *Sir John Frederick*, who was Sheriff in 1655; *Sir Charles Bernard* Surgeon to Queen Anne; *Inigo Jones*, a fine head by Vandyke, *Mr. Ephraim Skinner*; *Edward Arris, Esq.* an Alderman of London, and the celebrated *Sir Charles Scarborough*, chief Physician to three Sovereigns, Charles the Second, James the Second, and William the Third, and one of the first Mathematicians of his time. The two last portraits are in the same piece, and were ordered to be 'set up, [that is painted] in the void Table,' in February, 1654. Dr. Scarborough was chosen Anatomical Reader in this Hall, on the 12th of October, 1649; and shortly afterwards he commenced the delivery of his highly-famed Anatomical Lectures, and continued them with great approbation for many years; he has the reputation of being the first person who, in Discourses on the Muscles demonstrated their uses and power, by geometrical and mechanical illustrations. He is represented 'dressed in the red gown, hood, and cap, of a Doctor of Physic, in the act of lecturing with one hand on his breast, the other a little stretched out. On the left is another figure, [Mr. Alderman Arris] dressed in the livery gown, holding up the arm of a dead subject,* which is placed upon a table, and partly covered with a sheet; the sternum, or that part of the breast where the ribs meet, being naked, and

* The following curious Order made at a Court of Assistants, on July the 13th, 1587, appears in the Minute Books.

'*Ibm.* yt ys agreed That yf any bodie wch shall at anie tyme here after happen to be brought to o^r^ Hall for the intent to be wrought uppon by Thanathomistes of o^r^ Companie, shall revyve or come to lyfe agayne, as of late hathe ben seene, The charges aboute the same bodie so revivinge, shal be bo^r^ne, levied, and susteyned, by such Pson, or Psons, who shall so happen to bringe home the Bodie. And further shall abide suche order or Ffyne, as this Howse shall Award.

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and laid bare, so that the pectoral muscles are seen.' Under the picture is the following inscription, which was composed by *Dr. Thomas Arris*, M. P. for St. Alban's, in 1661, who was son to Mr. Ald. *Arris*, the latter of whom bequeathed the sum of 510l. for founding the muscular Lecture in this Hall:

Hæc tibi SCARBURGI *Arrisius queis spiritus intus*
Corporis humani Mobile versat opus.
Ille Opifex rerum Tibi rerum arcana reclusit,
Et Numen verbis jussit inesse tuis.
Ille Dator rerum Tibi res indulsit opimas,
Atque animum indultas qui bene donet opes.
Alter erit quisquis magna hæc Exempla sequet,
Alterutri vestrum nemo secundus erit.

The CUTLERS' COMPANY was incorporated by Henry the Fifth, in the year 1417, but its members had previously formed separate Societies, as appears from certain Ordinances made betwixt the Bladers and other Cutlers in the tenth of Henry the Fourth. "They of this Company," says Stow, "ware of olde time devided into three artes, or sortes of workemen, to wit, the first were Smithes, forgers of blades, and therefore, called Bladers, (divers of whom prooved welthie men,) the second were makers of Haftes, and otherwise garnishers of blades, the thirde sort were Sheath-makers, for Swordes, Daggers, and Knives:—in the fourth of Henry the Sixth, all the three Companies were drawne into one Fraternitie, or Brotherhoode, by the name of Cutlars."*

At a dispute between the Cutlers and the Goldsmiths in the year 1405, the adjusting of which was referred by the King to the Mayor of London, it was determined that, "according to the ancient immunities of the City, the Cutlers had a right to work in gold and silver, but that all things made by them were to be assayed by the Goldsmiths."

Chaucer's Monk, who 'bore a Sheffield Whittle in his hose,' is generally admitted as a proof of the early manufacture of Knives in England; yet for nearly two centuries after the time of that illustrious Poet, they continued to be imported in great quantities from

* Stow's Lond. p. 195. Edit. 1597.

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from Flanders. The earliest prohibition against the importation of Knives from beyond sea, was obtained about the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth, by Richard Matthew, who attained to great skill in the manufacture of fine Knives, and Hafts, and was the first person that established the trade in London:* he also, about the middle of Elizabeth's reign, was empowered under the Great Seal, 'to make Daggers and Knives, with new-invented hafts;' a privilege which gave great cause of complaint, and was petitioned against, as leading "to the decay and overthrow of the whole Company of Cutlers within the City, besides their wives, children, and apprentices," and to the "excessively enhancing "of the prices of Knives and Daggers, to the prejudice of her Majesties' subjects." The vast improvement that has been made in all articles of Cutlery since that period, and the high state of perfection to which the manufacture of steel wares is now arrived, need not be expatiated on.

CUTLERS' HALL is a small brick edifice in Cloak Lane. The site which it occupies was once possessed by the *Gisors'* family; and in the mansion that stood here, Simon Dolseley, Dolseby, or Doffelde, kept his Mayoralty in 1359. In the Court Room is an old portrait of *Mrs. Crawthorne*, who bequeathed the Bell Savage Inn, Ludgate Hill, in trust to the Company, for various charitable purposes.

The BAKERS' COMPANY was a Fraternity by prescription, and very ancient: as early as the year 1155 (temp. Hen. II.) this guild was charged in the great Roll of the Exchequer with a debt of one mark of gold, which circumstance has given rise to the supposition that the more ancient Guilds held their privileges of the crown in fee-farm. The Bakers were originally distinguished into the two classes of White Bakers, and Brown Bakers; the first, probably, being those who prepared what is now called *Wheaten* Bread, and the latter, who made the *Household* Bread. The *White Bakers* were incorporated by Edward the Second about 1307; the *Brown Bakers* by James the First, in 1621: the charter granted by the former, was renewed and confirmed by several different Sovereigns.

The

* At Fleet Bridge: see preceding volume, p. 624.

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The importance of *Bread*, as a great and necessary article of sustenance, particularly for the poor, occasioned the fixing of its price and weight to be subjected to the Magistracy at a very remote period; and a table of assize is yet extant that was made so early as the reign of King John. In the fifty-first of Henry the Third, a new statute was passed for regulating the assize of Bread, all Bakers not observing which, were made liable to be set in the Pillory.* Various other acts of Parliament have been since passed in different reigns, in order to defeat the nefarious arts of the interested, and to secure the public a due supply of this 'staff of life,' at a fair and reasonable price. Under these statutes, the Lord

* In London, Bread is commonly made into Loaves, called from their size Peck Loaves, Half-Pecks, Quarterns, and Half-Quarterns; the Quartern Loaf being the general size chosen by families. The legal weight of the Peck Loaf is 17lb. 6oz. 2dr.; of the Half Peck, 8lb. 11oz. 1dr. of the Quartern, 4lb. 5oz. 8dr. The assize is made upon the Peck Loaf. The Price of the *Quartern Loaf* Wheaten Bread, at the commencement of every Mayoralty since the beginning of the reign of his present Majesty, has been as follows:—

Nov. 9.	Qn.	Lo.	Nov. 9.	Qn.	Lo.	Nov. 9.	Qn.	Lo.
1760	d.	5½	1778		6½	1796		8½
1761		4½	1779		5¾	1797		9½
1762		5½	1780		7¼	1798		8
1763		6	1781		7	1799		13
1764		6½	1782		8¾	1800		17½
1765		7	1783		7¾	1801		10½
1766		8	1784		7½	1802		10
1767		8¼	1785		6¾	1803		10
1768		6½	1786		6	1804		13½
1769		6	1787		6½	1805		12½
1770		6½	1788		6¼	1806		13¼
1771		7¾	1789		7¼	1807		10¼
1772		8	1790		7½	1808		15½
1773		7½	1791		6½	1809		14¼
1774		8	1792		7¼	1810		15½
1775		6½	1793		7¼	1811		17¼
1776		6½	1794		7½			
1777		7¼	1795		12½			

During this period, for three weeks in March 1800, the Quartern Loaf was at 1s. 10½d. and at the present time, July the 9th, 1812, it is 1s. 8d.

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Lord Mayor, and Court of Aldermen, have the power of regulating the price of Bread, agreeably to the returns made to them of the market prices of wheat and flour; yet there is frequently much reason to fear that the prices of flour, &c. are intentionally returned at a higher rate than what they really were. The assize is made on every Tuesday, at which time the Master and Wardens of the Bakers' Company attend the Lord Mayor to assist in determining the price: and the alteration, if any, takes place on the following Thursday. The proper jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor extends only over the City, and the Parishes within the Bills of Mortality, with the exception of those in Westminster and Surrey; yet the prices of Bread, as fixed by this Magistrate, is generally adopted by the Bakers in all parts of the Metropolis, and its vicinity.

The site of BAKERS' HALL, which is a plain brick edifice, situated at the east end of Harp Lane, was anciently occupied by the dwelling-house of John Chicheley, Chamberlain of London, and nephew to the Archbishop of Canterbury, of that name. He, according to Stow, had *twenty-four* children, by one of whom, Elizabeth, these premises were carried in marriage to Sir Thomas Kyrioll; but by what means they came into the possession of the Baker's Company does not appear. The entrance to this building is under a colonnade of Ionic pillars. The *Hall* is ornamented with a screen of the Composite order, in which are two arches, with carvings above; and at the north end of the room are three large paintings, the centre one displaying 'the Arms of the Company;' That on the right 'Justice, with her attributes;' and that on the left, 'St. Clement,' the Patron of the Company. The *Court Room* is spacious and handsome; and is decorated with two Corinthian pilasters at each end.

The WAX CHANDLERS' COMPANY was incorporated by Richard the Third, in the year 1483, but it had existed as a Community long before. In times of old, says Pennant, "when gratitude to Saints called so frequently for lights," this was a flourishing society. "How many thousands of wax candles were consumed on those occasions, and what quantities were destroyed

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by the expiatory offerings of private persons, none can enumerate. *Candlemas Day* wasted its thousands, and those all blessed by the Priests, and abjured in solemn terms; thus:—'I abjure thee O waxen creature, that thou repel the Devil and his sprights.'"*

WAX-CHANDLERS' HALL is a respectable modern building, of brick, standing in Maiden Lane, Wood Street, nearly opposite to Haberdashers' Hall.

The TALLOW CHANDLERS' COMPANY was incorporated by Edward the Fourth, in the year 1460, and had its charter confirmed by James the First. The original members of this Company were not only dealers in candles, but also in oils, vinegar, butter, soap, hops, and other articles. In the third of Henry the Eighth, the Master and Wardens, in conjunction with the Lord Mayor, were appointed to search for and destroy corrupt and adulterated oils, but this privilege having been much abused, was suffered to fall into disuse. In 1551, (temp. Edward VI.) the Tallow Chandlers conceiving disgust at some act of the Magistracy, by which the prices of their commodities had been regulated, refused to dispose of any of them at the set rates; and this species of contumacy was continued so long, that it became requisite to issue an order of the King in Council, commanding them to sell their candles as usual, and several of the refractory were imprisoned.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this Company petitioned for liberty to search for and destroy corrupt and adulterated wares, as vinegar, soap, butter, oil, hops, &c. and about the year 1576, her Majesty, by her Letters Patent, appointed the Master and Wardens to be "searchers, examiners, viewers, and triers" of all the above articles, within the Metropolis, and prohibition was given that "no man should put to sale any of the premises before they were searched, upon pain of forfeiture." The execution of this patent was strenuously resisted by the City magistracy, on the ground of its encroaching, as well upon the liberty of trade, as established by common law, as upon "the free traffic of the

* Browne's Pop. Antiq. p. 221, Brand's Edit.

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City of London, as existing under different charters;" and through this opposition it was eventually abrogated.

TALLOW CHANDLERS' HALL is situated on the west side of Dowgate Hill, the front being only distinguishable from a modern dwelling house by the Company's arms over the doorway. The interior buildings are more ancient; they inclose a small court, having an arcade of the Tuscan order, and a fountain in the centre.

The ARMOURERS' and BRAZIERS' COMPANY originally consisted of Armourers only, who were incorporated by Henry the Sixth, about the year 1423, under the curious description of "The Master and Wardens, Brothers and Sisters, of the Fraternity or Guild of St. George, of the Men of the Mystery of the Armourers of the City of London." The Armourers were formerly employed in making coats of mail, helmets, and the rest of the defensive furniture of ancient warfare; but, after the use of fire-arms became generally prevalent, their business fell into complete disuse. So little, indeed, is the manufacture of plate armour now understood, that the recent making of two suits, the one of brass, the other of steel, for a place of public amusement,* was regarded as a matter of much interest and ability. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, the Armourers of London derived so much useful instruction from some German Artificers, who had been sent to England at the request of the King himself, that they soon undersold the Foreigners. In Queen Elizabeth's time, there were thirty-five Armourers resident in the Metropolis, who kept servants and shops; yet so rapidly did their trade decay, that in the reign of James the First, that number was reduced to five only, with one servant each. The Company is now chiefly composed of Braziers, Founders, and Coppersmiths.

ARMOURERS' HALL is a plain brick edifice, standing at the north end of Coleman Street. Its principal ornament is the fine painting by Northcote, of the "Entry of Richard the Second and Henry Bolingbroke, (afterwards Henry the Fourth,) into London:" this

* The Surrey Theatre.—The armour was made under the direction of Mr Marshall, Brasier, of Fleet Street.

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this was purchased by the Company for the sum of 113l. 8s. at the sale of the Shakespeare Gallery, in May, 1805.

The GIRDLERS' COMPANY was first incorporated by Henry the Sixth, in 1449; its members were afterwards re-incorporated with the 'Pinners and Wire-drawers,' by Queen Elizabeth, in October 1568. GIRDLERS' HALL is situated in Basinghall Street: it was built about the year 1681, and is decorated with a neat screen of the Ionic order.

The BUTCHERS' COMPANY is of considerable antiquity, and was fined as 'adulterine' in the twenty-sixth of Henry the Second, as already noticed.* The ancient HALL of this Company was situated in Butcher-hall Lane, which received its name from that circumstance: the present Hall is a respectable structure in Pudding Lane.

The SADLERS' COMPANY existed as early as the reign of Richard, *Cœur de Lion*, but was not legally incorporated till the time of Edward the First. SADLERS' HALL is a plain building, situated within a small court, having a high arched entrance, between Foster Lane and Gutter Lane, in Cheapside.

The CARPENTERS' COMPANY was first incorporated by Edward the Third, in the year 1344, and re-incorporated in July 1478, by Edward the Fourth. CARPENTERS' HALL is situated on the south side of London Wall, but is now rented as a carpet and rug warehouse. The entrance to the premises is under a large arch, with four Corinthian pillars at the sides, and over the centre, a bust of Inigo Jones, and the arms of the Company. Within is a pleasant area, intersected by gravelled walks and grass plats, on the south side of which is the *Hall*: this consists of a Doric basement, (having porticoes of the same order at the east and west ends) supporting a rustic story, ornamented with pediments, cornices, &c. The original roofing was of oak, but that has long given place to a stuccoed ceiling, (of the date of 1677) on which the Royal arms, and those of the City and Company, are displayed in alternate sexagon and circular pannels, surround-

* See before, p. 344.

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ed by festoons, scrolls, and branches. A few divisions of the ancient east window, with pointed tops, are yet visible; and in those are the Carpenters' arms, in stained glass. The flooring is of marble, but is at present covered with wood, for the joint purpose of warmth and preservation. The house now used for the Company's business, stands nearly contiguous, in a small court, and is embellished in front by Ionic pilasters, a pediment, and Venetian window. The portraits of *William Portington, Esq.* 'Master Carpenter in the office of his Majesty's buildings,' who, died in March 1628, at the age of eighty-four; and *John Scot, Esq.* 'Carpenter and Carriage Maker to the Office of Ordnance, in the reign of Charles the Second,' are mentioned by Strype as being in the old Hall of this Company.

The CORDWAINERS' COMPANY was first incorporated by Henry the Fourth, in the year 1410, by the style of the 'Cordwainers and Coblers;' the latter of which appellations was not, at that period, regarded as a term of vulgar reproach, as it now is: it seems, indeed, to have designated as well the dealer in shoes, as the shoe-maker, and the latter epithet was then but rarely, if ever, used; they were afterwards re-incorporated by the title of 'Cordwainers' alone. This Company has a handsome HALL in Distaff Lane; it is a modern brick structure, with a stone front, and a sculpture of the Cordwainers' Arms in the pediment. "Of these Cordwayners I reade, that since the fifth of Richard the Second, when he tooke to wife Anne, daughter to Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, by her example the English people had used piked Shoes, tied to their knees, with silken laces, or chains of silver, and gilt: wherefore in the fourth of Edward the Fourth, it was ordained and proclaimed, that beaks of skin and boots should not pass the length of two inches, upon paine of cursing by the Clergie, and by Parliament to pay 20s. for every paine: and every Cordwayner that shod any man or woman on the Sunday, to pay 30s."*

The PAINTER-STAINERS' COMPANY had its origin from some artists who formed themselves into a Fraternity as early as the

* Munday's Stow's Lond. p. 395. Edit. 1633.

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the reign of Edward the Third, (but were not at that time incorporated,) and who appear to have adopted the appellation 'Painter-*Stainers*,' from the nature of their chief employments, which were those of painting, or staining glass, illuminating missals, decorating altars, &c. Finding, however, in the lapse of years, that many unskilful persons, plaisterers as well as others, had obtruded into their profession, and "brought their art into disrepute," they applied to Queen Elizabeth for a charter, and, in 1582, obtained her Majesty's Letters Patent to form a Company, under the appellation of 'The Master, Wardens, and Commonalty, of the Freemen of the Art and Mystery of Painting, called Painter-stainers, within the City of London." In the succeeding reign, a statute was passed (first of James the First) enacting, among other things advantageous to the Painters of the Metropolis, that "no Plaisterer shall exercise the art of a Painter in the City or suburbs of London, or lay any colour or painting whatsoever, unless he be a servant or apprentice to a painter, or have served seven years' apprenticeship to that trade, under the penalty of five pounds." Yet Plaisterers may use whiting, blacking, red ochre, &c. mingled with size only, and not with oil, without being subjected to that fine. As the Metropolis increased in its population, and as taste, wealth, and luxury, opened new branches of employment, many Painters settled in Westminster, and in other parts beyond the jurisdiction of the Company, and for a long period but little intercourse was maintained between those artists and the old Painter-Stainers; yet a greater intimacy was afterwards effected, and among the number who became members, and whose talents did honour to the highest branches of the art, was the late President of the Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds.

PAINTER-STAINERS' HALL is a small brick edifice, standing on the west side of Little Trinity Lane, on the site of the more ancient building belonging to the Company, which was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. Here, in different apartments, are various pictures, some of them of considerable merit, executed principally by persons who were members of this Society. In the

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Hall, which is a lofty and well proportioned room, having the ceiling painted of an azure colour, with an Eagle in the centre, as if sustaining the chandelier with its beak, are the following pictures: 'St. Luke writing his Gospel,' Van Somer: 'Ruins;' Griffiere, a good painting: 'Reason governing Strength,' an emblematical picture, by Charles Catton, Esq. R. A. given by the artist in 1794; 'Art and Envy,' Hondius; a large upright 'Landscape,' by Lambert, with figures by Hogarth representing the story of the 'Babe with Bloody Hands,' from Spencer's Fairy Queen, the trees and foliage very fine: 'Live Fowl,' flying, by Barlow, who designed the Hearse for the interment of General Monk: a small piece, with 'Three Figures,' by Larroone, who designed the Procession at the Coronation of William and Mary: 'Still Life,' an imitation of scrolls, &c. by Taverner, a Proctor of Doctor's Commons, who painted for his amusement: a 'Flower Piece,' Everbrook: a large upright 'Landscape,' a Sun-set, by Robert Aggas, presented by the artist, and forming an excellent specimen of his manner; with an ornamental 'Tablature' above it, by Trevett, who was a Master of this Company: 'Heraclitus and Democritus,' Jacob Penn; and 'St. Luke, painting,' by the same artist: a 'Storm, at Sea,' Sailmaker: a 'Flower Piece, given by John Edwards, the artist, 1790: 'Fruit, with a Squirrel,' Smith: 'Queen Anne, a medallion, supported by Boys,' Feilot: a 'Calm, at Sea;' a fine picture, nine feet six inches, by nine feet, Peter Monamy; with a smaller piece by the same artist, representing a 'Storm, at Sea:' 'Sir John Brown,' Alderman in 1504, the first feoffee of the Company's Hall: a 'Flower Piece,' Baptiste, jun. presented by himself: 'Still Life,' Roestraten, or Ronsestratton: 'The Fire of London,' Waggoner; a long picture, six feet by one foot nine inches:* the 'Peace of Utrecht,' an allegorical painting, by Sebastian Ricci, who executed the Altar-piece at Chelsea College: 'David with Goliah's Head:' a 'Flower Piece,' Montingo: 'a Painter offering his works to Minerva,'

* This has been copied by P. Mazell, but wretchedly engraved, for Pennant's Lond.

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Minerva,' said by Modena, probably for Medina: 'Bear-Hunting,' a small, and spirited picture, by Hondius, presented in 1778, by W. T. Sweet: 'Charles the First,' a half length in a circular frame, supposed to have been copied from Vandyke, by Stone: 'Queen Anne,' full length, Dahl: 'Death of Abel,' Robert Smirke, Esq. R. A. presented in 1779, by Mr. T. Mansfield, a Member of the Company: 'Charles the Second,' whole length, Huysman: 'William the Third,' whole length, Sir Godfrey Kneller, given by the artist: several small 'Flower Pieces,' painters uncertain: 'Martyrdom of St. Sebastian,' by Hayls, or Hayes: 'Mr. Deputy Sanders,' Gold-beater, a Member of the Court, in a circular frame, by John Closterman: 'Catherine, Queen to Charles the Second,' whole length, Huysman: 'Angels appearing to the Shepherds,' Colloni: 'Genius,' represented as drawing from the 'Graces and other Figures': 'a Magdalen,' small, and very highly finished, by Gasper Smitz, or Smith, with the signature *I. S.* 1662: 'Camden,' the celebrated Antiquary, who was a Member of this Company, in his tabard, as Clarencieux, King at Arms:* a large 'Flower Piece,' Baptiste, given by Charles Catton, Esq. R. A. and a large picture of 'Architecture of the Corinthian Order,' by Trevett. In the Clerk's *Dining Room*, all the greater pannels are occupied by paintings of distinct subjects, as Landscapes, History, Ruins, &c. by various Artists, Painter-Stainers; among them is a 'Diana and Endymion,' by Parmentier, and a good picture of 'Perseus and Andromeda.' It seems probable, that this apartment was thus fitted up soon after the rebuilding of the Hall, subsequently to the Great Fire. In the *Court Room* is an old picture displaying 'three Portraits,' (three quarter lengths) of former Masters of this Company; a marble bust of 'Mr. Thomas Evans,' Master in 1687, and a considerable benefactor, by Edward Pierce, the younger, who sculptured the Dragons on the Monument: and a head of the late '*John Stock*, Esq.' of Hampstead, who dying

* This portrait has been very finely copied on Enamel, by Henry Bone, Esq. R. A.

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in 1781, bequeathed upwards of 11000l. to the Painter-Stainers for benevolent uses, besides various large sums to different charitable establishments.

The CURRIERS' COMPANY is of considerable antiquity as a Brotherhood, a *Guild* having been founded by the Members so early as the year 1367, in the conventual Church of the White Friars in Fleet Street; yet the regular incorporation of this Company did not take place till the year 1605, when James the First granted the Curriers their first charter. CURRIERS' HALL is a plain brick building, standing in a small court (having an arched entrance with the Company's Arms above) on the south side of London Wall. In a window of the *Court Room*, which is on the first floor, are the Royal Arms, well painted, and under them 'This Hall was new built and glassed in the yeare 1670.' In the pannels above the screen are paintings of 'Justice,' 'Plenty,' and 'Temperance,' and on the different sides of the Masters' Chair are portraits of *James the First*, and *Mr. William Dawes;* the latter of whom gave an estate to the Company.

The MASONS' COMPANY was originally incorporated in the reign of Henry the Fourth, under the appellation of 'Free Masons,' yet in the charter under which the members now act, and which was given by Charles the Second, in 1677, they are styled 'Masons' only. The 'Marblers,' another ancient Fellowship, but not legally incorporated, has long been united to this community: the Marblers appear to have been, properly, Sculptors; and were much distinguished for their skill in carving the 'Portraitures,' and other figures on monuments and grave-stones. MASONS HALL is a small stone edifice in Masons' Alley, Basinghall Street; it is now rented by a Carpet manufacturer.

The PLUMBERS' COMPANY was incorporated in 1611: the site of their ancient *Hall* in Anchor Lane is now occupied by extensive warehouses. The present PLUMBERS' HALL stands in Great Bush Lane, Cannon Street; it was built a few years ago, and is scarcely any thing more than a respectable modern dwelling; the Company's Arms are displayed over the central window.

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The INNHOLDERS received their charter from Henry the Eighth, in the year 1515; their HALL is a small brick edifice, in Little Elbow Lane.

The FOUNDERS' COMPANY was incorporated by James the First, in 1614, and empowered to "search all brass weights, and brass and copper wares, within the City of London, and three miles thereof;" and all brass weights made within that circuit must be sized by the Company's standard, and stamped with their mark. FOUNDERS' HALL stands in a small court near St. Margaret's Church, in Lothbury, which, according to Stow, was formerly "for the most part possessed by Founders that cast candlesticks, chafing-dishes, spice-mortars, and such like copper or laton works:"—this building is now rented by a respectable congregation of Protestant Dissenters, and it has been used as a Dissenting Meeting-house for upwards of a century.

The POULTERERS were incorporated in 1504: they have a Livery, but no Hall. The COOKS, though a very ancient Fellowship, were not incorporated till the year 1480, but have obtained confirmatory charters from Queen Elizabeth and James the First. Their *Hall*, which stood in Aldersgate Street, nearly opposite to Little Britain, was destroyed by an accidental fire, about thirty years ago; its site is now covered by dwelling-houses.

The COOPERS' COMPANY was incorporated by Henry the Seventh, in 1501; and in the following reign, (28th of Henry the Eighth,) was empowered to 'search and guage' all barrels and other vessels made for the sale of ale, beer, and soap, throughout London, and within two miles round its suburbs. By the same statute it was also enacted, that no *Brewer*, who shall "brew for sale beer or ale, shall occupy the mystery of *Coopers*, nor make any barrels, or other vessels, whereby they shall put their beer or ale to sale; but all such barrels, or other vessels of wood, shall be made and marked by the Coopers, upon pain to forfeit for every such barrel, or other vessel, three shillings and fourpence." COOPERS' HALL is a substantial brick edifice, standing

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standing on the west side of Basinghall Street; and besides its regular appropriation to the concerns of the Company, it has been made use of for some years for the drawing of the State-Lottery Tickets. In the windows are several coats of arms in stained glass, and the Company possess two tolerable portraits; the one of *Sir John Fleet*, who was Lord Mayor in 1693, and the other of *Henry Stroud*, Esq. who bequeathed to them 6500l. for the building and endowment of a Free School and Alms-house, at Egham, in Surrey.

The TYLERS' and BRICKLAYERS' COMPANY is of considerable antiquity, though it was not regularly incorporated till the year 1568. BRICKLAYERS' HALL is situated in a small court on the south side of Leadenhall Street, in the midst of various rude, clumsy, and irregular dwellings, constructed probably in the sixteenth century, of timber, and lath and plaister. The Hall was built in 1627, but has long been deserted by the Company, and is now a Jew's Synagogue; in the centre of the roof is a handsome cupola.

The BOWYERS formed a Company by prescription, long previous to their legal incorporation in the eighteenth year of James the First; and it has been remarked as a singular circumstance, that they should have been first incorporated at a time when the use of the *Bow*, as a military engine, had been almost entirely superseded by the introduction of fire-arms: this Company has a Livery, but no Hall. The FLETCHERS, or Arrow-makers, from *Flêche*, an arrow, is only a prescriptive Company, though it possesses both arms and a Livery, and had formerly a Hall, in St. Mary Axe: the Members are now of different trades. With the Bowyers and Fletchers, were anciently connected two other Fraternities, called the STRINGERS and the ARROW-HEAD MAKERS, both which have become merely nominal professions, in consequence of the general use of gunpowder. Even so early as the year 1570, these trades had so greatly decreased, that they collectively petitioned the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, that he would exert his good offices with the Queen in their favour, by

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by obtaining a prohibition of the practise of unlawful games, and an enforcement of the exercises of the Long Bow. Soon afterwards, a Commission was issued agreeably to the prayer of the Petition, and Commissioners were appointed in every county to "take due and lawful search, as well for such as used unlawful games, as also whether every person, for himself, his servants, and other youth, had sufficient bows and arrows, and had not occupied the same according to the Statute." In the following year a new Commission was appointed 'to certify to the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper for the time being, in how many towns and parishes the former Commission had been executed, and what had been the effect produced." Still further to promote the aim of the Petitioners, the Venetian Merchants were required to pay certain penalties to the crown for not importing 'Bow-staves made of yew,' into England, as ordered by statute in the reign of Edward the Fourth: the Merchants, however, in a counter-petition, having stated, "the impossibility of performing at this time what had been accomplished in the reign of Edward the Fourth, as the Turks had possession of the Country which had been planted with yews," the demand does not appear to have been persevered in.

The BLACKSMITHS were first incorporated by Queen Elizabeth in 1571, and a confirmatory charter was granted to them by James the First. Their HALL is a large brick edifice standing on the west side of Lambert Hill: it was erected soon after the Great Fire, but has long been untenanted by the Company, and is now in a state of much dilapidation.

The JOINERS existed as a Brotherhood in the time of Henry the Seventh, but were not incorporated till the year 1569, when Queen Elizabeth granted them her Letters Patent, under the appellation of 'The Faculty of the Joiners and Cielers of London.' They have a numerous Livery, and had formerly a *Hall*, which was given to them by a widow, who enjoined them, in consideration for the gift, to cause a certain number of masses to be said for her soul. That edifice was destroyed in the Fire

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of London; and the New Hall which arose upon its site, but had been let out by the Company for many years, underwent a similar fate by an accidental fire in the month of December, 1811: it stood in a confined situation on the east side of Joiners' Buildings (anciently called Friars' Lane, and Greenwich Lane,) Upper Thames Street.

The WEAVERS or *Tellarii*, as they were formerly called, were united as a *Guild* as early as the reign of Henry the First, to whom they paid a rent of 16l. annually. They are thought to have been the first incorporated of all the City Companies; and this conjecture is corroborated by a passage in Cotton's Records of Parliament, which states, that in the "Eighth of Henry the Fourth, the Weavers of London prayed the King that 'their Charter granted by Henry, son of Maud the Empress, for 20 marks 2 shillings of fee farm,' may be confirmed, so as the weavers strangers may be under their governance." In the Charter referred to, which has been given in English by Stow,* it was ordained, that 'no person either in the City, or in Southwark, or any other place appertaining to London, should exercise the Weavers' craft, unless he belonged to their Guild; and that no man should injure them under a penalty of 10l.'; by the same instrument the Weavers were ordered to pay to the King two marks of gold, annually, at Michaelmas. Henry the Second again confirmed the franchises of the Company in his thirty-first year, but decreed also, that 'If any man made cloth of Spanish wool, mixed with English wool, the Port-grave ought to burn it."†

The tenacity with which the Weavers maintained their chartered rights gave such offence, and occasioned so much contention, that, about the year 1200, the City offered King John a gratuity of 60 marks to dissolve the Company. The result is differently stated; but the probability is, that the Weavers were only at that time subjected to an increase of rent; yet their

* Survey of London, p. 226. Edit. 1598. † Ibid.

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extreme jealousy of intruders caused so many disputes, that the Company was at length put under the domination of the City Magistracy by act of Parliament in the seventh of Henry the Fourth. Since that period numerous legislative provisions and enactments have been made for the regulation of the weaving-trade in all its variety of branches. WEAVERS' HALL is a respectable edifice of brick, standing on the east side of Basinghall Street.

The WOOLMEN are only a fraternity by prescription, and have neither Hall nor Livery. The SCRIVENERS, who were originally denominated 'The Writers of the Court Letters of the City of London,' were incorporated by James the First in 1616, under the appellation of 'The Society of Writers,' &c. They have a Livery, and had formerly a *Hall* in Noble Street; but having been much reduced, they sold the latter to the Company of Coach-Makers, who are the present owners. The FRUITERERS were incorporated in 1605: they have a Livery, but no Hall. The PLAISTERERS were incorporated by Henry the Seventh in 1501; and they obtained a confirmatory charter from Charles the Second in 1667. By an Act of Common Council, made in the Sixth of William and Mary, it was ordered that all persons exercising the trade of a Plaisterer within the City and its Liberties, 'under the cover of having the freedom of other Companies, without making themselves free of this,' should be subjected to a penalty. PLAISTERERS' HALL is situated on the north side of Addle Street; it is of brick, and its internal decorations were originally in the best style of the Company's profession, but these have greatly suffered through the appropriations made of this building, which has been rented by various tenants for different purposes: of late years it has been occupied as a Dancing School, Music Room, &c.

The STATIONERS' COMPANY had existed as a Fraternity long previous to the invention of Printing, but were not regularly incorporated till the reign of Philip and Mary, when, on the fourth of May, 1556, a Charter was granted to the Members, for the

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the purposes, as it would seem by the preamble, of making them the Court tools in fettering the liberty of the press, and preventing the circulation of all writings that exposed the errors of the Romish Church. "Know ye," says this curious instrument, "that WE, considering and manifestly perceiving that several seditious and heretical Books, both in verse and prose, are daily published, stamped, and printed, by divers scandalous, schismatical, and heretical persons, not only exciting our subjects and liege-men to sedition and disobedience against us, our crown, and dignity, but also to the renewal and propagating very great and detestable heresies against the faith and sound Catholic doctrine of Holy Mother, the Church, and being willing to provide a proper remedy in this case, WE, of our own special favour, certain knowledge, and mere motion, do will, give, and grant, to our beloved and faithful Liegemen, &c, Freemen of the Mystery or Art of a Stationer of our City of London, and the Suburbs thereof, that from henceforth they may be in deed, fact, and name, one Body of itself, for ever, and one Society corporate for ever, with one Master, and two Keepers or Wardens—and that they may enjoy a perpetual succession." Among the subsequent enactments in this Charter which was confirmed by Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards by Act of Parliament in the reign of William and Mary,* are the following:

"That no Person within the Kingdom of England, or Dominions thereof, either by himself, or by his journeymen, servants, or by any other person, shall practise or exercise the Art or Mystery of Printing, or Stamping any Book, or any thing to be sold or bargained for, within this our Kingdom of England, or the Dominions thereof, unless the same person is or shall be one of the Society of the aforesaid Mystery or Art of a Stationer of the City aforesaid, at the time of his aforesaid printing or stamping; or has for that purpose obtained our license, or the license of the heirs and successors of our aforesaid Queen. That the aforesaid Master and Keepers or Wardens, and their Successors for

* Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. IV. p. 383.

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for the time being, shall very lawfully as well search, as often as they please, any place, shop, house, chamber, or building, of any stamper, printer, binder, or seller, of any manner of Books within our Kingdom of England, and Dominions thereof, concerning or for any Books or things printed, or stamped, or to be printed or stamped, as seize, take away, have, burn, or convert to the proper use of the said Society, all and singular those Books and those things, which are or shall be printed or stamped contrary to the form of any statute, act, or proclamation, made, or to be made."*

In the second year of Elizabeth, the Stationers had the grant of a Livery, and were directed "to prepare and make ready the same liverys with speed, so that they may from henceforth attend and wait upon the Lord Mayor of this City at all common Shews," &c. Thirty years afterwards, namely, in January, 1588-9, a precept was sent by the Lord Mayor, requiring the Master and Wardens, and six of the *comeliest* personages of the Company, to attend him at the Park Corner, above St. James's, on horseback, in velvet coats, chains of gold, and with staff torches, to wait on the Queen 'for the *recreating* of her Majesty' in her progress from Chelsea to Whitehall.† Similar Precepts for the attendance of the most 'graceful' men of the Company

* The expenses attending the obtaining of this Charter, are thus particularized in the Books of the Company:

'The chargis layde oute for oure Corporation.

'Fyrste, for two tymes wrytinge of our boke before yt was sygned be the Kinge and the Quene's Majestie's Highnes. 0 18 0

'Item, for the syngned and the prevy seale, ... 6 6 8

'Item, for the great seale, ... 8 9 0

'Item. for the wrytinge and inrolynge, ... 3 0 0

'Item, for wax, lace, and examinacion, ... 0 3 4

'Item, to the clerkes for expedycion, ... 0 10 0

'Item, for lymnynge and for the skin 1 0 0

† See the Precept at large in Queen Elizabeth's Progresses, Vol. III. p. xv.

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pany have also since been directed to the Masters and Wardens in different reigns.

James the First, by his Letters Patent, dated at Harfield October the 29th, 1603, granted to the Stationers' Company the privilege of the sole printing of "all manner of booke and bookes of Prymers, Psalters, and Psalms, in meter, or prose, with musycall notes or withoute notes, both in great volumes and in small, in the Englishe tonge," as well as "all manner of Almanackes and Prognostycacions whatsoever in the English tonge, and all manner of bookes and pamphletts tendynge to the same purpose." By another Charter dated at Westminster, March the 8th, 1615, the same Monarch confirmed his former grant to the Stationers and established them in the sole right of printing "the Psalms of David in English meetre, and notes to singe them; the A, B, C, with the Little Catechisme, and the Catechisme in English and Latine, by Alexander Nowell," all which had been already transferred to the Company under a grant made by Queen Elizabeth: he also gave them liberty to make the necessary laws and ordinances for the due maintenance of their privileges.

The sole right of printing Almanacks was long maintained by this Company; but in the early part of the present reign, after a strenuously-contested litigation in the Courts of Law, the late Mr. Thomas Carnan, Bookseller, in St. Paul's Church-yard, obtained a legal decision against the exclusive privilege of the Stationers; and the printing of Almanacks was in consequence left open to the Public at large. The prior possession of the trade, however; the holding of all the popular copyrights, and the low rates at which their Almanacks are retailed, have contributed to secure to the Company almost as general a sale as if their previous monopoly had been established; and the publication of these annual calendars forms a very productive branch of revenue.

The entry of Printed Books on the Registers of the Stationers' Company, which is attended by the payment of a small sum, and the deposit of nine copies of the work entered, secures protection from piracy.

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piracy, under pain of certain specific penalties. The *first* publication entered on the Books of the Company stands thus:—"To *William Pekerynge*, a ballett, called a Ryse and Wake, 0 0 4d."

STATIONERS' HALL is situated on the north side of Ludgate-street, in the upper part of Stationers' Court. Before their removal hither the Company had two other Halls, one in Milk Street, Cheapside, and the other in St. Paul's Church-yard. The present Hall stands upon the site of '*Bergavenny House*,' which was a spacious building of stone and wood, that in the reigns of Edward the Second and Third, had belonged to John, Duke of Bretagne, and Earl of Richmond. It was next possessed by the Earls of Pembroke, and called 'Pembroke's Inn'; and afterwards by William Beauchamp, Lord Abergavenny, from whose family, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it passed in marriage, by the daughter and heiress of Henry, Lord Abergavenny, to Sir Thomas Fane. The Stationers purchased the estate about the year 1611, and having partly rebuilt the mansion, made it their Hall: that structure was consumed in the Great Fire of 1666; within a few years after which the present edifice was erected. It is a plain building of brick, but was substantially repaired, cased with stone, and modernized, in the year 1800, by the late Robert Mylne, Esq. Before it is a paved court-yard inclosed by a handsome iron-railing, with gates. The front exhibits a range of large arched windows, an ornamented entrance, and a neat cornice with pannels of bas reliefs above. The basement story, and some other parts of the fabric, 'serve as warehouses for the Company's stock of printed Books, and for other printed books which are the property of such individual members of the fraternity as choose to rent them.' On the left, is a flight of steps leading to the *Hall*, or *Great Room*, which has an elegant carved screen of the Composite order at the entrance, and is surrounded by an oak wainscoting. The light is admitted through lofty windows sashed, on each side; and at the north end is a large arched window entirely filled with painted glass, and the border

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and variegated fan of which are extremely vivid and resplendent. This, with the exception of 'the Arms and Crest of the Company, which were preserved for their antiquity and excellence,' was the gift of Thomas Cadell, Esq. a late eminent Bookseller, who was Sheriff of London in 1801. It is composed of seven compartments, filled with the arms of the City, the Royal arms, the Company's arms, and Crest, the arms of the Donor, and two beautiful emblematical figures from designs by Smirke; one of them indicative of 'Learning,' and the other of 'Religion.' All the modern painted glass in this window was executed by Mr. Egginton, of Birmingham, and it is a very admirable specimen of his ability in the art. On festival days, the Company's Plate is ranged on an antique cup-board in this apartment.

The *Court Room* is spacious, and very superbly decorated and fitted up. It is lighted by four large windows, hung with crimson curtains festooned, and overlooking a pleasant garden. The ceiling is arched, and richly ornamented with stucco-work; it rises from an elegant Composite cornice, and from the centre is suspended a larger chandelier of cut glass. The chimney-piece, which is composed of variegated marbles, has a beautifully enriched frieze, finely sculptured with fruits and flowers in the boldest relief, and similar decorations are extended to the cornice in various tasteful and picturesque forms. At the west end of this apartment is the Master's seat; and over it, surmounted by crimson drapery, a fine painting by West, of 'King Alfred dividing his last Loaf with the poor Pilgrim.' This picture was presented to the Company in the year 1779 by the late Mr. *Alderman Boydell*, (who published a fine engraving from it, by Sharpe,) and whose own portrait hangs on the right of the chimney-piece, and was also given by him in 1792, in which year this gentleman passed through his Mayoralty: the likeness, and the colouring in the latter picture are good; yet the allegory denoted by the figures of Justice, Prudence, Industry, Commerce, and Plenty, which surround the Civic Chair, wherein the Lord Mayor is seated, gives it greatly the air of a fanciful production. It was painted by Graham; who likewise

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likewise executed another large picture, placed on the left of the fire-place, which represents 'Mary, Queen of Scots, escaping from Lochlevin Castle by the assistance of George Douglas:' this also was given by Mr. Alderman Boydell, in 1791, and has been engraved.

In the *Stock Room*, which opens from the Hall, and in which the 'mercantile part of the Company's business is transacted,' are the following portraits:—*Tycho Wing*, the celebrated Almanack-maker, represented with lively and expressive features, his right hand on a Celestial sphere, an open collar, and over his shoulders a loose drapery: *Matthew Prior*, 'ob. 1721, æt. 57,' a clever picture, in which the Poet and Statesman is depicted with an animated countenance, wearing a cap and crimson gown: *Bishop Hoadly*, sitting, a half length, well painted, and habited as Dean of the Order of the Garter; this was painted at the charge of the late William Wilkins, Esq. Citizen and Stationer, and was bequeathed by him to the Company, to whom it devolved in 1784: *Sir Richard Steele*, his collar open, and on his head a velvet cap: *William Bowyer*, the Elder, Printer: *Robert Nelson*, Esq. author of several pious and admonitory publications, a fine and engaging portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller: *Archbishop Chicheley*, a curious old picture, on board. The portraits of Prior and Steele formed part of the collection of Edward Earl of Oxford, and are supposed to have been executed by Kneller; they were presented to the Stationers by the estimable Mr. Deputy Nichols,* (who was Master of this Company in 1805,) as were also those of Bowyer, Nelson, and Chicheley. At the east end of the room is a clever *Bust* of *William Bowyer*, Esq. the younger, 'a man, who for more than half a century stood unrivalled as a learned Printer; and to his literary and professional abilities added an excellent moral character.' He died in November, 1777, at the age of seventy-eight; and the Bust here preserved was modelled from a mask taken after his decease.

* An animated and faithful likeness of this gentleman, engraved by Charles Heath, from a drawing made by J. Jackson, in March, 1811, has been recently published.

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He bequeathed to the Company the interest of 5000l. upon trust, for the benefit of nine aged 'Printers, Compositors or Pressmen,' (to be elected by the Master, Wardens, and Assistants;) and of a further 1000l. for the use of such Journeyman Compositor as should have a competent knowledge of the Latin and Greek Languages, and be upwards of thirty-one years of age.

Besides the above bequests, various others have been made to this Company for charitable purposes; and much advantage is also derived from the produce of the sale of Almanacks, and the joint stock, or capital, connected with it, which is divided into shares, half-shares, quarter-shares, and half-quarter shares, and held by different classes of its Members. The freemen are numerous, and include Stationers, Printers, Booksellers, Bookbinders, &c. The Company's Hall has been frequently the scene of musical concerts, feasts, and convivial meetings, exclusive of those peculiar to the Society. An outlet from the Hall into Ludgate Street, is now making, through a dwelling-house, at the expense of the Company.

The EMBROIDERERS', or '*Broiderers*,' as they were formerly called, were incorporated in 1561 by Queen Elizabeth: they have a Livery, and a small *Hall* standing in a court on the north side of Gutter Lane, Cheapside, but now tenanted by a merchant: the Company's arms, neatly sculptured in stone, are exhibited over the entrance from Gutter Lane. The UPHOLDERS were incorporated in the year 1627 by Charles the First; and the MUSICIANS in 1604 by James the First: these Companies have each a Livery but no Hall. The TURNERS, who were also incorporated by James the First, have both a Livery and a Hall, the latter being a small edifice on College Hill. The BASKET MAKERS, are a Fraternity by prescription, but without either Livery or Hall. The GLAZIERS were incorporated in 1637 by Charles the First, under the appellation of 'Glaziers and Painters of Glass:' they have a Livery, and had formerly a Hall in Kerion Lane, but the latter having been destroyed in the Great Fire, was never rebuilt. The HORNERS were incorporated in 1638, but have neither Livery nor Hall.

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The FARRIERS were incorporated in 1673, and have a Livery, but no Hall. The PAVIORS form a Company by prescription, yet have neither Hall nor Livery. The LORINERS, or *Lorimers*, that is, makers of spurs, bridle-bits, and other small articles in iron, for harness work, though a very ancient Brotherhood, were not incorporated till the reign of Queen Anne, in 1712: they have a Livery, but no Hall.

The APOTHECARIES' COMPANY was originally incorporated with the Grocers by James the First in 1606, but eleven years afterwards he granted the Apothecaries a distinct charter, and forbade the Grocers, and others, from retailing any medicines and nostrums, 'the sale of which he ordained to be entirely under the management of the Master, Wardens, and Fellows of the new Company.' At that period the number of Apothecaries' Shops within the City and its Suburbs, were only one hundred and four. Various important privileges have been since confirmed upon this Company by different acts of Parliament; and its members are exempted from all Ward and Parish offices. The freehold of the Physic Garden at Chelsea was given to the Apothecaries by Sir Hans Sloane, upon condition that they should present annually to the Royal Society, fifty new Plants, till the number should amount to 2000. This condition was punctually fulfilled, and the specimens are yet preserved in the Society's Collection.

APOTHECARIES' HALL is a spacious and plain edifice, chiefly of brick, situated on the east side of Water Lane, Blackfriars. The buildings form a quadrangle, inclosing a small paved court, in which a high flight of steps on the east side leads to the *Hall*, or *Great Room*: here is a Corinthian screen, and at the north end a small gallery, together with a *Bust* of *Gideon de Laune*, a French Refugee, (and Apothecary to James the First,) to whose exertions the Company were principally indebted for their incorporation, and the following portraits: *Robert Gower*, Esq. Master in 1726, a whole length: *Sir Benjamin Rawlings*, Esq. Sheriff in 1737, a tolerable picture: *Peter Guelsthorp*, Esq. Master in 1701: *Henry Smith*, Esq Master in 1727: *William Prowting*, Esq. Master in 1773, seated, at a writing table, in

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his right hand, a key; a well coloured and expressive picture. *Gideon de Laune*, Esq. three-quarters: *Dr. George Pile*, whole length: *Sir John Clerke*, Master in 1694: *Mr. John Lorimer*, Master in 1654: *James the First* and *Charles the First*, whole lengths; and *William the Third* and *Queen Mary*, half lengths. In the *Court Room* are two very good three-quarter lengths, by Pine, of *John Allen*, Esq. and *Joseph Higden*, Esq. Master in 1763, both represented as sitting: and a third of similar size, of *Cornelius Dutch*, Esq. apparently by Hudson.

In this building are extensive and convenient *Elaboratories* for the making of Chemical and Galenical preparations; and on the west side is a large shop, in which vast quantities of medicines of the best qualities are retailed, as well to the profession as to the public. The *whole* of the medicines used in the navy are received from this Hall.* Once yearly, for the improvement of students, apprentices, &c. a general *Herbarizing* takes place among the Members of this Company; and several others, but to a less extent, are made in the course of the summer.

The SHIPWRIGHTS had composed a Society by prescription for many years previously to their regular incorporation by James the First in 1605. They had formerly a Hall at Radcliffe Cross,

* In the year 1747, the Apothecaries' Company applied to the Legislature for an increase of authority in searching for, and destroying adulterated drugs, compounds, &c.: and it appeared from the subsequent proceedings before the House of Commons, that there were then 700 apothecaries' shops within London and seven miles round it, (one half of which were kept by persons not free of the Company,) exclusive of those kept by Druggists. In the course of the examination it was fully proved that the Chemists were in the practice of making bad medicines for dishonest venders, under the appellation of *non verum*, and that the real and proper compounds made for honest dealers were distinguished by the term *verum*; that "trash was sold for Diascordium, which resembled any thing rather than the true Diascordium; that Gascoigne's Powder contained the juice of Spinach, in place of Oriental Bezoar; that the true Cinnamon Water was imitated by *Cassia caryophyllata*; and tincture of Rhubarb in wine, by Beer diluted with water; that syrup of Balsam was prepared with the juice of Marsh Mallows to save Sugar; and that Glauber salt proved to be Lymington salt, a notorious imposition." *Mal. Lond. Red.* Vol. II. p. 381.

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Cross, but that having been pulled down was never rebuilt: they were admitted to have a Livery in 1782.

The SPECTACLE-MAKERS were incorporated in 1630, but have neither Livery nor Hall. The CLOCK-MAKERS were incorporated in 1632, and have a Livery but no Hall. The GLOVERS were incorporated in 1638, and have a Livery; but their *Hall* in Beech Lane, Whitecross Street, having gone to decay, was afterwards converted into tenements. The COMB-MAKERS received their charter in 1636, but have neither Livery nor Hall. The FELT-MAKERS, or *Hat-makers*, were anciently united with the Haberdashers, but having obtained a separation, they were incorporated by themselves by James the First in 1604: they have a Livery, but no Hall. The FRAME-WORK-KNITTERS were incorporated in 1663, and have a Livery, but no Hall. The SILK-THROWERS, or THROWSTERS, were constituted a Fellowship in 1562, but were not regularly incorporated till 1630: the SILKMEN were incorporated in 1631: the PIN-MAKERS in 1636: the three latter Companies have neither Hall nor Livery, with the exception of the Pin-makers, who have a Hall in Pinners-Hall Court, Old Broad Street, but which has long been tenanted by a congregation of Protestant Dissenters. The NEEDLE-MAKERS, who have a Livery, but no Hall, were incorporated by Oliver Cromwell in 1656.

The GARDENERS were incorporated in 1616; the SOAP-MAKERS in 1638; and the TIN-PLATE WORKERS in 1670; these have neither Hall nor Livery. The WHEELWRIGHTS, who were incorporated in 1670; and the DISTILLERS in 1638, have each a Livery, but no Hall. The HAT-BAND-MAKERS were incorporated in 1638, but have neither Livery nor Hall. The PATTEN-MAKERS, who were incorporated in 1670; and the GLASS-SELLERS, in 1664, have Liveries, but no Hall. The TOBACCO-PIPE MAKERS of 'the Cities of London and Westminster' were incorporated in 1663, but have no Hall nor Livery. The COACH and COACH-

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HARNESS-MAKERS were incorporated in 1671, and have both Hall and Livery; but the former, which is a tolerably large edifice in Noble-street, Falcon Square, has long been let out to different uses, and the principal apartment has been appropriated both as a Debating Room and a Dancing Academy.

The GUN-MAKERS were incorporated in 1638; the GOLD and SILVER WIRE-DRAWERS in 1623, re-incorporated in 1693; the LONG-BOW-STRING MAKERS are a Company by prescription; the CARD-MAKERS were incorporated in 1629; the FAN-MAKERS 'of the Cities of London and Westminster' in 1709; the WOOD-MONGERS in 1606; the STARCH-MAKERS in 1662; and the FISHERMEN in 1687: not any of these Companies have either a Hall or a Livery.

The PARISH CLERKS were originally incorporated in the year 1282, by Henry the Third, under the appellation of the 'Fraternity of St. Nicholas,' and the Members received confirmations with additional privileges from several succeeding Kings, prior to their dissolution as a chartered Brotherhood in the time of Edward the Sixth. In the year 1611, they were re-incorporated by James the First, whose grant was confirmed in 1636, by his son, Charles the First. The Company consists of all the Parish Clerks of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and the fifteen out-Parishes which are included in the Bills of Mortality.

In the Catholic times the Parish Clerks formed a far more important Society than at present, and many ecclesiastics, and other persons of the first quality, as well male as female, united themselves to their Fraternity. They were accustomed to assemble annually for the performance of *Mysteries*, or scriptural Dramas, and had likewise other public festivals, which they celebrated with music and singing. Their Mysteries were usually performed in the open air near the Spring or Well, called from thence the *Clerks'* Well;* where, on one occasion, in 1391, they are

* This Well, which has since given name to the extensive district of *Clerkenwell*, still exists near the bottom of Clerkenwell Green; see further, under the account of St. James's, Clerkenwell.

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are recorded to have played three days successively before Richard the Second, his Queen, and the whole Court; and on another, to have acted the 'Creation of the World,' in presence of Henry the Fourth (anno 1409) and a vast concourse of spectators, including most of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom: the latter performance occupied the time of eight entire days. In May also, 1562, after the celebration of a Communion in the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, adjoining to Guildhall, the Parish Clerks received seven persons into their Brotherhood, and having dined together in their own Hall, attended 'a goodly Play of the Children of Westminster, with waits, regals, and singing.'

This Company has the privilege of compiling and printing the weekly and yearly returns of Baptisms and Burials, known under the appellation of the 'Bills of Mortality,' which, at stated intervals they present to the King and to the Lord Mayor.

Parish Clerks' Hall, an old and irregular brick edifice on the west side of Wood Street, is now occupied by a whalebone cutter, excepting a small room on the first floor, where the members assemble for business, and hold weekly meetings to improve themselves in singing. Here against the east wall, framed and glazed, hangs the Charter granted to them by James the First; and a tolerable portrait of *William Roper*, Esq. (in a black furred gown, small ruff, and collegiate cap,) who gave to the Company two small freehold estates in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, subject to the payment of 4l. to four prisons, annually, for ever. In the window, which fronts the north, are several small pieces of painted glass, representing 'David playing on his Harp;' 'St. Cecilia at the Organ;' 'the Arms of Charles the Second;' and the portraits of *John Clarke*, Master in 1675, and *Stephen Peckhurst*, Master in 1685. Before the Reformation, as appears from Stow, the Hall of this Company was situated near Little St. Helens in Bishopsgate Street, where they had various tenements near the Gate, and among them seven almshouses for decayed members, their wives and widows. 'The saide Hall, with the other buildings,' was in the time of Edward the

the Sixth granted to Sir Robert Chester, Knt. of Cambridgeshire, 'against whom the parish Clarkes commencing suite in the raigne of Queene Marie, and being like to have prevailed, the saide Sir Robert pulled downe the Hall, sold the timber, stone, and lead, and thereupon the suite was ended.' *

The CARMEN were constituted a Fellowship of the City of London, by an Act of Common Council in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and were incorporated with the *Fuellers*, in 1606, under the appellation of *Wood-mongers*; but the latter having thrown up their charter in 1668, from apprehension of consequences through some considerable frauds which they had been guilty of in the sale of coals, the Carmen were re-constituted a Fellowship by the Common Council: they have neither Hall nor Livery. The regulation of the whole body is vested in the City Magistracy under an Act of Parliament made in the thirteenth year of George the Second; and the prices which the Carmen are allowed to charge are determined by the same authority. The right of licensing carts for hire within the City has been given by an Act of Common Council to Christ's Hospital; the sum of 17s. 6d. is paid for each license, and the number of licenses that has been granted annually since the year 1761, is 420: these licenses confer the exclusive privileges of doing all cart-work for hire within the City and its Liberties.

The PORTERS, or FELLOWSHIP-PORTERS, as they are commonly styled, were constituted a Company by an Act of Common Council, in the year 1646. They consist of the two denominations called Tackle Porters, and Ticket Porters: the *Tackle Porters* are appointed by the twelve principal City Companies, and must be all freemen: they are entitled to the "work or labour of unshipping, landing, carrying, and housing of all goods imported by, and belonging, to the South Sea Company, and the East-India Company, and of all other goods and merchandizes coming from any other Ports and Places, and imported into the Port

* Snr. of Lond. p. 133, Edit. 1598.

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Port of London; excepting from the East Country, and of goods, the growth, product, or manufacture of Ireland, and the British Plantations, and goods coming coastwise." * Before any person can become a Tackle Porter he must give bond with four sufficient house-keepers as sureties, for 500l. to make restitution for any loss or damage that may be sustained through his neglect or connivance.

The *Ticket Porters* are appointed by the Corporation, and are exclusively entitled "to the work or labour of unshipping, landing, carrying, and housing of pitch, tar, soap, ashes, clapboards, wainscot, fir-poles, masts, deals, oars, chests, tables, flax, and hemp, brought from Dantzic, or any other part or place of the East Countries: as also of all iron, ropes, cables, and all other kind of cordage, and of all wood, commonly called green wood; and also of all manner of goods, of the growth, produce, and manufacture, of Ireland, and the British Plantations; and of all manner of coast goods, except lead;—and generally, to work under the Tackle Porters." † Every Ticket-Porter must be a freeman, and enter into a bond with two sureties for 100l. He must also wear a metal badge, or ticket, when at labour, inscribed with his name and number as registered. The number of Ticket Porters is upwards of 1500. The necessary rates for all kinds of Porterage are determined either by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, or by Act of Common Council; and the tables are set up for public information at Guildhall. The Governor of this Fellowship is always an Alderman, (whose appointment is vested in the Court of Aldermen,) and his decision is final in respect to all differences and controversies that may arise among the members. The *Hall* of this Company is a small building on St. Mary's Hill, near Billingsgate. ‡

The

* Report on the Trade and Shipping of the Port of London, made to the House of Commons, 1796. App. F. f.

† Report on the Trade, &c. App. G. g.

‡ A remarkable Custom, in use among the Fellowship Porters, is worthy of

The WATERMENS' COMPANY, though the last in the order of precedency, was incorporated by Act of Parliament so long ago as the year 1556; and it was at the same time enacted 'that their wherries should be twelve feet and a half long, and four feet and a half broad in the midship, or be liable to forfeiture.' Various legislative provisions have been since made for the government of this considerable body; whose more immediate regulation, however, has long been possessed by the City Magistracy, and was particularly confirmed to them by an Act of Parliament passed in the 34th year of his present Majesty. *

The

of notice. By an Act of Common Council, it was ordered that an annual Sermon should be preached before them, in the Parish Church at St. Mary at Hill, the Sunday next after Midsummer; they, therefore, on the preceding night, furnish the merchants and respectable families in the neighbourhood with nosegays, and in the morning proceed from their Hall to Church, each having a large Nosegay in his hand. On their arrival at the Church, they walk up the middle aisle to the altar, and every porter deposits his benevolence for the use of the Poor, and to defray the expenses of the day, into two basons provided for the purpose: after this ceremony the Deputy, and Merchants, with their wives, children, and servants, walk in order, from their separate pews to perform the same solemnity. The nosegays used on this occasion are expensive, and the custom is ancient." See '*New Remarks on London*,' &c. by the Company of Parish Clerks, p. 408.

* By this Act "The Court of Lord Mayor and Aldermen are empowered to make rules and orders for the government of watermen, wherrymen, and lightermen, between Gravesend and Windsor: and jurisdiction is given to the Mayor, Recorder, or any one Alderman within the City, and the Justices of the Peace of the counties and places next adjoining to the River, to put all laws, rules, and orders, made by the said Court of Mayor and Aldermen, or by the Rulers of the Watermens' Company, and approved by the court, in execution against watermen and others, guilty of any offence against such laws, rules, and orders.

"Such rules may be enforced by penalties and forfeitures, not exceeding 3l. for any offence, and are to be approved of by one of the chief Judges. A copy of them being thirty days previously sent to the Watermens' Company, who may submit objections to the Judges. Within thirty days after, being allowed

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The common concerns of this Company are regulated by a General Court, consisting of eleven Rulers or Overseers, (eight of whom are appointed by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and the remaining three by the Watermen themselves) seven Auditors, five Comptrollers, and thirty Assistants. All the boats belonging to this Fraternity must be numbered and registered, and any exaction or extortion beyond the proper rates fixed by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, (a list of which rates or fares is always hung up in the passage to the Court Rooms at Guild-hall,) or any abuse or misbehaviour, subjects the offender to a fine or imprisonment for a stated time. The application for redress should be made generally to the Clerk of Watermens' Hall, and the number of the boat given; the offender is then summoned to answer the complaint, and the cause is heard, and summarily decided. Among the offences punishable by fine, are 'immodest and

allowed, copies of the rules are to be sent to the Public Offices in Middlesex and Surrey, and to the Clerks of the Peace of the counties and places adjoining the River.

"Authority is also given to the Lord Mayor, Recorder, or any one Alderman of London, and to any Justice or Justices of the Peace, within their respective jurisdictions, to summon offenders (within six days after any offence is committed) and, on their refusal to appear, to apprehend them by fine, not exceeding the penalty imposed for the offence; or, in case of refusal to pay the fine, by imprisonment, not exceeding one month. A like authority is given to summon, apprehend, and punish persons refusing to pay watermen their fares, &c.

"Authority is also given to two of the Rulers of the Watermens' Company (as well as to the Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, and Justices) to hear complaints between watermen and watermen, their widows, apprentices, &c." Any waterman thinking himself aggrieved, has under the same Act, a right of appeal to the Quarter Sessions.

The General Court of this Company is empowered to appoint any number of watermen, not exceeding forty, to ply and work on *Sundays*, between Vauxhall and Limehouse, at such places as shall be appointed, to carry over passengers at a regulated rate. The money earned by such labour, after each waterman has been paid his proper wages, is consolidated into a fund for the benefit of the poor belonging to the fraternity.

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and lewd expressions,' if uttered while rowing on the river, or at any of the plying places between Gravesend and Windsor. No waterman's apprentice is suffered to have the sole care of a boat till his age be seventeen, (unless he be a waterman's son,) under a penalty of ten shillings on the master, in which case he is permitted to ply for fares at sixteen years of age.

The number of watermen belonging to the Company is upwards of 12,000, of whom about 8000 are freemen of the City; 2000 non-freemen, and 2000 apprentices. About 4000 of this body were in the year 1796, supposed to be serving in the Royal Navy; the Lords of the Admiralty having power to apply to the Company, under an Act made in the time of William and Mary, for a certain number of watermen whenever there should be occasion for their services. *Watermen's Hall* is a small but convenient building, situated on St. Mary's Hill.

GUILDHALL.

The original Hall for the transaction of the public business of the Corporation of London, appears from Stow to have been situated on 'the east side' of *Aldermans' Bury*, (to which it gave name) and 'not far from the west end of the Guildhall now used.' *—"Touching the antiquity," continues our historian "of this old Aldermans' Bury, or court, I have not read other than that Richarde de Renery [or Reynere] one of the sheriffes in the first of Richarde the First, anno 1189, gave to the Church of St. Mary, at Osney by Oxforde, certaine ground and rents in *Aldermanbury* of London, as appeareth by the Register of that Church, and is also entered in the Hoistinges [Court of Hustings] of the Guildhall in London:—I myself have seen the ruines of the old Court Hall in Aldermanbury Street, which of late hath been employed as a Carpenter's Yard, &c." †

The present GUILDHALL is an extensive, but irregular pile of buildings, partly of stone, and partly of brick, situated at the north

* Stow's Lond. p. 232. Edit. 1598. † Ibid.

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north end of King Street, Cheapside, the principal front being towards the south. "This Guilde Hall," sayeth Robert Fabian, "was begunne to bee builded new in the yeare 1411, the twelfth of Henry the Fourth, by Thomas Knolles, then Maior, and by his Brethren the Aldermen; and the same was made of a little Cottage, a large and great house as now it standeth." * The expenses of erecting the 'Great Hall,' which was the first part that was built, were defrayed by 'large benevolences' from the City Companies, conjoined with 'sums of money' paid for committed offences, and with extraordinary fees, fines, amerciaments, &c. ordered to be applied to this purpose during seven years, and afterwards extended for the term of three years longer. In the years 1422, and 1423, the Executors of the celebrated Sir Richard Whittington gave 35l. 'towards the paving of this great Hall' with 'hard stone of Purbecke;' and they also glazed some of the windows. In the following year, 'the foundation of the Mayor's Court was laid;' and in the next, anno 1425, that 'of the Porch on the south side of the Mayor's Court.'—"Then was builded the Maior's Chamber, and the Counsell Chamber, with other roomes above the staires: last of all a stately Porch entering the great Hall was erected, the front thereof being beautified with images of stone."† The charges for glazing were defrayed by the executors of Whittington, and 'divers Aldermen', whose Arms were in consequence inserted in the windows. In 1481, Sir William Haryot, Mayor, gave 40l. for making and glazing 'two Louvers;' and about 1501, the Kitchen and other offices were built, by "procurement of Sir John Shaw, Goldsmith, Mayor; since which time the Mayors' feasts have been yearly kept there, which before time were kept in the [Merchant] Taylor's Hall, and the Grocer's Hall." This 'procurement,' as Stow calls it, was by promoting a subscription, to which the City Companies were the chief contributors. In 1505, at which time all the works appear to have been completed, a bequest of 73l. 6s. 8d. was made by Sir Nicholas Aldwyn (Mayor in 1499) "for

* Stow's Lond. p. 216. Edit. 1598. † Ibid.

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" for a hanging of tapestrié, to serve for principal days in the Guildhall:" * In the years 1614 and 1615, a new Council Chamber, with a record-room over it, was erected at the expense of 1740l.

In the Great Fire of 1666, all the out-offices and combustible parts of this edifice were consumed; yet the solidity of the walls was such as to admit of a substantial repair within the three following years, at a less sum than 3000l. Some further reparations were made at the beginning of the last century, but the most important change was effected in the years 1789 and 1790, when the ancient venerable aspect of the Hall was metamorphosed into the present truly *Gothic* façade. In the old front, the entrance Porch projected several feet before the main line of the Hall, (as indeed it still does) having in the centre a pointed arch-way, supported by double columns; and the spandrils of the arch being highly ornamented with tracery. On each side of the arch-way in the basement were compartments inclosing shields, and above them enriched niches, in which on slender pedestals stood the statues of 'Discipline,' or Religion, 'Fortitude,' 'Justice,' and 'Temperance;' expressed " by four elegant and delicate females; the first in the habit of a nun; the second had an upper garment, composed of ring-armour, and in the left hand a shield; the third crowned, and in the attitude of administering justice (the scales gone); the fourth deprived of its arms, (and of course no symbols remaining,) but the attitude was most expressive of the character it assumed †. Above were two large niches, containing

* Stow's Lond. p. 217.

† Engravings of these Statues have been made by Carter for his 'Ancient Sculpture and Painting.' When the Statues were taken down, they were requested of the Court of Common Council by Mr. Alderman Boydell, for the purpose of presenting them to Mr. Banks, the late eminent sculptor, who regarded them as very eminent specimens of ancient art, and was at the pains of restoring their mutilated limbs, &c. After his decease they were sold by auction at a considerable price. Stow, in relation to these Statues, and to the general demolition of 'Images' that occurred in his time, states (Sur.

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containing the statues of two sages, recognized as 'Law' and 'Learning;' and around them were ornamental compartments, windows, &c. Still higher, was a (comparatively) modern entablature, with scroll, circular pediment, basso relievo of the arms of England, vases, and other sculptured decorations. The hall itself exhibited two stories; the lowermost containing the original pointed windows, with buttresses between each; and the upper one, another line of windows, with an entablature and pediment of the time of Charles the Second.

In the present façade not any part of the ancient front is retained, with the exception of the central arch-way, and its supporting columns: what has not been destroyed has been stuccoed over, and a new architectural character given to the whole design. Such an anomalous mass of absurdities it is difficult to describe: it is a wretched attempt to blend the Pointed style with the Grecian, and both with the East Indian manner. The entire front consists of three divisions, separated from each other by fluted pilasters, or piers, terminating above the parapet, in pinnacles of three gradations, or stages, crowned with fire bosses,

(Sur. of Lond. p. 217, Edit. 1598), that 'these verses following' were made about 'some 50 years since' by William Elderton, at that time an Attorney in the Sheriff's Court at Guildhall.

'Though most the Images be pulled downe,
And none be thought remaine in towne,
I am sure there be in London yet
Seven Images, such, and in such a place,
As few or none I think will hit,
Yet every day they shew their face,
And thousands see them every yeare
But few I thinke can tell me where:
Where *Jesu Christ* aloft doth stand
Law and *Learning* on either hand,
Discipline in the Devil's necke
And hard by her are three direct;
There Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance stande,
Where find ye the like in all this land?'

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and ornamented with a sort of an escalloped battlement; similar pilasters bound the sides of the front; and all the intermediate spaces are stuck full of small windows, three in a row, with acutely pointed heads, and turns within them of seven sweeps each, but without their proper and correspondent mouldings. The piers of the entrance Porch have oblong and pointed panels, with an inverted arch battlement above, which is also continued along the parapet over the arch-way. The parapet of the roof is similarly decorated; and the central division sustains the armorial bearings of the City, supported by large Dragons, with the motto, DOMINE, DIRIGE NOS! inscribed in a compartment below. Between each row of windows is a running ornament of open flowers; and above the flutings of the pilasters, are sculptures of the City mace and sword. The interior of the Porch is nearly in its ancient state, and tolerably perfect: it displays a two-fold division, formed by small columns, supporting a groined roof, and ornamented with pointed arches, tracery, shields, and rich bosses gilt: on one of the shields are the arms of Edward the Confessor.

The *Great Hall*, though divested of its original roof, and considerably mutilated in parts, retains much of the grandeur of its ancient character. It is built and paved with stone; and is sufficiently capacious to contain from six to seven thousand persons. Its length is 154 feet, and its width fifty-two feet. The North and South sides are each separated into eight divisions by clusters of columns, projecting from the walls; the columns have handsome bases, and their capitals are gilt. Each division, in the upright, generally speaking, consists of a stone seat; a dado with triple compartments of tracery, and occasionally, a small window, or doorway; an entablature, with a large and lofty pointed window, (of two tiers) above, with tracery on each side in unison with the dado; and over that, a second entablature, at which elevation the original work appears to terminate. Several of the large windows have been stopped up; and in a few of the divisions, as that connected with the entrance porch, and the next on either hand, are various compartments of elegant tracery

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Engraved by Lewis from a Drawing by J.P. Neale. for the Beauties of England & Wales.

Interior of
GUILDHALL,
London.

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in lieu of the large window. The friezes of both the entablatures display a great number of small blockings, sculptured with fanciful human heads, grotesque, and other animals, shields of arms, flowers, and other ornaments. Upon the capitals of the clustered columns, are now large shields, blazoned with the arms of the principal City Companies, &c. which were first put up subsequently to the repairs made after the Great Fire; yet there can be little doubt but that originally the Hall was finished with an open-worked timber roof, (similar to Westminster Hall) and that the springings of the ancient timbers took their rise from these capitals. In place of that roof is now an attic story, remarkably plain, erected between the years 1666 and 1670, and consisting of a general entablature, (exhibiting numerous shields of the City arms) double piers, and circular headed windows, eight on each side; the arrangement of the parts corresponds with that of the ancient divisions beneath, and the whole is covered in by a flat pannelled ceiling, three pannels in width, and sixteen in breadth. Over the principal entrance the original work has been broken into by the construction of a comparatively modern Music Gallery.

The East end of the Hall, to the limits of the first division on each side, is appropriated for the holding of the *Court of Hustings*, taking the polls at elections, &c. and is fitted up for those purposes by an inclosed platform, rising several feet above the pavement, and a pannelled wainscotting separated into compartments by fluted Corinthian pilasters. Over the wainscotting on each side, are seen the elegant canopies of six ancient niches, and a long range of similar canopies also appears above the pannelling of the central part; the three middlemost canopies project in an octangular direction. One large and magnificent pointed window fills nearly all the upper space; it consists of three principal divisions in the upright, and is again subdivided into a variety of lights, in three tiers; the mullions, tracery, mouldings, and other architectural accompaniments are all in a very fine and masterly style. The higher compartments display an assemblage

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of Painted Glass, of modern execution, representing the Royal Arms and Supporters; and the Stars and Jewels, of the Orders of the Garter, Bath, Thistle, and St. Patrick. The grand architrave to this window springs from half-columns (whose bases rest on the canopies below) and between them and the outward mouldings are two small niches. The West end of the Hall exhibits another magnificent window, exactly similar to the one just described, in its general arrangement, yet deviating in a few particulars, in the disposition of the tracery and smaller lights; this also, is ornamented with modern Painted Glass, representing the City Arms, and Supporters, &c. Below the sill of the window, at the corners, some small remains of canopies may yet be seen; but all the other ornamental parts of the original work have been cut away, and the wall is now plain.

Near the middle of the North side is a flight of steps leading to the Mayor's Court, and other Chambers; and on each hand is an octangular turretted gallery: these galleries assume the appearance of arbours, through being canopied by the foliage of Palm-trees, in iron-work; which trees support a large balcony, having in front a Clock (with three dials) elaborately ornamented, and underneath, a representation of the sun, resplendent with gilding. The frame of the Clock is of oak: the Cardinal Virtues appear at the angles, and on the top is the figure of hoary Time. These, however, are not the most striking adornments of this division of the building; for on the right and left of the balcony, on brackets, stand two gigantic Statues, which are generally known by the appellations of *Gog* and *Magog*. The costume of these enormous figures more nearly resembles the warlike habits of the Roman than that of any other nation; yet the anomalies are so many, that conjecture has in vain attempted to assign their age and country. The most probable supposition is, that they were intended to represent 'an ancient Briton,' and 'a Roman;' and they are thought to have been set up either as types of Municipal power, (like the *Weichbilds* of the Germans) or as watchful Guardians of the City rights. Both figures have black

black bushy beards, and sashes, and their brows are encircled by laurel wreaths; the presumed Briton has a sword by his side, a bow and quiver at his back, and in his right hand a long pole, to which a ball stuck full of spikes was once appendant by a chain, but is now gone: the Roman is armed with a sword and halbert, and his right hand rests on a shield, emblazoned with a spread eagle, Sable, on a field, Or. Their forms are not well proportioned; the heads being much too large for the bodies and limbs: their height is between fourteen and fifteen feet. They are hollow; and are constructed with *wood*, carved and painted, and not with 'pasteboard,' as has been frequently, but erroneously, stated. As neither Stow nor Munday have mentioned any thing of these figures, it seems most likely, that they were first put up when the repairs of the Hall were completed after the Great Fire.

It has already been mentioned, that one of the first Acts of Parliament that was passed after the dreadful conflagration of 1666, was for the erection of a particular *Court of Judicature*, to settle whatever differences might arise in respect to any of the destroyed premises: this Court was ordered to consist of all "the Justices of the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, and their successors;"—and in consequence, before the many discordant claims of the Citizens could be arranged, there were no fewer than twenty-two Judges engaged in the proceedings. The general conduct and legal decisions of these distinguished characters gave so much satisfaction, that the City voted that their portraits should be taken and placed in Guildhall, in grateful testimony of their services. It was intended, according to Walpole, that Sir Peter Lely should have executed those pictures, but he refusing to wait on the Judges at their Chambers, Michael Wright 'got the business, and received 60l. for each piece.'* The fastidious pride of Lely is to be lamented, for his pictures would unquestionably have been of a far superior description to those which were executed by Wright; and which, though still preserved, are now in a very pitiable

 condition.

* Anec. of Painting, Vol. III. p. 71. Edit. 1786.

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condition. All of them were formerly put up in this Hall, but at present only thirteen retain their places; the others, with the exception of Sir Matthew Hale, (which is a tolerably good picture, in the Lord Mayor's Court) were taken down during the late repairs, and deposited in the kitchen, together with the portraits of all our Sovereigns from the time of Queen Anne. The Judges were uniformly depicted in their official habiliments, and standing: their names are as follow. *

* *Sir Orlando Bridgeman*, Knt. and Bart. Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, (and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal,) ob. 1674; *Sir Edward Atkyns*, Knt. a Baron of the Exchequer, ob. 1689; *Sir Thomas Twysden*, Knt. and Bart. a Justice of the King's Bench. ob. 1682; * *Sir Christopher Turnor*, Knt. a Baron of the Exchequer, ob. 1675; *Sir Thomas Tyrrell*, Knt. a Justice of the Common Pleas; * *Sir Samuel Brown*, Knt. ditto, ob. 1668; *Sir Matthew Hale*, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, ob. 1676; *Sir Wadham Wyndham*, Knt. a Justice of the King's Bench; * *Sir John Kelynge*, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, ob. 1671; *Sir John Archer*, Knt. a Justice of the Common Pleas, ob. 1681; *Sir Richard Rainsford*, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, ob. 1679; * *Sir William Morton*, Knt. a Justice of the King's Bench, ob. 1672; * *Sir William Wilde*, Knt. and Bart. a Justice of the King's Bench, ob. 1679; * *Sir John Vaughan*, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, ob. 1674; *Sir Timothy Littleton*, Knt. a Baron of the Exchequer, ob. 1679; *Sir Hugh Wyndham*, Knt. a Justice of the Common Pleas, ob. 1684; * *Sir Edward Turner*, Knt. Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, ob. 1675; * *Sir Edward Thurland*, Knt. a Baron of the Exchequer, ob. 1682; * *Sir Robert Atkyns*, K. B. Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, (and Lord Chancellor) ob. 1709; * *Sir William Ellis*, Knt. a Justice of the Common Pleas, ob. 1680; * *Sir Francis North*, (Baron of Guildford,) Lord Chief Justice of the Common

* Those to which the asterisk is prefixed, are what are yet in the Great Hall.

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Common Pleas, ob. 1685; *Sir Heneage Finch, Earl of Nottingham, and Lord Chancellor) ob. 1682.

The only other portraits now in the Great Hall, excepting three specimens of Monumental Statuary, which will next be described, are those of *William the Third* and *Queen Mary*; the latter was painted by Vander Vaart. The *Monuments*, or more properly Cenotaphs, have been erected at the expense of the City, in commemoration of WILLIAM BECKFORD, Esq. Lord Mayor in 1763 and 1770; WILLIAM PITT, Earl of Chatham; and the immortal ADMIRAL, LORD NELSON. The Monument of the former is raised against the centre of the West wall; it was executed by the late Mr. Moore of Berners Street. Mr. Beckford particularly distinguished himself in opposing the arbitrary measures of Government in the contest maintained by Wilkes concerning the right of election for the County of Middlesex;* and having been ordered to attend his Majesty with the famous City Remonstrance voted in May, 1770, he ventured to express his sentiments in the following terms, after receiving an unpropitious answer from the Throne.

"Most Gracious Sovereign.

"Will your Majesty be pleased so far to condescend, as to permit the Mayor of your loyal City of London to declare, in your royal presence, on behalf of his Fellow-citizens, how much the bare apprehension of your Majesty's displeasure would at all times affect their minds! The declaration of that displeasure has already filled them with inexpressible anxiety, and with the deepest affliction. Permit me, Sire, to assure your Majesty, that your Majesty has not in all your dominions any Subjects more faithful, more dutiful, or more affectionate to your Majesty's person and family, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the maintenance of the true Honour and Dignity of your Crown. We do therefore, with the greatest humility and submission, most earnestly supplicate your Majesty, that you will not dismiss us from your presence without expressing a more favourable opinion of your faithful Citizens, and without some comfort, without some prospect at least of redress.

* See preceding Volume, pp. 521—523.

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"Permit me, Sire, to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour, by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate your Majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the City of London in particular, is an enemy to your Majesty's Person and Family, a Violater of the Public Peace, and a Betrayer of our Happy Constitution, as it was established at the Glorious Revolution."

Mr. Beckford was unwell at the period when he went up with the Remonstrance, and it is thought that the irritation of the times accelerated his decease, which occurred within a month afterwards. On July the sixth following, the Court of Common Council passed an unanimous vote that a Statue should be raised to his memory, inscribed with the words of his memorable Speech to the Sovereign. The position of the figure is said to be that in which he addressed the King; his right hand is elevated and spread; the left arm is nearly pendent; the head reclines towards the right shoulder: he is habited in a long gown, close coat, full dressed wig, &c. At the corners of the pedestal are two female figures, seated, emblematical of London and Commerce, in attitudes of mournfulness.

The Earl of Chatham's Monument is of a more noble design and dignified character. It is placed against the North wall, and was executed by the late John Bacon, Esq. R.A. who completed it in the year 1782, and received 3000 Guineas for his labour. The form is pyramidical: the Earl is represented standing erect upon a rock, in the costume of a Roman Senator; his left hand rests on the Helm of State; his right hand is affectionately placed on the shoulder of Commerce, who is gracefully presented to his protection by a murally-crowned female representing the City of London: in the fore-ground is Britannia seated on her Lion, and near her are the four Quarters of the World, represented by Infants, who are pouring into her lap the contents of the cornucopia of Plenty. On the plinth is the following inscription; and below it a medallion charged with the Cap of Liberty, and ornamented with laurels, and festoons.

In

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In grateful Acknowledgment to the Supreme Disposer of events, who, intending to advance this Nation for such time as to his wisdom seemed good, to an high Pitch of Prosperity and Glory, by Unanimity at home; by Confidence and Reputation abroad; by Alliance wisely chosen and faithfully observed; by Colonies united and protected; by decisive Victories by sea and land; by Conquests made by Arms and Generosity in every part of the globe; and by Commerce, for the first time, united with, and made to flourish by War;—was pleased to raise up as a proper instrument in this memorable work,

WILLIAM PITT.

The Mayor, Aldermen, and Commen Council, mindful of the Benefits which the City of London received by her ample Share in the general Prosperity, have erected to the memory of this eminent Statesman and powerful Orator, this Monument in her Guildhall, that her Citizens may never meet for the Transaction of their Affairs, without being reminded that the Means by which Providence raises a Nation to Greatness, are the Virtues infused into Great men; and that to withhold from these Virtues, either of the Living or the Dead, the Tribute of Esteem and Veneration, is to deny to themselves the Means of Happiness and Honour.

This distinguished Person, for the Service rendered to King George the Second and to King George the Third, was created

EARL OF CHATHAM.

The British Nation honoured his Memory with a public Funeral, and a public Monument amongst her illustrious men in Westminster Abbey.*

The Monument of Nelson was erected in the beginning of 1811: the sculptor was Mr. John Smith. It consists of three principal figures, namely, Neptune, Britannia, and London: but the gallant Chieftain himself, whose splendid atchievements this cenotaph was intended to commemorate, is represented only in profile relief on a miserable medallion. The absurdity of these things has already been the theme of remark;† but the substitution of an

* The corresponding division, on the opposite side of the Hall, to that which is occupied by the Earl of Chatham's monument, is now (July the 30th, 1812) preparing for the reception of the monument voted to his Son, the Right Hon. William Pitt, late Chancellor of the Exchequer; which has been just completed by Mr. J. G. Bubb.

† See Account of St. Paul's, pp. 283, 4.

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an overwhelming allegory in the place of historic truth, has been so much the practice in monumental sculpture, that it can now be scarcely too frequently reprobated. That a better taste is at length springing up in this country, the late works of Flaxman and Westmacott will abundantly testify; yet there may be other artists, possessed too, both of talent and judgment, whom, through their not having considered the subject properly, it still becomes necessary to guard from supinely reposing their inventive faculties upon what has been effected, instead of reflecting upon what might be done, and what propriety demands. In the design before us, even the very Dolphin of the Sea-god, (as well as the British Lion, on which Britannia appears seated,) is a far more conspicuous object than the renowned HERO to whom the Monument is consecrated. Neptune, who occupies the fore-ground, and is partly reclining on his left side and elbow, is a gigantic figure; the right hand is raised, and spread, and the head and countenance are turned with sympathetic attention towards Britannia, who is mournfully contemplating the medallion of Nelson, which she holds in her right hand. Behind are several naval flags and other trophies; and a two-fold marble pyramid, white on a ground of blueish grey, in front of which stands a murally-crowned female in flowing drapery, inscribing on the pyramid the words 'Nile,' 'Copenhagen,' 'Trafalgar;' above which is the Great *Nelson's* own name, encircled by a wreath. The latter figure, which is a personification of the City, or Genius of London, is wholly turned backward to the spectator, by which injudicious position a favourable opportunity of making an impressive and dignified appeal to the mind's eye has been entirely lost. The base of the Monument is circular, or rather elliptical, and has in front a clever bas-relievo of the Battle of Trafalgar: on each side, in a small niche, is the figure of a seaman; and at each end is a trident. The execution of many parts of this elaborate work is undoubtedly good, but the objections specified are sufficient to shew the inequality of the design. The inscription was from the pen of the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan, and is as follows:—

TO

TO HORATIO VISCOUNT AND BARON NELSON,

VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE, AND KNIGHT OF THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH;

A MAN amongst the few, who appear at different periods, to have been created to promote the Grandeur and add to the Security of Nations;—inviting by their high example their Fellow-mortals, through all succeeding times, to pursue the course that leads to the exaltation of our imperfect nature. PROVIDENCE, that implanted in NELSON'S breast an ardent passion for deserved Renown, as bounteously endowed him with the transcendent Talents necessary to the great purposes he was destined to accomplish. At an early period of Life he entered into the Naval service of his Country, and early were the instances which marked the fearless nature and daring enterprise of his Character.—Uniting to the loftiest spirit and the justest title to self-confidence, a strict and humble obedience to the sovereign rule of discipline and subordination.—RISING by due gradation to command, he infused into the bosom of those he led, the valorous Ardour and enthusiastic Zeal for the Service of his KING and COUNTRY, which animated his own. And while he acquired the Love of all by the sweetness and moderation of his Temper, he inspired a universal Confidence in the never-failing resources of his capacious Mind. It will be for HISTORY to relate the many great Exploits through which, solicitous of peril, and regardless of wounds, he became the Glory of his Profession; but it belongs to this brief Record of his illustrious Career to say, that he Commanded and Conquered at the Battles of the NILE and COPENHAGEN;—Victories never before equalled, yet afterwards surpassed by his own last atchievement, the Battle of TRAFALGAR, fought on the 21st of October, in the year 1805. *On that day*, before the conclusion of the Action, he fell mortally wounded;—but the sources of Life and Sense failed not, until it was known to him that the Destruction of the Enemy being completed, the Glory of his Country and his own had attained their summit: then laying his hand on his brave Heart, with a look of exalted Resignation to the will of the SUPREME DISPOSER of the Fate of Man and Nations, he EXPIRED.

The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, have caused this Monument to be erected; not in the presumptuous

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presumptuous hope of sustaining the departed Hero's memory, but to manifest their Estimation of the MAN, and their admiration of his DEEDS. This testimony of their gratitude, they trust, will remain as long as their own Renowned City shall exist. The period to NELSON'S Fame can only be the end of TIME.

In the *Lord Mayor's Court*, which is also the Court of Common Pleas, is a portrait of *Judge Hale*, by Wright; and another of the late *Earl Camden*, by Sir Joshua Reynolds: the latter was voted by the City in testimony of admiration at his Lordship's conduct in discharging Mr. Wilkes on a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, after he had been arrested and committed to the Tower by Government under an illegal, *general Warrant*, in 1763. His Lordship is depicted in his full robes, as Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, standing near a table covered with books and papers on a rich carpet, which descends to the ground in graceful folds. This picture has been engraved by Basire: on the frame is the following inscription,

Hanc Iconem
CAROLI PRATT, Esq.
Summi Judicis C. B.
In Honorem Tanti Viri
Anglicæ Libertatis Lege Assertoris
Fidi
S. P. Q. L.
In Curio Municipali
Proni Jusserunt
Nono Kal. Mar. A. D. MDCCLXIV.
Gulielmo Bridgen, Arm. Præ. Urb.

In the *Court of King's Bench*, which is to the left of the former Court, is a sea-piece, a long picture, by Copley, representing the 'Relief of Gibraltar by Lord Howe,' October the 14th, 1782.

The *Common Council Chamber* is a compact and well-proportioned room, appropriately fitted up for the assembly of the Court, which consists of the Lord Mayor, twenty-six Aldermen, and 236 Deputies from the City Wards. The middle part is

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formed into a square by four Tuscan arches sustaining a dome, pierced with a sky-light, and assuming the appearance of an escalloped shell. The angles of the corners beneath are painted with emblematical representations of 'Providence, Innocence, Wisdom, and Happiness,' by Rigaud; all which are personified by females of different ages, and with proper accompaniments, but the colours have been so changed and blackened by damps, that whatever merit these pieces may have once displayed is now entirely obliterated. The Lord Mayor's Chair, which is on a raised platform at the upper end of the chamber, is seated with red velvet, and the arms and back are gilt. An inclosure at the lower end separates the seats of the Deputies from a narrow space connected with the entrance, (in which is the fire-place, &c.) into which strangers are admitted to hear the proceedings of the Court, which assembles on every Thursday, excepting at the times of recess.

The walls of this apartment are painted of a dark red colour, and are hung with a very splendid collection of Paintings, the greater part of which was given to the City by the late Mr. Alderman John Boydell, who filled the Civic Chair in the year 1791. The principal picture, however, and the first that attracts attention, is one that was voted by the Corporation, and represents '*The Destruction of the Floating Batteries before Gibraltar*,' on September the thirteenth, 1782. This was designed to commemorate the gallant defence of that fortress made by General Elliot, afterwards Lord Heathfield; and was executed by John Singleton Copley, Esq. R. A. who was paid 3000l. for his performance; besides having the privilege of exhibiting it for a time to the public, and which was done in a temporary building raised for the purpose in the Green Park. This vast picture, which measures twenty-five feet in width, and about twenty in height, exhibits the Victory atchieved by the Garrison, and in the moment of their triumph, a display of humanity that highly exalts the British character: "it is composed of three large groups; that on the right contains the Portraits of the principal British and Hanoverian Officers, of the size of life, who are assembled

on

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on the Ramparts (the Action being over,) to view the dreadful scene which ensued from the battering Ships being set on fire. LORD HEATHFIELD, on horseback, in conversation with GENERALS BOYD, DE LA MOTTE, and GREEN, pointing to SIR ROGER CURTIS, and a detachment of British Seamen, who, at the hazard of their own lives, are rescuing their vanquished enemies from destruction. Several of the Seamen are seen at the stern of one of the battering Ships, striking the Spanish Ensign; whilst others generously relieve a number of the unfortunate Spaniards from a sinking wreck: these form a second group on the left. The third group occupies the centre, where a number of the enemy are represented in extreme distress, endeavouring to escape from a Floating battery that is enveloped in flames. At a distance is a view of the Camp of the Allied Army of France and Spain, and the head-quarters of the Duke de Crillon.*" All the principal figures are as large as life; their countenances are expressive of eager attention, and are very excellently finished. The judgment of the artist is rendered eminently conspicuous, both in the arrangement of the groups, and in the varied expressions of courage, terror, and humanity, that characterise the different figures. A very large and forcible engraving of this picture, two feet nine inches in length, and two feet three in width,

* Copley's Explanatory Key. The names of all the Officers, whose Portraits are introduced, are as follow:

The Right Hon. Gen. *Lord Heathfield*, K. B. Governor; Lieut. Gen. *Sir Robert Boyd*, K. B. Lieut. Governor; Major General *De la Motte*, commanding the Hanoverian Brigade; Major General *Sir William Green*, Bart: Chief Engineer; *Major General Picton*; *Col. Dachenhausen*, Reden's Hanoverian Regiment; *Col. Hugo*, Sydow's, late Hardenburg's; *Col. Schleppegrell*, De la Motte's: *Colonel Lewis*, Commandant of Artillery; *Col. Twigge*, 12th Regiment; *Lieut. Col. Vaughen*, 39th Regiment; *Col. Craig*, 56th Regiment; *Major Brown*, 58th Regiment; Hon. *Lieut. Col. Lindsay*, late 2d. Battalion 73rd Regiment; *Lieut. Colonel Hardy*, Quarter Master General; *Major Vallotton*, Governor's first Aid-de-Camp; *Lieut. Holloway*, Aid-de-Camp to Chief Engineer; *Major Perryn*, 12th Regiment; *Captain Drinkwater*, late 72nd Author of the 'History of the Siege of Gibraltar.'

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width, has been recently executed by Mr. William Sharp, whose talents in the historic line have deservedly exalted him to the chief place among the professors of the graphic art in this country. Besides the above, there are four other paintings, but much smaller, connected with the Siege of Gibraltar, in this apartment: they were executed by Paton, and represent, 1st, 'the English Lines within the Town, with the Houses burning and in ruins;' 2nd, 'View from the Sea, with the blowing up of the Gun-boats;' 3rd, another 'View of the destruction of the Spanish Vessels;' and 4th, 'The British Fleet under Lord Howe bearing down to the relief of the fortress:' the three former have been engraved by Fittler; the latter, by Lerpiniere.

The last-mentioned pictures formed part of the gift made by Mr. Alderman Boydell: the remaining part includes the following paintings, all which are in this chamber: the original price of the entire collection amounted to about 3000*l*.

'The male Tiger, and the Lioness and whelps,' by Northcote, finely painted: the former has been engraved by Murphy; the latter, by Earlom.

'The Murder of David Rizzio by the Lords Darnley and Ruthven, in presence of Mary, Queen of Scots, May the 9th, 1566;' Opie: engraved by Taylor.

'The Miseries of Civil War,' a Scene from Shakespeare's Henry the Sixth, Act II. representing a Son that had killed his Father, and a Father that had killed his Son, in the Battle of Towton, fought on Palm-Sunday, 1461; Josiah Boydell: engraved by J. Ogborne.

'The Death of Wat Tyler, in Smithfield, June the 15th, 1381;' Northcote: engraved by Anker Smith.

'Conjugal Affection, or Industry and Prudence;' an allegorical piece by Smirke: engraved by Thew.

'The Engagement between the English and French Fleets commanded by the Admirals Rodney and Count de Grasse, in the West-Indies, April the 12th, 1780;' after Paton, by Dodd: two

* See preceding Volume, pp. 174—6.

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two views: one of which has been engraved by Fittler, the other by Lerpiniere.

'Apollo washing his Locks in the Castalian Fountain;' Gavin Hamilton: engraved by Facius.

'Minerva,' a companion to the above; Westall: ditto.

'The Ceremony of administering the official Oaths on the swearing in of Mr. Alderman Newnham as Lord Mayor, on Nov. the 8th, 1782, at Guildhall;' W. Miller: this Picture contains upwards of 120 portraits of Aldermen, City Officers, Common Council-men, &c. An engraving, 2 feet 7½ inches, by 2 feet, has been made from it by Benjamin Smith.

'View of the Shew or Procession, on Lord Mayor's Day, by Water;' the vessels, &c. by Paton; the figures by Wheatley.

Portraits, half and three-quarter lengths: '*Marquis Cornwallis*,' Copley; engraved by B. Smith: '*Lord Heathfield*,' after Sir Joshua Reynolds;* engraved by Earlom: '*Lord Viscount Duncan*,' Hoppner, engraved by Ward: *Lord Howe*, a copy: *Lord Viscount Nelson*, Sir William Beechey: '*Lord Rodney*,' after Monnyer.

The grateful sense entertained of Mr. Boydell's gift by the Corporation, was testified by the following Resolution, which is engraven on a brass-plate over the fire-place.

> At a Court of Common Council, Feb. 27, 1800, on the motion of Mr. Deputy Goodbehere, it was resolved, That the Members of this Corporation, grateful for the delight afforded them, as often as they assemble in this Court, by the splendid Collection of Paintings presented by Mr. Alderman Boydell, entertaining an affectionate sense of the honour done them by that celebrated patron of arts, and proud of the relation in which they stand to him as Fellow-citizens, do, in testimony of those feelings, request him to sit

* The original picture by Sir Joshua, which has been copied on enamel by Mr. Bone, was first presented to the City, and put up in this chamber; but it sustained so much deterioration through the damps, that it was thought expedient to have it removed and copied.

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sit for his Portrait, to an artist of his own choice: conscious, however, that hereby they are only requesting him to confer a new gratification on themselves and their successors, and unwilling that, amidst such and so many remembrances of sublime characters and illustrious actions, his Portrait should be wanting, who, discerning in the discovery, and munificent in the encouragement, of merit in others, combined in his own character private integrity with public spirit, and solid honesty with a highly cultivated taste.'

The Portrait of the worthy Alderman, which was executed in consequence of this resolution, is a whole length by Sir W. Beechey, and represents him in his robes as Lord Mayor, standing at a table with the mace, sword, &c. It is a good picture, and cost 200 guineas.

Over the chimney is a beautiful *alto relievo* by the late John Banks, R. A. representing 'Shakespeare between Poetry and Painting:' this was the finished model for the sculpture in front of the Shakespeare Gallery, Pall-mall, and was also presented to the City by Mr. Alderman Boydell. An engraving has been made from it by Leney.

A characteristic *Bust* of the brave '*Nelson*,' by the Hon. Mrs. Damer, given by herself in 1808; a portrait of the late *David Pindar*, Esq. Senior Deputy of the Court of Common Council, who died in 1809, by Opie, the gift of a few of his fellow-citizens; some large *Prints* of the New Dock, and other projected improvements in the Port of London; and three spirited imitations of *Alto Relievo*, painted on the upper part of the east wall, complete the decorations of this chamber.

The *Old Council Chamber*, wherein the Court of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen is now held, is a well-proportioned and handsome room: the ceiling is disposed into oval and circular compartments, containing paintings of allegorical and fancy subjects, with heavy borders richly gilt. Various shields of arms, properly blazoned, are affixed over the cornice; and the mantle-piece exhibits a cleverly executed allegorical design of several

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figures in imitation of bronze. Over the east door is the appropriate motto, *Audi Alteram Partem*, in golden letters.

In the *Chamberlain's Drawing-room*, framed and glazed, are between thirty and forty elegantly written, and otherwise embellished, copies of the *Votes of Thanks*, &c. from the City, to the most distinguished Naval and Military Heroes in the late and present wars. The writing is principally by Tomkins; each record has the armorial bearings of the gallant Chieftain whom it commemorates at the top; the City Arms at the bottom; and round the borders different emblems, figures, and trophies, in allusion to the action recorded, neatly drawn and coloured. The gift of the freedom of the City was in various instances accompanied by that of a gold box, value 100 guineas, or a Sword of 200 guineas value *. In the *Chamberlain's Office*, Apprentices are enrolled, Freemen admitted, &c. The other apartments in this edifice require no particular description; most of them are appropriated as offices, or to the transaction of public business; and a new room has been recently built at the north-west angle of the Great Hall, over the kitchen, for the numerous meetings held here under Commissions of Bankruptcy.

Beneath the Hall is a curious *Crypt*, the entrance to which is by a descent of several steps, and a wide doorway in the basement of the east end. This is divided into aisles by clustered columns, having plinths, bases, and capitals; from the latter spring the groins of the vaulting, the chief intersections of which display ornamented bosses; one of them has a shield with the City Arms. On the north side were four large pointed-headed windows, now walled up, each of which had three lights. The height of the Crypt is about thirteen feet: it is now

* In a recent debate in the House of Commons, it was asserted by Sir James Shaw, (Lord Mayor, in 1806) one of the present representatives for London, that the donations to eminent public characters, and for benevolent and national purposes, made by the City within the last thirty years, amounted to the sum of 120,000*l*.

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now only used for the storing up of the tables, benches, &c. employed in the arrangements for the Civic Feast on Lord Mayor's Day *.

* Since the building of the kitchen by Sir John Shaw, in 1501, the inauguration Dinners of the Lord Mayors have constantly been celebrated in Guildhall. The entertainments are always splendid; but particularly so at the customary times when the reigning Sovereign and Royal family honour the Citizens with their presence, (See before, p. 113,) or when direct invitations to Civic banquets are given on the occurrence of important state events. In November, 1761, when their present Majesties partook of the festivities, (after first seeing the inaugural procession from the windows of Mr. Barclay, a Linen Draper, in Cheapside,) the entire *Feast* consisted of 414 dishes, besides the desert; and the whole expense of the day's entertainment cost the City 6,898l. 5s. 4d. On that occasion the table at which the Royal Guests were seated was sumptuously furnished, as follows:

First Service.

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
12 Dishes of Olio, Turtle, Pottages, and Soups....	24	2	0
12 Ditto of Fish, viz. John Dories, red Mullets, &c.	24	2	0
7 Ditto roast Venison	10	0	0
3 Westphalia Hams consume, and richly ornamented	6	6	0
2 Dishes of Pullets à la Royale	2	2	0
2 Ditto of Tongues Espaginole	3	3	0
6 Ditto Chickens à la Reine	6	6	0
1 Dish Tondron Devaux à la Danzic	2	2	0
1 Harrico	1	1	0
1 Dish of Popiets of Veale Glasse	1	4	0
2 Dishes Fillets of Lamb, à la Compte	2	2	0
2 Ditto Compotes of Squabs	2	2	0
2 Ditto Fillets of Beef Marinate	3	0	0
2 Ditto of Mutton à la Memorance	2	2	0
32 Ditto fine Vegetables	16	16	0

Second Service.

6 Dishes fine Ortolans	25	4	0
10 Ditto Quails	15	0	0
10 Ditto Knotts	30	0	0

1 Dish

The exterior of the Hall, with the exception of the south façade, already described, is so closely environed by houses, that no

	L.	s.	d.
1 Dish Wheat-ears	1	1	0
1 Goodevau Patte	1	10	0
1 Perrigoe Pye	1	10	0
1 Dish Pea-chicks	1	1	0
4 Dishes Woodcocks	4	4	0
2 Ditto Pheasants	3	3	0
4 Ditto Teal	3	3	0
4 Ditto Snipes	3	3	0
2 Ditto Partridges	2	2	0
2 Ditto Pattys Royale	3	0	0

Third Service.

1 Ragout Royal	1	1	0
8 Dishes fine green Morells	8	8	0
10 Ditto fine green Peas	10	10	0
3 Ditto Asparagus Heads	2	2	0
3 Ditto fine fat Livers	1	11	6
3 Ditto fine Combs	1	11	6
5 Ditto green Truffles	5	5	0
5 Ditto Artichokes, à la Provinciale	2	12	6
5 Ditto Mushrooms au Blanc	2	12	6
1 Dish Cardons, à la Bejamel	0	10	6
1 Ditto Knots of Eggs	0	10	6
1 Ditto Ducks' Tongues	0	10	6
3 Ditto of Peths'	1	11	6
1 Ditto Truffles in oil	0	10	6
4 Ditto of Pallets	2	2	0
2 Ditto Ragout Mille	2	2	0

Fourth Service.

2 Curious Ornamented Cakes	2	12	0
12 Dishes of Blomanges, representing different figures	12	12	0
12 Ditto clear Marbrays	14	8	0
16 Ditto fine cut Pastry	16	16	0
2 Ditto mille Fuelles	1	10	6

Centre

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Engraved by H.Hobson from a Drawing by J.P.Neale. for the Beauties of England & Wales.

GUILDHALL CHAPEL.
London.

London Published by Sherwood & Co Paternoster Row & Neale Essex Hill 1815.

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no full view of it can be obtained. The side walls and the angles of the east and west ends are supported by enormous buttresses, which correspond in situation with the divisions formed by the clustered columns of the interior. The three principal divisions of the magnificent east and west windows are also formed by appropriate buttresses; but the mouldings and tracery are ingeniously varied. The summit of each angle of the roof is crowned by a lofty octangular turret (having ornamental plinths, buttresses, &c.) surmounted by a cupola of comparatively recent date: from these cupolas, a pediment cornice rises towards the centre of the design at each end, but instead of meeting in a point, the whole terminates in a plain modern pedestal.

Adjoining to the front of Guildhall, on the east side, is the ancient building called GUILDHALL CHAPEL, which was founded about the year 1299, and dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen and All Saints. About the middle of the following century, a *Chantry* with four Chaplains was established within it by three Citizens 'named Fanelore, Frauncis, and Frowike.' Henry the Sixth, in his eighth year, granted a licence for rebuilding the Chapel, or *College*, as it was then styled; and in the twenty-seventh of his reign, he empowered the Parish Clerks to have a *Guild*, dedicated to St. Nicholas, with two Chaplains, in the said Chapel. At the time of its Suppression, the whole establishment consisted of a *Custos*, or Keeper, seven Chaplains, three Clerks, and four Choristers; and the annual revenues were estimated at 12l. 8s. 9d. Shortly afterwards the Chapel and its appurtenances, with divers

 messuages,

Centre of the Table.

	L.	s.	d.
1 Grand Pyramid of Demies of Shell-fish of various sorts	3	2	0
32 Cold Things of Sorts, viz. Temples, Shapes, Landscapes in Jellies, savory Cakes, and Almond Gothes	33	12	0
2 Grand Epergnes filled with fine Pickles, and garnished round with Plates of Sorts, as Laspicks, Rolards, &c.	6	6	0
Total cost of the King's Table	L.334	1	0

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messuages, lands, &c. within the City, were purchased from Edward the Sixth by the Corporation; and are now held in soccage of the manor of Greenwich. Several eminent Citizens are mentioned by Stow to have been buried in this Chapel: among them were *John de Welles*, Mayor in 1431, who built the east end of the Choir, &c.; *Thomas Kneseworth*, or *Knesworth*, Mayor in 1505; and *Sir John Langley*, Mayor in 1576. For upwards of a century and a half after the Dissolution, Divine Service was regularly performed here at stated periods, before the Corporation; but the Chapel has since been desecrated, and the eastern part is now used as the *Court of Requests* for the City. The west front, which is most miserably blackened by smoke, has a large and handsome pointed-arched window; and before it in the centre of the lower part, and at the sides, in circular-headed niches, are full sized statues of Edward the Sixth, Queen Elizabeth, and Charles the First; the latter is represented in the act of treading upon a globe: it is probable that these figures were first put up when the Chapel was repaired after the Great Fire. Adjoining to this edifice, on the south side, was "sometime a fayre and large LIBRARIE, (furnished with bookes pertaining to the Guildhall and College,) which was builded by the executors of Sir R. Whittington, and by William Burie; but is now lofted and made a store-house for clothes.—The bookes, as it is said, were in the reigne of Edward the Sixth, sent for by Edward, Duke of Sommerset, Lord Protector, with promise to be restored shortly: men laded from thence three Carriers with them, but [they were] never returned." *

On the south side of Guildhall Chapel is BLACKWELL HALL; an edifice of much note, both from the antiquity of its foundation, and from the use to which it has been appropriated for centuries. Stow, who attributes its erection to the age posterior to the Conquest, says that it was 'builded upon vaults of Caen stone,' and that of 'olde time' it belonged to the family of the *Basings*, 'which

* Sur. of Lond. p. 219. Edit. 1598.

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'which was in this realm, a name of great antiquity and renowne;' * and several of whom were Sheriffs of London from the time of King John to the reign of Edward the Second. From this family, it was called 'Basinges *Haugh,*' or *Hall;* and it gave name to the surrounding Ward, now corruptly called *Bassishaw* Ward. The arms of the Basings, 'a gerond of twelve pointes, golde and azure,' † were 'abundantlie placed in sundry partes of that house, even in the stone worke, but more especially in the walles of the Hall, which carried a continuall painting of them, on every side so close together as one escutcheon could be placed by another.' ‡ In the thirty-sixth of Edward the Third, Basing's Hall was the dwelling of Thomas Bakewell; and in the twentieth year of Richard the Second, it was purchased by the City, under the appellation of *Bakewell* Hall, (together with two gardens, one messuage, two shops, and other appurtenances in the adjoining Parishes of St. Michael and St. Lawrence,) for the sum of 50l. Immediately afterwards, the buildings were converted into a store house and market-place for the weekly sale of every kind of woollen cloth, broad and narrow, that should be brought into London; and it was ordered, that no woollen cloth should be sold elsewhere, under pain of forfeiture, unless it had first been lodged, harboured, and discharged, at the common market in this Hall. That ordinance was confirmed by an Act of Common Council made in the eighth year of Henry the Eighth; and heavy penalties were at the same time ordered to be levied upon every Citizen who should suffer any person whatsoever "to buy or sell any manner of woollen cloths, harboured or lodged, contrary to the said ordinance, within his shop, chamber, or other place within his house, unless the said cloths were first brought to Blackwell Hall, and there bought and sold."—the penalties were double for a second offence, and the third offence was punished by disfranchisement.

* Sur. of Lond. p. 227. Edit. 1598 † Ibid.

‡ Ibid. The manor and village of Basingbourn in Cambridgeshire were so named from the settlement there of a branch of the Basing family.

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After the establishment of Christ's Hospital by Edward the Sixth, the monies derived from the pitching and housing of cloth in this Hall were applied towards the support of that charity, and the sole management of the warehouses was vested in its governors. These warehouses obtained the names of the Devonshire, the Gloucestershire, the Worcestershire, the Kentish, the Medley, the Spanish, and the Blanket-Halls, from the different kinds of cloth to the reception of which they were respectively appropriated; but from the alterations that have taken place in the mode of conducting the woollen trade during the two last centuries they are now but little used.

The ancient mansion of the Basings having become ruinous, was pulled down about the year 1587, and a new Hall was erected upon its site within a twelvemonth afterwards, at an expense of 2500l. towards which 300l. was contributed by Richard May, Merchant Taylor. That edifice was mostly destroyed by the Great Fire of 1666; the present building was erected about the year 1672; it is an extensive pile, inclosing two quadrangular courts, and having three spacious entrances by arched gateways, from Guildhall Yard, Basinghall Street, and Cateaton Street. The arch-ways and lower parts of the wall next Basinghall Street are of stone, and doubtless formed part of the more ancient building; but the other parts are of brick. The principal entrance, in Guildhall Yard is ornamented by two columns of the Doric order, sustaining an entablature and open pediment: in the latter are sculptures of the Royal Arms, and under the arch below are the Arms of the City. Some apartments here, on the south side, have been recently fitted up for the use of the Commissioners of the Land Tax; but the whole building is in a state of considerable dilapidation, and must either be taken down or substantially repaired within a very few years.

THE MANSION HOUSE.

Previously to the reign of George the Second, the Chief Magistrate of the City had no place of fixed residence for administering

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THE MANSION HOUSE,
London.

London Published by Vernor Hood & Sharpe Poultry, Jan.1.1805.

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tering justice, and exercising his official dignities and hospitality. Various plans were projected to remedy these inconveniencies; and as early as July, 1734, the Court of Common Council resolved, that the sum of 18,000l. which had been paid into the Chamber of London by different Citizens who had declined to fill the office of sheriff, 'should be applied to the building of a Mansion House for the Lord Mayor;' and that in the mean time, the said sum 'should be vested in the three *per cent.* Annuities, and the growing interest thereon added to the capital every year.' Several architectural designs for the intended edifice were afterwards submitted to a Committee composed of the Lord Mayor, six Aldermen, and twelve Common Council men; and that of Mr. George Dance being most approved, the 'Chief corner Stone,' as it is termed in the inscription deposited within it, of the new mansion, was laid with much ceremony, on the 25th of October, 1739.

This edifice stands in a line with Cheapside, at the eastern extremity of the Poultry; a situation that was adopted in preference to several others which had been pointed out, as being more in the centre of business, and in the heart of the City. The site had been previously occupied by the *Stocks Market*, which had its origin about the year 1282, when Henry de Walleis, or Wallis, the then Mayor, caused "divers houses to be builded towards the maintenance of London Bridge," on the "voide place, neare unto the parish church, called Woole church, on the north side thereof; where sometime (the way being very large and broade) had stood a payre of Stockes, for punishment of offenders: this building tooke the name of these Stockes, and was appointed by him to be a market-place for fish and flesh in the midst of the City." *

Stocks

* Stow's Lond. p. 178. Edit. 1598. "This Stockes Market was again begunne to bee builded in the yeare 1410, in the 11th of Henry IV. and was cleane finished in the yeare next following. In the yeare 1543, John Coutes being then Mayor, there were in this Stockes Market for Fishmongers, 25 boordes, or stalles, which rented yearely to 34l. 13s. 4d.; for Butchers 18 boordes, or stalles, rented at 41l. 16s. 4d. and there were also Chambers above, 16, rented at 5l. 13s. 4d." *Ibid.*

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Stocks Market was latterly distinguishable only for the sale of fruit, roots, and herbs; but these are stated to have been the choicest of their kinds. At the north end was a small *Conduit*, erected about the year 1500; upon which, after the Restoration of Charles the Second, was set up an equestrian Statue, by Sir Robert Viner, (Lord Mayor in 1675) who designed it as a compliment to the Monarch, as well as a proof of his own loyalty. When the circumstances were developed, however, it was found that the saving habits of the Citizen had induced him to convert the Statue of John Sobieski, King of Poland, (which by some accident had been left on the workman's hands) into the resemblance of the laughter-loving Charles; and that of a poor overthrown Turk, beneath the Horse, into the Protector, Cromwell. After the Conduit was pulled down, the mutilated Polander was for some years suffered to lie among the rubbish in the purlieus of Guildhall; but in the year 1779, it was given by the Common Council to a descendant of Sir Robert's, who removed it to grace his country seat.

When the ground was dug for laying the foundation of the Mansion House, it was discovered to be so full of springs, that it was judged expedient to erect the edifice wholly upon piles. This occasioned a considerable delay; and the building was not completed till the year 1753: Sir Crisp Gascoyne, who filled the Civic chair at that period, was the first Lord Mayor who made it his residence.

This edifice, from its confined and low situation, and the want of a sufficient extent in front to give effect to its majestic portico, has an appearance of heaviness and compression, from which it would be free, had its site been more elevated, and in an area proportionable to its magnitude. It is very substantially built with Portland-stone; and the charges of erecting it, including the sum of 3,900l. paid for buildings that were pulled down, amounted to 42,638l. 18s. 8d. The front exhibits a noble portico, in the style of Palladio, rising from a massy rustic basement, in the middle of which is the door-way leading to the kitchen

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kitchen and other offices. A high flight of steps on each side, bounded by a stone balustrade, leads from the ground to the portico, under the centre of which is the grand entrance. The portico is composed of six lofty columns of the Corinthian Order, with correspondent pilasters against the body of the building, supporting a large angular pediment, the tympanum of which displays an elaborate piece of sculpture in alto relievo, representing 'The Dignity and Opulence of the City of London:' * this was designed and executed by Taylor. Beneath the portico are

* A more particular description of this subject has been given as follows:

"The principal figure represents the Genius of the City, in the dress of the goddess Cybele, clothed with the imperial robe, alluding to her being the Capital of this Kingdom, with a crown of turrets on her head; holding the prætorian wand (which extends beyond the cornice of the pediment) in her right hand, and leaning with her left on the City arms. She is placed between two pillars, or columns, to express the stability of her condition; and on her right hand stands a naked boy, with the fasces and axe in one hand, and the sword, with the cap of Liberty upon it, in the other, to shew, that authority and justice are the true supports of liberty, and that, while the former are exerted with vigour, the latter will continue in a state of youth. At her feet lies a figure, representing Faction, as it were in agony, with snakes twining round his head; intimating, that the exact government of this City not only preserves herself, but retorts just punishment on such as envy her happy condition. In the group, farther to the right, the chief figure represents an ancient River-god, his head crowned with flags and rushes, his beard long, a rudder in his right hand, and his left arm leaning on an urn, which pours forth a copious stream; the swan, at his feet, shews this to be the Thames: the ship, behind, and the anchor and cable below him, very emphatically express the mighty tribute of riches paid by the commerce of this river to the City to which it belongs. On the left hand there appears the figure of Plenty, represented by a beautiful woman, in an humble posture, presenting an ornament of pearls with one hand, and pouring out a mixed variety of riches from a Cornucopia, with the other; signifying the abundance which flows from the union of domestic industry and foreign trade. Behind her is a stork, and two naked boys, playing with each other, and holding the neck of the stork, to signify that piety, brotherly love, and mutual affection, produce and secure that vast stock of wealth, of various kinds, which appears near them in bales, bags, and hogsheads."

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are two tiers of windows, which extend also along the entire front, and above is an attic story with square windows, surmounted by a balustrade.

The east and west sides of this building are uniform in design, the entrances only being dissimilar. Each has a slightly projecting centre, with two tier of windows between the basement and the attic story; on the right and left, the cornice is supported by four Corinthian pilasters, between which, at either end, is a very large and lofty Venetian window; the whole is crowned by a balustrade. Above the roof, towards the west, is a heavy pile, extending across the edifice, containing the Ball-Room, &c. A corresponding erection which rose over the Egyptian Hall, at the east end, was taken down a few years ago. The disposition of the interior, and the arrangements to which the architect has had recourse in order to admit sufficient light into the various apartments, evince great professional judgment. The basement story is occupied by the kitchen and domestic offices, and by several rows of strong piers and arches which support the superstructure. The grand entrance in front opens into the *Saloon*, which is very spacious, and is handsomely adorned with Corinthian pillars, in imitation of yellow veined marble. Several pannels of the wainscotting are ornamented with carvings of military implements, &c. painted to imitate bronze; and the light is partly admitted by an elegant dome sky-light, and two smaller ones. The south end of this apartment leads into the *Egyptian Hall*, though wherefore it bears that appellation seems inexplicable, as there is not a vestige of Egyptian character in its whole extent. The ceiling is bowed and disposed into various parallel compartments: it springs from a deep cornice, which originally supported spacious galleries, and is itself sustained by eight immense columns of the Corinthian order, on each side; and by two half-columns at each end: between the latter are the great windows. This chamber occupies the entire width of the house; and, when entertainments are given here, is splendidly lighted by girandoles and lustres: its length from east to west is more than ninety feet; its breadth is upwards of sixty feet. The principal other

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other apartments on this floor, are the *Justice Room*, the *Sword-bearer's Room*, and *Wilkes's Parlour;* the latter is very elegantly ornamented and fitted up; and the Sword-bearer's Room has a neatly painted ceiling, and is papered with a flock paper of fleurs de lis on a blue ground. Above this story the central area is open, and the building forms a surrounding quadrangle, a thorough communication being preserved by galleries and connecting chambers. The *Ball-Room* and the With-drawing Room are the chief apartments of the second story; the former is about the same length as the Egyptian Hall, but considerably narrower: it is surrounded by a gallery for spectators; and the panels beneath are adorned with stuccoed and carved compartments of almost every kind of musical instrument. The *With-drawing* Room has a grand but heavy-looking ceiling, the divisions being all loaded with ornaments; over the drapery of the windows are carvings of the City mace and sword, &c. richly gilt. In a contiguous apartment is the *State Bed,* which was made only a few years since, and is a very magnificent and elaborate piece of furniture: the City arms, resplendent with gold, ornament the head, and the curtains are of crimson damask; the dome, posts, and other parts of the wood-work, are also enriched with gilding. The attic is principally appropriated as servants' bed rooms.

Many sumptuous Entertainments have been given in this mansion; and the Princes of the Blood-royal, and the first Nobility of the land, have been banquetted with the greatest pomp, and on the most costly delicacies that affluence could purchase. The patriotic Beckford, in 1770, gave a grand dinner and ball here, to a great assemblage of Nobility and Gentry; and on that occasion more than 600 dishes were served up, wholly on plate. In April, 1794, the late Marquis Cornwallis was also most splendidly entertained by the then Lord Mayor, Paul Le Mesurier, Esq. after he had been complimented with the freedom of the City for his brilliant conduct in carrying on and concluding the war with Tippoo Sultaun in India. In March, 1796, another very splendid fete was given here by the present Sir William

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Curtis, to a very numerous company, among which were the Duke of York, Prince Ernest, Prince William of Gloucester, the late Stadtholder and his family, and a long train of distinguished Nobility and Gentry. On Easter Monday, 1802, (April the 19th,) Sir John Eamer was honoured with the presence of the Prince of Wales, and his brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Cumberland, at the dinner and ball given by the Lord Mayor, at the Mansion House, on that day, agreeably to established custom. The Prince of Wales, with his brothers, the Dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, and Sussex, Prince William of Gloucester, and a concourse of Nobility and Gentry, amounting nearly to 5000 persons, were also entertained here on Easter Monday, 1806, (April the 7th,) by James Shaw, Esq. since knighted. The present Lord Mayor, John Claudius Hunter, Esq. has, in the course of this year, 1812, given two very splendid feasts at the Mansion-House, the first, on Easter Monday, (March the 30th,) and the other on the third of June: about 6000 persons are thought to have been present at the latter; among them were several of the Royal Dukes, and a great number of the most illustrious personages of the country.

Historical Accounts and Descriptions of the Royal Exchange, and the Bank of England.

The ROYAL EXCHANGE is the general place of commercial resort for the London Merchants, and is situated on the northern side of Cornhill. Before the foundation of this edifice, the Merchants had been accustomed to assemble in Lombard-Street, where they transacted business in the open air, exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather and alterations of the seasons. Various schemes were occasionally suggested to remedy these inconveniencies; and, as early as 1531, Sir Richard Gresham, the King's Merchant, who was then Sheriff, wrote to Sir Thomas Audley, Lord Privy Seal, requesting him to 'move the King, (Henry the Eighth,) to direct a Letter to be sent to

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Engrav'd by W. Angus, from a drawing by J. R. Thompson, for the Beauties of England & Wales. E. W. B. del.

ROYAL EXCHANGE,
Looking South westward.
London.

London: Published by Verner, Hood & Sharpe, Poultry, March 1, 1809.

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Sir George Monoux, requiring him to sell certain houses in Lombard Street, to the Mayor and Commonalty, for the purpose of erecting a Burse on the ground of the same for the use of the Merchants.' * Three years afterwards the King sent Letters to the City, directing the building of a Burse at Leadenhall; but the Court of Common Council having voted that the place of meeting should not be removed from Lombard Street, nothing further was then accomplished. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Gresham, son to Sir Richard, who very laudably persevered in his father's design, proposed to the Corporation, (Anno 1564,) 'That if the City would give him a piece of ground in a commodious spot, he would erect an Exchange at his own expense, with large and covered walks, wherein the Merchants and Traders might daily assemble, and transact business at all seasons, without interruption from the weather, or impediments of any kind.' This offer was accepted; and in 1566, various buildings, houses, tenements, &c. in Cornhill, and the adjoining alleys, were purchased for rather more than 3,530l. and the materials re-sold for 478l. on condition of pulling them down, and carrying them away. The ground plot was then levelled at the charge of the City, and possession was given to Sir Thomas,

* The above application of Sir Richard Gresham proves the mistake of Pennant, who affirms that the *original* hint for erecting the Royal Exchange was given by a Welchman, named Richard Clough, (afterwards knighted,) who was first the servant, and "in 1561, by his merit and industry, advanced, by Sir Thomas Gresham, to be his correspondent and agent in the then Emporium of the world, Antwerp. Clough," he continues, "wrote to his master, to blame the citizens of London for neglecting so necessary a thing; bluntly telling him that they studied nothing else but their own private profit; that they were content to walk about in the rain more like pedlars than merchants; and that there was no kind of people but had their place to transact business in, in other countries." *Hist. of Lond.* Though Clough might have written thus, the honour of giving the original hint must certainly be awarded to Sir Thomas's father, rather than to his servant; yet the fact is, that the idea of erecting an Exchange, or Burse, as it was then called, was not a new thought, even in Sir Richard's time.

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Thomas, who, in the deed, is styled 'Agent to the Queen's Highness,' and who laid the foundation of the new Exchange on the 7th of June following. The superstructure was carried on with rapidity, and the whole covered in with slate before the end of the year 1667.

The plan adopted by Sir Thomas in the formation of his building, was in general similar to that of the Exchange at Antwerp. It was an oblong square of brick, with an arcade, as at present, the supporting pillars being of marble. Beneath the arcade were ranges of shops for traders; and others were fitted up in what were denominated the lower vaults; but the darkness and damps rendered the latter so inconvenient, that they were subsequently let out for the storing of bales, pepper, &c. Above the inner pannelling within the arcade, were sculptures of river gods; and in niches over the arches were statues of the English sovereigns. Two cornices were continued round the quadrangle; and the attic was furnished with casement windows. On the north side, but not exactly from the centre, rose a Corinthian pillar, surmounted with a grasshopper, (the crest of Sir Thomas,) and the figure of a grasshopper was also elevated above each corner of the building.

The success of the shops, for two or three years after the edifice was completed, was not answerable to the expectations of the founder; and previously to the Queen's visit on January the 23d, 1570-71, he deemed it expedient to offer such of them, as were untenanted, rent free for a twelve-month, to any persons who would engage to "furnish and adorn them with wares and wax lights," against the time appointed for Elizabeth's coming.* On the above day, says Stow, "the Queene's Majestie, attended with her Nobilitie, came from her house at the Strande, called Somerset House, and entered the Citie by Temple Bar, through Fleete Street, Cheape, and so by the north side of the Burse, to Sir Thomas Gresham's in Bishopsgate Streete, where she dined; after dinner, her Majestie returning through Cornhill, entered the

* See preceding Volume, p. 627, note.

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the Burse on the south side, and after that shee had viewed every part thereof above the ground, especially the Pawne, which was richlie furnished with all sortes of the finest wares in the City; shee caused the same Burse by an Herralde and a Trompet to bee proclaimed the *Royall Exchange*, and so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise."* Among the tenants of the shops, as enumerated by Howe, in his continuation of Stow's Annals, were Haberdashers, Armourers, Apothecaries, Booksellers, Goldsmiths, and Glasssellers. †

Sir Thomas Gresham, by his last will and testament, dated on May the 20th, 17th of Eliz. bequeathed "the building called the Royal Exchange, with all the pawns and shops, cellars, vaults, messuages, tenements, and other hereditaments, parcell, or adjoining to the same," after the determination of the particular uses, estates, and interest for life, and intail thereof upon the Lady Anne, his wife, "jointly for ever, to the Corporation of London, and the Company of Mercers;" upon trust, that the Citizens out of their moiety should pay 50l. per annum each, to four Professors who should read Lectures on Divinity, Astronomy, Geometry, and Music, at his mansion-house between Bishopsgate Street and Broad Street, afterwards called Gresham College; 6l. 13s. 4d. per annum each, to eight alms-people, living behind the said mansion; and 10l. annually, to each of the Prisons of Newgate, Ludgate, the Marshalsea, King's Bench, and Wood Street Compter: and that the Mercers, out of their moiety, should pay annual salaries of 50l. each, to three persons who should read Lectures on Law, Physic, and Rhetoric, at his mansion-house; 100l. per annum for four Dinners, quarterly, at their own Hall, for the entertainment of their whole Company; and 10l. yearly to Christ's, St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, and Bethlehem, Hospitals, the Spital, and the Poultry Compter.

The emoluments derived by the Lady Gresham from the Royal Exchange in rents, fines, &c. are stated to have amounted to

June 9th, 1813. 2 I 7511.

* Sur. of Lond. p. 151. Edit. 1598. † Howe's Stow, pp. 868, 869.

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7611. 5s. 0d. per annum; and these she continued to enjoy till her decease in the year 1596. The haste with which the edifice was built, seems to have been inimical to its due stability, for the Ward-Book of Cornhill, under so early a date as 1581, contains the copy of a '*Supplication*,' presented by the Wardmote Inquest to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, requiring them "to take speedy orders," for "repayring the upper pts. or arches of the Royall Exchange, beinge on the s^h^. weste and south pts. thereof, with^in^. the said warde, whereunto the Merchaunts do comēnly resorte, have accesse, and do walke, beinge the chairge of repācons on pte of the Lady Gresham to be done, [which] hath byn, and is greatly defective, and very perilous to the walkers thereunder; in such as the mayne freestones of the arches thereof, have fallen, and a great p^t^. of the same arches are reddy to fall, to the great danger of the lives of persons yonge and olde, daily walkinge thereunder, and resortinge to the same Exchange." In 1602, the south wall was presented "to be crazie and ruinous;" and the continual need which the whole building had of reparation, is proved by other passages in the same Book.*

Another entry in the Ward-Book, under the year 1594, gives some information of the manner in which the vaults were appropriated: it runs thus;—"Presented. Willm. Grimbel, for keping typlinge in the vaults under the Exchange, and for broyling of *herringes*, *sprotts*, and *bacon*, and other thinges, in the same vaulte, noisome to the m^rchaunts^ and others resortinge to the Exchange."

In the tremendous conflagration of 1666, this fabric shared the common fate, and was burnt almost to the ground, "No stately building was so great," says an eye-witness of the calamity †, as to "resist the fury of the flames." "The Royal Exchange itself," he continues, "the glory of merchants, is now

* See Londina Illustrata, P. 1.; in which Hollar's print of the Royal Exchange as erected by Sir Thomas Gresham, is re-engraved.

† The Rev. T. Vincent, in his 'God's Terrible Voice in the City.'

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now invaded with much violence. When the Fire was entered, how quickly did it run round the galleries, filling them with flames: then descending the stairs, compasseth the walks, giving forth flaming vollies, and filling the court with sheets of fire: by and by, the Kings fell all down upon their faces, and the greatest part of the building after them, (the Founder's statue only remaining) with such a noise as was dreadful and astonishing." Another spectator of the Great Fire, the Rev. Samuel Rolle, gives the following curious account of this edifice, in his 'Meditations on the Burning of London':

"What a princely foundation was that Royal Exchange! and of how great use? Was not that the centre in which those lines met that were drawn from all parts of Europe? rich Merchants, I mean, and other eminent tradesmen, and great dealers, not only English, but Spanish, French, Dutch, Portugueze, Danes, Swedes! Was not the place a little Epitome, or rather Representative of all Europe (if not of the greatest part of the trading World) renewed every day at such a time, and for so many hours? As London was the glory of England, so was the Royal Exchange one of the greatest glories and ornaments of London. There were the statues of the Kings and Queens of England set up, as in the most conspicuous and honourable place; as well receiving lustre from the place where they stood, as giving lustre to it.

"How full of riches was that Royal Exchange! Rich men in the midst of it, rich goods both above and beneath! There men walk'd upon the top of a wealthy mine; considering what Eastern Treasures, costly spices, and such like things, were laid up in the bowels (I mean the cellars) of that place. As for the upper part of it, was it not the great storehouse whence the nobility and gentry of England were furnished with most of those costly things, wherewith they did adorn either their closets or themselves? Here, if any where, might a man have seen the glory of the World in a moment; as the Devil shewed it to Christ from a high mountain. What artificial thing could en-

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tertain the senses and fantasies of men, that was not there to be had? Such was the delight that many Gallants took in that Magazine of all curious varieties, that they could almost have dwelt there; going from Shop to Shop, like Bees from flowers to flowers; if they had but had a Fountain of Money that could not have been drawn dry! I doubt not but a Mahometan, who never expects other than sensible delights, would gladly have accepted of that place, and the treasures of it, for his *Heaven*, and have thought there were none like it! The sins of the lower part, (where Merchants met to discourse their affairs) we may suspect to have been craft and covetousnesse; over-reaching and going beyond one another. And were there not other kinds of sins which did abound in the upper region of that Exchange, which, like so many comets, or blazing stars, did portende, or threaten the destruction of it? Oh the pride and prodigality that was there to be seen! How few could be charitable that were so expensive as many were in that place! And how much of that which was there expended, might well have been put to charitable uses? How unlikely was it that they should be humble, who were so curious and phantastical, as the things that were there bought, shewed them to be! They that wrought for that place, had as need of as good a phantasie for metamorphosis in habits, as Ovid had in other things, that they might please customers so insatiable after novelties.

"Though there was in that place an Insurance-Office, which undertook for those ships and goods that were hazarded at Sea, either by boisterous winds or dangerous enemies; yet could it not secure itself, when sin, like Sampson, took hold of the pillars of it, and went about to pull it down. What quick work can Sin and Fire make! How did that strong building vanish of a sudden, as if it had been but an apparition! How quickly was it taken down, as if it had been but a sleight tent, the cords whereof are presently loosened, and the stakes soon removed. So fell that noble structure, undermined by craft and covetousnesse, and

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and overladen with pride and prodigality:—and great was the fall thereof." *

The following particulars relating to the re-building of the Royal Exchange were extracted from the Journals of the House of Commons by Mr. Malcolm.†

After the death of Lady Gresham in 1596, "all the affairs of Sir Thomas Gresham's trust were managed by a Committee of four Aldermen and eight Commoners, on the part of the Corporation, and by the Master and Wardens, and eight of the Court of Assistants, of the Mercers' Company. When the Exchange was burnt in 1666, only 234l. 8s. 2d. belonging to the trust was in the Company's possession; yet it appears that they begun the work of re-building, as soon as possible; for on the 15th of February following, their Sub-committee was ordered to assist the City Surveyors, in giving directions for removing of rubbish, cleansing of arches, taking down defective walls, &c. and to give a joint estimate of the ground necessary for convenient streets at each end of the intended structure. On the 25th, the Joint Committee agreed to petition the King for an order to obtain Portland Stone.

"September 20, 1667. The Committee resolved, at Gresham College, that as his Majesty had been pleased to interest himself in re-building the Exchange, they thought it their duty to lay the elevations and plans of the structure before him; for this purpose they requested the Lord Mayor, two members of the Corporation, two of the Mercers' company, and Mr. Jerman, one of the City Surveyors, to wait on the King with them; and at the same time to petition for permission to extend the south-west angle of the Exchange into the street. On the 27th of same month, the Committee received the report from the above deputation, that the plans, &c. had been laid before the King, and Sir John Denham, Surveyor-general of his Majesty's works, who had greatly approved of them, and particularly of that for

 the

* Burn. of Lond. P. III, pp. 45—49. † Lond. Red. Vol. II. 438—440.

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the south portico, which he assented to being extended into the street. Thus supported, the Committee directed certain persons to treat with the proprietors of ground near the Exchange, where necessary; and with others, for building materials and workmen.

"On the 23rd of October, 1667, King Charles II. went to the Royal Exchange, and placed the base of the pillar on the West side of the North entrance. He was entertained on the occasion at the joint expense of the City and Company, with a chine of beef, a grand dish of fowls, hams, dried tongues, anchovies, caviare, &c. and plenty of wines. The entertainment was provided under a temporary shed, built and adorned for the purpose, upon the Scotch walk. At this time his Majesty gave 20l. in gold, to the workmen. On the 31st of the same month, James, Duke of York, laid the first stone of the Eastern pillar, and was regaled in the same manner: and on the 18th of November, Prince Rupert placed that on the East side of the South entrance.

"October 24th, 1667. Several tenants below the Exchange, were acquainted by the Committee, that it was their intention to gratify the King in his desire of having the Exchange clear of contiguous buildings; for which reason they requested of them to surrender their respective leases for an adequate consideration, and the refusal of any houses that might be built near or on their premises.

"December 9th, 1667. The Committee considered the draft made by Mr. Jerman, for re-building the Exchange; and resolved, 'that Porticos should be built on the North and South sides, according as his Majesty desires, and as are described in the aforesaid draft; and that houses shall be built on the heads of the said Porticos and shops underneath:—and that the Committee might not be obstructed in their progress, by the owners and tenants of contiguous grounds, three persons of each party in the trust were appointed, attended by Jerman, to apply to the King for a prohibition of any buildings on them.'

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"The following official entry was inserted in the Books, by an order, dated December 16th, 1667.—'A letter from the Right Honourable the Earl of Manchester, recommending one Caius Gabriel Cibber, to the making the Statues for the Royal Exchange, and the rather, in regard he hath shewn his Majesty some models which have been well liked of, having been read: the Committee called the gentleman in, and acquainted him, that the business of making the Statues is yet very much from their thoughts, having the whole Exchange to build first; and that a new Committee will succeed before the main work be effected, to whom when fitting time shall come, he may do well to apply himself.'

"December 21st, 1667. The King intimated to the Committee, that if any person presumed to build near the Exchange, before an Act of Parliament could be obtained, he would interpose the authority of his Privy Council."

"The ensuing particulars are from a Book [belonging to the Mercers' Company] produced to a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1747.—'The said Book begins the 27th of October, 1666, and ends July 12th, 1676; and it thereby appears, that the total expense of re-building the Royal Exchange, amounted unto 58,962l. the Company's moiety whereof was the sum of 29,481l. to defray which expense, &c. it appeared, the Company were obliged, from time to time, to borrow money upon their seal, insomuch, that in the year 1682, they had taken up money on their bonds, on account of the trust of Sir Thomas Gresham, to the amount of 45,795l. It appeared on this occasion, from the examination of Mr. Crumpe, 'that the Company had hitherto contributed equally with the City in the repairing of the Royal Exchange, and paying Sir Thomas Gresham's lectures and charities; and that in or about the year 1729, one of the lecturers of Sir Thomas Gresham filed a bill in Chancery against the City of London and the Mercers' Company, to answer which, it became necessary to draw out and state an account between the Mercers' Company and Sir Thomas Gresham's trust estate, as also between the City and Company, and the said estate; and accord-

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ingly such accounts were drawn up, and thereby it appears, that there was due to the Mercers' Company, for their moiety of the expense of building the Royal Exchange, and other payments up to that time, the sum of 100,659l. 18s. 10d.' Mr. Cawne produced a continuation of this account down to 1745, when the principal and interest amounted to 141,885l. 7s. 1d."

During the period occupied by the re-building of this edifice the merchants held their meetings at Gresham College; but the works being sufficiently advanced, the new Exchange was publicly opened on the 28th of September, 1669. Since that time it has undergone a substantial reparation, under the superintendance of Mr. Robinson, City Surveyor, who about the year 1767, when Parliament granted the sum of 10,000l. towards the repairs, found it requisite to rebuild almost the whole of the west side. Some considerable repairs have also been made within the course of the last twelvemonth.

The ground plan of the new Exchange is similar to that of the ancient one. The buildings are of stone, and form a spacious quadrangle, (including an open court,) with a piazza on the north and south sides. The principal front is towards the south, in Cornhill; but the narrowness of the street, which is here still more contracted by the carrying out of the piers quite to the carriage-way, precludes it from being seen in any satisfactory point of view. This front consists of a centre, with wings; and a lofty tower, (178 feet in height) rises from the great height arched gateway that forms the main entrance. The proportions are good; and the general character of the architecture, which is of a mixed kind, but principally Corinthian, is not inelegant: yet the masses are too much broken and sub-divided. The grand entrance gateway is formed within the central intercolumniation of four Corinthian pillars, which, with their proper entablature, reach to the summit of the building. The great arch extends to the architrave, and sustains the tower: this is composed of three stories, or gradations, contracted at intervals, the two lowermost of which are ornamented with pilasters and pillars, supporting entablatures;

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entablatures; and surmounted by balustrades adorned with busts in place of vases: the upper story has pediments on each side, and is crowned by a cupola surmounted by a globe with a gilt Grasshopper, (the crest of Sir Thomas Gresham,) for a vane. The four tablets of the clock, which goes with chimes, and is contained in the middle story, are placed against the first balustrade. In the attic, at the base of the tower, is a sculpture of the Royal Arms.

In the side intercolumniations of the front, over the lesser entrances, are divided pediments; above which are Corinthian niches; in these are full-length statues, by Bushnell, of *Charles the First and Charles the Second;* but all the merit of the sculpture is lost in the sooty garb that has been deposited on them by the smoke, and which, indeed, has greatly discoloured the whole building: over the niches are large circular windows. Above the intercolumniations, are semi-circular pediments; with attics and balustrades, having the Mercers' Crest, and the supporters of the City Arms, in place of vases.

The wings consist of a Corinthian story above the basement: the latter is rusticated. Each wing has four columns, an entablature, and balustrade. The large windows, as well of the wings as of the main building, have attic borderings. The piazza is formed by three large arches, in front, on each side of the grand entrance; beneath which, immediately over the iron gates, is a gallery, with a niche in the wall above, containing a statue of Sir Thomas Gresham. Here also is the following inscription:

HOC GRESHAMII PERISTYLLIUM
GENTIAM COMMERCIIS SACRUM
FLAMMIS EXTINCTUM 1666.
AUGUSTIUS E CINERE RESURREXIT 1669.
WILLMº TURNERO, MILITE, PRÆTORE.

The north front is ornamented with corresponding pilasters, a triangular pediment, and a piazza of nearly similar character to that on the south side: here also is a wide entrance beneath a semi-circular arch.

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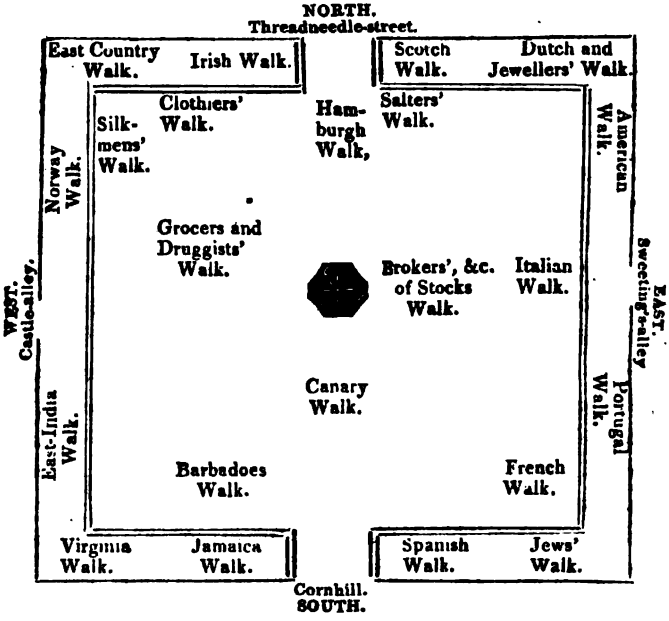
The spacious area in the centre of the quadrangle, where the merchants, and other persons engaged in mercantile pursuits, daily assemble to discourse on trade, arrange business, &c. measures 144 feet by 117; and is surrounded by a broad piazza, which, as well as the area itself, is for the general accommodation arranged into distinct parts, called the *Walks:* this will be better understood from the plan below:



The area is neatly paved with small square stones, said to be real *Turkey* stone, the gift, as tradition reports, of a merchant who traded to that Kingdom. In the centre, on a marble pedestal, about eight feet high, surrounded by an iron railing, is a clever statue of *Charles the Second*, in a Roman habit; this was executed by Mr. John Spiller, a few years ago, and set up in place of a former statue of the same King which had been sculptured by Quellin, of Antwerp.* On the south side of the old pedestal,

* Anec. of Paint. Vol. III. p. 152, note.

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Engraved by Wallis from a Drawing by J. Wild.

Interior of

For the Beauties of England & Wales.

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tal, under an imperial crown, palm branches. &c. was the following verbose, and ill-deserved inscription:

CAROLO, *II. Cæsari Britannico,*
Patriæ Patri,
Regum optimo, Clementissimo, Augustissimo,
Generis humani deliciis,
Utriusque Fortunæ Victori,
Pacis Europæ arbitro
Marium Dominio ac Vindici.

Societas Mercatorum adventurur. Angliæ
Quæ per CCCC jam prope annos,
Regia benignitate floret,
Fidei intemeratæ et gratitudinas æternæ
Hoc testimonium
Venerabunda posuit
Anno saluti humanæ M.DC.LXXXIV.

The piazza has a groined roof, and wide and lofty semicircular arches: the surrounding walls are nearly hidden from the sight, by numerous painted show-boards, and placards of various descriptions, both printed and written, which are permitted to be set up here as advertisements, on paying a small sum to the beadle. Behind these, in the walls, are twenty-eight ornamental niches, in two only of which are statues: that in the north-west angle represents *Sir Thomas Gresham*, by Gabriel Cibber; the other, in the south-west angle, is the figure of *Sir John Barnard*, and was placed here in his life-time, at the expense of his fellow-citizens, 'in testimony of his merit as a merchant, a magistrate, and a faithful representative of the City in Parliament.' A raised seat and step goes round the entire piazza, excepting where interrupted by the entrances.

The inner face of the superstructure has an aspect of much grandeur, but the decorations are somewhat too unsparingly lavished. The arches of the piazza support an entablature; the upper cornice is on each side interrupted in the midst by a semi-circular pediment, beneath which, on the north, are the Royal Arms; on the south, the City

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City Arms; on the west, the Mercers' Arms; and on the east, the Arms of Sir Thomas Gresham, with appropriate enrichments. Between the windows are twenty-five niches, four of which are vacant; in the others, on the south side, are statues of *Edward the First, Edward the Third, Henry the Fifth,* and *Henry the Sixth;* on the west, *Edward the Fourth, Edward the Fifth, Henry the Seventh,* and *Henry the Eighth*; on the north, *Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, James the First, Charles the First, Charles the Second,* and *James the Second;* on the east, in a conjoined or double niche, *William* and *Mary, Queen Anne, George the First, George the Second,* and *George the Third.* Most of these Sovereigns are represented in armour, others are in Roman habits; the Queens are chiefly in the dresses of the times: many of them have been gilt. Walpole says, that Gabriel Cibber sculptured most of these statues, as far as King Charles:* those of George the First, and Second, were executed by Rysbrach;† and that of his present Majesty, which was placed here in March 1764, by Wilton. ‡ The summit of the quadrangle is surmounted by a balustrade.

Under the north and south fronts, on the right of the entrances, are spacious flights of steps, which lead to the gallery, and to the various apartments and offices that connect with it: these were originally opened as shops of different descriptions, but are now occupied by the Royal Exchange Assurance Office, the River Dee Office, the Merchants'-Seamans' Office, Lloyd's Subscription Coffee House and Committee Rooms, the Gresham Lecture Rooms, the Pepper Office, and divers Counting Houses for Merchants and Under-writers.§

LLOYD'S

* Anec. of Paint. Vol. III. p. 147. † Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 209.

‡ Mal. Lond. Vol. II. 442.

§ The wares that were sold in the shops mentioned in the text, were of the lighter and more shewy kinds; and to increase the attraction they were commonly exposed for sale by young, and pretty women, whom 'ROBIN CONSCIENCE,' in his 'Progress through Court, City, and Country,' (first printed in 1683,) if not *unconscionably,* at least *uncourteously,* styles 'gallant girls.'

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LLOYD'S COFFEE HOUSE has long been a very celebrated commercial rendezvous, and it maintains a distinguished superiority over every other establishment of the kind. The persons who resort to it are the most eminent Merchants, Under-writers, Insurance, Stock, and Exchange Brokers, &c. In all naval concerns, a general priority of intelligence is found in *Lloyd's Books*, which are designed for the purpose of registering the arrival and sailing of vessels, losses at sea, captures, re-captures, engagements, accidents, and other important matters connected with the shipping interests. The rooms are neatly fitted up; the business of the Coffee-house being kept completely distinct from the divisions appropriated to the Subscribers. That estimable and most beneficial institution, the PATRIOTIC FUND, was began by the Merchants, &c. *Subscribers* to Lloyd's, on the 20th of July, 1803, about two months after the breaking out of the present war; with a view of providing

girls.' The whole passage is curious. Robin, after having been scouted out of 'Fish Street' by the lads 'who wish that Lent were all year,' hies forward to the Exchange, where he is told that Merchants 'thrive best,' in *his absence*. He then proceeds:—

Now I, being thus abused below,
Did walk up stairs, where on a row,
Brave shops of ware did make a shew
Most samptuous;
But, when the shop-folk me did spy,
They drew their dark light instantly,
And said, in coming there was I
Presumptuous.
The gallant Girls, that there sold knacks,
Which ladies and brave women lacks,
When they did see me, they did wax
In choler.
Quoth they, 'we *never* knew Conscience yet,
And, if he comes our gains to get,
We'll banish him:—he'll here not get
One scholar.
I, being jeered thus, and scorned,
Went down the stairs and sorely mourned,
To think that I should thus be turn'd
A begging.

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providing a suitable stock for the relief of the widows, orphans, and dependant relatives, of the brave men, who in their Country's service, should fall in battle with the enemy, or die of wounds received in action:—and likewise to furnish effectual assistance to the wounded themselves, in all cases of disability or loss of limb. The Subscribers to the Coffee House commenced the donations by voting 20,000l. 3 per cent. consols, from their general fund, besides contributing liberally as individuals. Since that period, the exertions of the Committee have been so well seconded by the Public at large, that nearly 410,000l. has been distributed in furtherance of the designs of the institution; and more than 100,000l. is still in hand to answer future applications! Some part, however, of this great aggregate of upwards of half a million sterling, has arisen from investments in the Funds, from interest, &c. The number of cases in which relief has been afforded, to wounded and disabled Officers, Seamen, Private Soldiers, their widows, orphans, and helpless relations, has amounted to more than 14,000. But it is not by this establishment alone that the frequenters of Lloyd's Coffee House have evinced their patriotic spirit and liberality. On all great occasions, where the utility of a Public Subscription is apparent, they generally take the lead; and under their auspices the donations are always considerable. After the great Battle of the Nile, in 1798, the subscriptions received here for the benefit of the widows and the wounded seamen amounted to 32,423l. 19s. 9d.; and Lord Howe's Victory on the 1st of June, 1794, was also followed by a subscription for similar purposes, of 21,281l. 19s. 11d.; all which was paid into Lloyd's.

The *Gresham Lectures*, as already stated, were established in pursuance of the Will of Sir Thomas Gresham, who devised his property in the Royal Exchange &c. in trust to the City and the Mercers' Company, for the purpose (among others) of defraying the salaries of four Lecturers in Divinity, Astronomy, Music, and Geometry, and three Readers in Civil Law, Physic, and Rhetoric; and for the general instruction the Lectures on those Sciences, were to be read *daily*, both in Latin and in English. The trustees, however, have long been induced to suffer the Lectures to be delivered

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delivered (agreeably to the practice of the Universities,) only in *Term-time*, although in direct opposition to the Will and intention of the founder; by which inadvertance, and through the studied brevity observed in the Lectures, the Professors' places have almost dwindled into mere sinecures, and the Public derive little or no advantage from Sir Thomas's munificence: the yearly salary of each Professor is now 100l. Near the door of the Lecture Room, which opens from the landing place at the front entrance of the Exchange, is a votive memorial in honour of William Hicks, Esq. who bequeathed 300l. to promote the proposes of the Marine Society.

The Royal Exchange is kept open as a thoroughfare from eight o'clock in the morning till after four in the afternoon. The hours of business have been several times altered, but are now considered to extend from twelve till four; the last hour is always the most busy one. To a person unaccustomed to the view, the crowded assemblage of merchants and traders of all nations which may be daily beheld within the area forms an interesting, as well as instructive scene.

The number of shops that were connected with this edifice at the beginning of the last century, was nearly 200; and though all the interior ones have been vacated, the exterior is still surrounded by Lottery-offices, Book, and Print-sellers, Stationers, Musical, and Mathematical Instrument Makers, Stock Brokers, News-paper offices, &c. The vaults beneath the building are occupied by the East India Company, who use them as magazines for pepper. The extent of the Royal Exchange from north to south is 171 feet, and from east to west 203 feet.

THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

The immense pile of buildings denominated the BANK, occupies an area of an irregular form, bounded on the south side by Thread-needle (anciently *Three-needle*) Street, on the west by Princes Street, on the north by Lothbury, and on the east by St. Bartholomew's Lane.

The

The Bank of England is the most important institution of the kind that exists in any part of the world; and History furnishes no example that can at all be compared with it, for the range and multiplicity of its transactions, and for the vast influence which it possesses over public and national affairs.

Though Banks are of considerable antiquity, it is only in modern times that their power has been extensively manifested. The conveniency of Commerce gave them origin, but they bid fair to be perpetuated as engines of Government.

So early as about 260 years before the Christian era, a *Banker* (τραπεζίτης) of Sicyon, a city of Peloponessus, is mentioned by Plutarch, in his Life of Aratus: his business appears to have consisted in exchanging one species of money for another. The Money-changers of Judea, who were driven out of the temple by Christ,* were most probably of the description mentioned by St. Matthew, in the Parable of the Talents; that is, such as made a trade of receiving money in deposit, and paying interest for it:—"Thou oughtest, therefore, (said his Lord to the unprofitable servant) to have put my money to the *Exchangers*, and then at my coming I should have received mine own with *usury*."† St. Luke, in his relation of the same Parable, expressly alludes to a *Banking-establishment*: his words are, "Wherefore then gavest not thou my money into the *Bank*, that at my coming I might have required mine own with usury?"‡

From Judea, the institution of Banks was brought into Europe; and the Lombard *Jews* are said to have kept *Benches*, or *Banks*, in the market-places of Italy, for the exchange of money and bills. The Bank of Venice, which was the first foundation upon an enlarged scale that we are acquainted with, was established about the year 1171, under the appellation of *The Chamber of Loans*; (*la Camera degl' Imprestiti*') and the contributors to a forced Loan, that had been raised to meet the exigencies of a Venetian war with the Emperors of the East and West,

* St. John, Chap. II. Ver. 15. † St. Matt. Chap. XXV. Ver. 27.
‡ St. Luke, Chap. XIX. Ver. 23.

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West, were made creditors of the Chamber, from which they were to receive an annual interest of four *per cent.* *

At what period the knowledge of Banking was introduced into this country is unknown; though it may reasonably be conjectured to have been within a short time after the Conquest. There can be little doubt of its having been first practised here by the Italian merchants; all of whom, who were engaged in money transactions, were distinguished both in France and in England, by the name of *Lombards*, or of *Tuscans*. These merchants being dispersed throughout Europe, "became very convenient agents for the Popes, who employed them to receive and remit the large revenues they drew from every state which acknowledged their ecclesiastical supremacy." † Hence, and from their being employed to lend the money thus gathered, upon interest, they are called by Mathew Paris, the 'Popes Merchants.' We learn from the same historian, that some of the English nobles availed themselves of the same agency, and 'sowed their money to make it multiply.'

Henry the Third, in his 29th year, forbad his subjects to borrow money from any foreign merchants. ‡ This was on account of the great exactions which they are said to have committed; for the *Caursini*, as the money-lenders were about this time denominated §, are accused of taking the most merciless advantage of

 the

* Ann. of Com. Vol. I. p. 341. "It may be presumed," our author remarks, "that the *rate of Interest*, so very far below the usual standard of the age, was compulsive, as well as the Loan itself, and esteemed a hardship upon the Creditors." Ibid.

† Ann. of Com. Vol. I. p. 399. ‡ Rot. pat.

§ This name is commonly derived from the *Corsini*, a noble family of Florence, who were engaged in trade; yet Muratori (Antiq. Vol. I. Diss. 16.) strenuously denies that they had any connection with the money-lenders called Caursini. This latter appellation, he states, was acquired from the City of Cahors, in France, which was the general rendezvous of these traders, whether French or Italians; and through which they were called *Caorsini*, *Caturcini*, &c. His authorities are Benevenuto, of Imola, who wrote in the year 1380; and Du Cange, the learned French glossarist.

†

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the necessities of those who applied to them for pecuniary aid. Previously to this, in 1235, when the King and most of the Prelates of England were indebted to them, the Bishop of London attempted to expel the Caursini from the city, but the superior influence of the Pope, who supported 'his own merchants' against the Bishop, prevailed, and they were still suffered to remain. In 1251, however, they were accused by the King's command, of heresy, schism, and treason; on this occasion, some were imprisoned, and others fled, or concealed themselves: a Bull was soon afterwards obtained from the Pope, enjoining the King to treat them favourably.* In the reign of Henry the Sixth, the customs were mortgaged to the Lombard Merchants as security for money lent to that Sovereign.

In the fourteenth century the business of Banking was carried on by the *Drapers*, at Barcelona, in Spain, as it was in after ages by the *Goldsmiths*, of London; in both cases, these respective traders were considered the most substantial among the Citizens. The Bank of Barcelona was established in 1401, by the Magistrates, upon the security of the *funds of the City*; here, foreign, as well as domestic Bills of Exchange were negociated, and the manufacturers were furnished with assistance when making their purchases of raw materials. The next analogous establishment was the Bank of Genoa, in Italy, where it had been customary for the Republic, or Government, "to borrow large sums from the Citiezns, and to *assign* certain *branches* of the *Public Revenue* as funds for the *payment* of the *interest*." † In process of time, the multitude of these assignments to different Citizens, bred confusion; and it was at length judged expedient, in 1407, to consolidate the whole into one capital stock, to be managed in one Bank, called the *Chamber of St. George*; the eight Governors, or *Protectors*, of which, were elected annually, by the Creditors, or Stock-holders.

The

* *Rym. Fed.* Vol. I. p. 467.

† Ann. of Com. Vol. I. p. 618.

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The Bank of Amsterdam, which became proverbial for extensive usefulness, and unviolated credit, was founded by the Magistrates and Merchants of Holland in 1609; and it continued to exist with unblemished reputation till the overwhelming torrent of French rapacity involved it in ruin a few years ago. This was a Bank of deposit upon an unlimited scale; as well as a grand pay-office for all Bills of Exchange, as well foreign as inland, whose sums amounted to 300 guilders, or upwards. All receipts and payments of similar sums of money were also made at this Bank; and even still lower sums, on paying six stivers for liberty to make the transfer. The security which this establishment afforded was so great, that the value of the coin, bullion, and pawned jewels which were deposited in the vaults of the Stadthouse (in which were the Bank offices) at one time, is stated to have amounted to upwards of Thirty millions sterling. The management of this Bank was solely directed by the Burgomasters, or Magistrates, of Amsterdam; who, as has been justly remarked, by being thus 'possessed of the bulk of the property of the inhabitants, had the strongest security for their fidelity.'*

After the credit of the foreign Merchants had declined in England, or rather, after the spirit and enterprize of our own Merchants had obtained for themselves an enlarged proportion of those advantages that had previously been enjoyed by foreigners, the *Goldsmiths* became the principal Bankers of London; and more particularly so, during the civil wars in the time of Charles the First, and till the period of the Revolution of 1688. Several schemes, however, had in the intermediate time, been promulgated for a Public Bank, the general outline of which was similar to that of Amsterdam; yet it was not till the year 1694, that the public mind was sufficiently awakened to the utility of such an establishment, and that legal provision was made to carry it into effect.

* A copious and excellent account of the Bank of Amsterdam was inserted by Dr. Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," Vol. II. 219. Ed. 1793, from information communicated by Mr. Hope.

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Of an institution which has been long in idea, and even formed the subject of open discourse, it is difficult to determine with accuracy as to whom the honour of suggesting the definite arrangements should be awarded. "It is certain," says Anderson, "that *sundry men* of good abilities had for several years past employed their thoughts on a Bank nearly resembling that of Genoa; and partly, those also of our own private Bankers, having circulating Notes, or Bills; and that, in order to bring down the high rates of interest and premiums at this time paid by the Government, (which was big with mischief to commerce, by inducing men to draw their money out of trade) it would be requisite to establish a public transferable fund of interest; and that the Bank should be for the conveniency of daily receipts and payments, and should be constituted a Body politic, with proper powers," &c. *

The most strenuous and persevering of those who engaged in the promotion of the proposed Bank was *Mr. William Paterson*, an experienced Merchant of London; this gentleman in conjunction with his friend, Michael Godfrey, Esq. (who became the first Deputy-Governor) and several other persons of similar mind, laboured assiduously for three years to prove the advantages of the scheme, and obtain the consent of Government to the incorporation "of a number of well-affected gentlemen who would advance a larger sum by way of loan, for the public exigencies."—At this time, Mr. Paterson observes, in his 'Conferences on the Public Debts, by the Wednesday's Club, in Friday Street,' the difficulties of raising the annual supplies were so great "that the Ministry were obliged to stoop to solicitations to the London Common-council for borrowing only one or two hundred thousand pounds at a time, on the first payments of the Land-tax; as particular Common-Council men did to the private Inhabitants in their respective Wards, going from house to house for the loan of money." Notwithstanding this, long debates on the expediency and efficacy of the measure took place in the Privy-Council, (Queen

* Ann. of Com. Vol. II. p. 657.

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(Queen Mary present, the King being then in Flanders) before it was determined to substantiate the project by an Act of Parliament. It has been said, and probably with truth, that the grand argument by which the ministerial support of the scheme was obtained, was the additional security for the allegiance of the people that must necessarily result, (as the case of Amsterdam) from an enlarged proportion of the property of the country being thus brought within the certain controul of Government. Great opposition was also encountered from the 'monied men,' who were justly apprehensive that their exhorbitant gains from the public distresses would be diminished by the erection of the proposed Bank; and the 'disaffected,' were all against it, alledging that 'it would engross the money, stock, and riches, of the kingdom,' and eventually, 'render the King absolute.' *.

At length all difficulties were overcome, and an Act was granted by Parliament in the spring of 1694, to empower their Majesties to incorporate the Subscribers of the sum of 1,200,000l. on specified conditions, under the title of "THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND." The manner in which the subscriptions were received, with other particulars explanatory of the nature of the foundation, will be seen by the following extracts from the Commission issued by the Sovereigns William and Mary, on the fifteenth of June, in the above year.

"Whereas by an Act, intituled, '*An Act for granting to their Majesties several Rates and Duties upon Tonnage*," &c. it is enacted, that for four years from June 1, 1694, there shall be paid upon the Tonnage of all Vessels wherein any goods shall be imported from any of the Countries in this Act named, or coastwise, from port to port in England, the several Rates in the Act mentioned, and certain additional duties of excise on Beer, Ale, and other liquids; and that weekly, on every Wednesday, if not a holiday, and if it be, the next day, not being

* See Mr. Paterson's "Account of his Transactions in relation to the Bank of England, and the Orphan's Fund;" Fo. 1695.

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an holiday, all the Monies arising from the said Rates shall be paid into the Exchequer:

" And that it shall be lawful for their said Majesties to commission any number of persons to receive such Subscriptions as should be made before August 1, was, by any natives, or foreigners, or corporations, towards paying into the Exchequer the sum of 1,200,000l.; and that the yearly sum of 100,000l. shall be appropriated to such Subscribers: and that the said weekly payments, as they come in, shall be divided into five-seventh parts, and two-seventh parts; which five-seventh parts shall be appropriated to the payments of the said 100,000l. *per annum;* and shall be paid, as the same comes into the Exchequer, to the use of such Subscribers.

And that their Majesties may appoint how the said 1,200,000l. and 100,000l. *per annum,* shall be assignable; and may incorporate such Subscribers by the name of the *Governor and Company of the Bank of England,* subject to the condition of Redemption. And if 1,200,000l. be not paid into the Exchequer by January 1, 1695, then the Subscribers shall have only after the rate of eight *per cent. per annum:*

" And that no person nor corporation shall subscribe more than 20,000l.; and every Subscriber at the time of his subscribing shall pay one-fourth part of his subscription; and in default thereof such subscriptions shall be void. That the residue of the subscriptions shall be paid into the Exchequer before Jan. 1; and in default thereof the one-fourth part shall be forfeited; and that none before the 1st of July shall write above 10,000l. Provided, that if 1,200,000l. or a moiety, be not subscribed by the 1st of August, then the power for erecting a Corporation shall cease; and in such case so much of the 100,000l. as shall belong to the Subscribers may be assignable. And that the monies payable by the Act to any person shall not be chargeable with any duties or impositions, as by the said Act may appear:—

Now " their Majesties being resolved that if the whole

1,200,000l.

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1,200,000l. or a moiety, or more, thereof, be subscribed by the first of August next, to incorporate the Subscribers, have nominated and appointed," (here follow the names,) " to take the said voluntary subscriptions. And within ten days after the date hereof, the Commissioners, or any five, or more of them, shall provide a convenient Public office, within the City or Suburbs of London and Westminster, for taking subscriptions, giving such public notice thereof as they think fit, and also a book, or books, of vellum, for the said subscriptions, to lie open every day but Sundays, from eight till twelve in the morning, and from three to eight in the afternoon, until the first of August, unless 1,200,000l., be sooner subscribed. And their Majesties do enjoin the said Commissioners, or any five, to receive from every Subscriber, at the time of his subscribing, one-fourth part of the subscription in ready money: and that the Commissioners, or any nine or more, appoint Cashiers for keeping the money, &c. safely, till it shall be payable into the Exchequer, as is hereafter directed, viz. their Majesties command the said Commissioners and Cashiers, that in case the whole 1,200,000l, or a moiety, or any greater part, be subscribed before the 1st of August, as soon as the Charter shall be passed under the Great Seal, to pay all the said one-fourth part into the Exchequer, in the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. And upon such payment the Commissioners of the Treasury, and Officers of the Exchequer, are required to strike talleys, importing so much received from the said Incorporation by the hands of the said Commissioners, and to draw and sign Exchequer orders for paying the said Corporation, and their successors for ever, (subject to the condition of the Redemption,) a proportionable part of the said 100,000l. *per annum*, for every sum of the first one-fourth part so paid. And as to the remaining three-fourth parts of the said subscription, their Majesties declares the second one-fourth part shall be paid into the Exchequer by the first of October next, and the remainder two-fourth parts shall be paid before the first of January next.

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" And that the Corporation may be settled to the satisfaction of the Subscribers, their Majesties direct that the Commissioners, or any five, or more of them, after the first of August, or as soon as 1,200,000l. is subscribed, which shall first happen, do affix public notice on the Royal Exchange for all those who have subscribed not less than 500l. and paid their one-fourth parts, to meet on a day appointed, to elect persons, qualified as hereafter mentioned, to be the first Governor, Deputy, and Directors, of the intended Corporation.

" And that all the Subscribers, their heirs, &c. may meet, and choose out of the whole Subscribers (of whom none shall have more than one vote,) one person who hath subscribed in his own right 4000l. at least, and paid one-fourth part thereof at least at the time of his subscription, to be the first Governor; and one other person, who hath subscribed 3000l. at least, &c. to be the first Deputy-governor; and 24 other persons, each of which have severally subscribed in their own right 2000l. &c. to be the first Directors:—

" That the persons so elected shall be inserted in the said intended Charter, and made the first Governor, Deputy-governor, and Directors; to continue in their offices from the date of the Charter, till the 25th of March, 1696, and till others be chosen in their rooms, and sworn: subject nevertheless to the restrictions and provisos in the said Act, and to such other rules as shall be inserted in the Charter.

" And, that all Subscribers may be assured and satisfied that the powers vested in their Majesties by the Act to erect a Corporation shall be truly executed, their Majesties promise and declare, and also covenant, grant, and agree with the Commissioners, on behalf of themselves, and every Subscriber, that in case the whole 1,200,000l. or a moiety, or any greater part thereof, shall be subscribed on the said Act, or in pursuance of this Commission, before the first of August next, then, immediately after the said first day of August, or as soon as 1,200,000l. shall be subscribed, which shall first happen, their Majesties will grant

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grant a Charter to incorporate all the Subscribers then living, who shall not have assigned their interest; and in case any of them be dead, their heirs; and in case any of the Subscribers shall have assigned their interest, their assignees, to be one Corporation, called the Governor, &c. of the Bank of England, with powers, privileges, and under such rules, power of redemption, and restrictions, as are contained in the said Act, or intended by the schedule, and with such farther powers as shall be advised by the Subscribers' Counsel, and approved by their Majesties Attorney or Solicitor-General."—

After the Books were finally opened, the subscriptions for the whole sum of 1,200,000l. was completed in ten days time, and 25l. *per cent.* paid down. The Charter of Incorporation was in consequence executed on the 27th of July, 1694; though, in fact, this was little more than a point of form, all the essential powers, privileges, &c. having been included in the Act of Parliament.

The Charter directs that the management of the Bank shall be vested in a Governor, Deputy-Governor, and twenty-four Directors, thirteen or more to constitute a Court, of which the Governor, or Deputy-Governor, shall be always one. They are to have a perpetual succession, a common seal, and the other usual powers, as making bye-laws, &c. of Corporations; but must not borrow money under their common seal without the authority of Parliament. They are not to trade, nor suffer any person in trust for them to trade, in any goods or merchandize; but they may deal in Bills of Exchange, in buying and selling Bullion, and foreign gold and silver Coin, &c. They may also lend money on pawns or pledges, and sell those which shall not be redeemed within three months after the time agreed on.*

No

* The privilege of lending money on pledges has been but very little acted on; though by an Advertisement published in the London Gazette of the 6th of May, 1695, the Directors gave notice that they would 'lend money on plate, lead, tin, copper, steel, and iron, at four *per cent. per annum.*'

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No dividend is to be made but by consent of a general Court; and that only out of the interest, profit, and produce, arising by such dealing as the Act of Parliament allows.

"The erection of this famous Bank," says Mr. Paterson, who was chosen one of its first Directors,* "not only relieved the Ministry from their frequent processions into the City for borrowing money on the best and nearest Public Securities, at an interest of 10 or 12 *per cent. per annum*, but likewise gave life and currency to double or triple the value of its capital in other branches of public credit."

In the Act for establishing the Bank, a very judicious clause was introduced, for the purpose, as it would seem, of guarding against the recurrence of so disastrous a shock to the commercial interests of the country as was caused by the shutting up of the Exchequer in 1671-2.† It enacts, that "If the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, Managers, or other Members of the intended Corporation, shall, upon account of the said Corporation,

* The names of the first Directors were as follow: it must be observed that they composed an assemblage of the most affluent and respectable Citizens of the time.

Sir John Houblon, Knight, GOVERNOR.
Michael Godfrey, Esq. DEPUTY-GOVERNOR.

DIRECTORS.

Sir John Husband, Bart.	Thomas Goddard, Esq.
Sir James Houblon, Knt.	Abraham Houblon, Esq.
Sir William Gore, Knt.	Gilbert Heathcote, Esq.
Sir William Scawen, Knt.	Theodore Jansen, Esq.
Sir Henry Furnese, Knt.	John Lordell, Esq.
Sir Thomas Abney, Knt.	Samuel Lethieullier, Esq.
Sir William Hodges, Knt.	William Paterson, Esq.
Brook Bridges, Esq.	Robert Raworth, Esq.
James Bateman, Esq.	John Smith, Esq.
George Boddington, Esq.	Obediah Sedgwick, Esq.
Edward Clerke, Esq.	Nathaniel Tench, Esq.
James Denew, Esq.	John Ward, Esq.

† See the preceding Volume, pp. 444 and 647.

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tion, at any time purchase any Crown lands or revenues, or shall advance to the Crown any money by way of loan or anticipation of any branch of the revenue, other than on such branches on which a credit of loan is, or shall be granted by Parliament, they shall forfeit triple the value of the money so lent or disposed of.'' It was also provided that 'no letters of Signet, Privy-seal, or Great-seal, of the Crown, shall pardon, or remit any fine or amerciament charged on this Corporation on account of any suit brought against them; but that such fine shall be deducted out of their annual fund.' These wise precautions shew the proper jealousy which our ancestors entertained, lest the undue influence of the Crown should be exerted against the property of the subject through the medium of the new institution.

The era at which the Bank was established was one of industrious, as well as of visionary, speculation; and the various subscription projects that were on foot diverted the property of monied men into different channels. The scheme of a *Land Bank* also, which appears to have been first broached by a Mr. John Briscoe, and was afterwards taken up and improved on by Dr. Hugh Chamberlain; the deficiency in the produce of the taxes voted for the annual supplies, and the re-coinage of the silver currency in the years 1696 and 1697, combined to produce a long continuance of distress and difficulty to the infant Corporation: its cash notes were even at a discount of from 15l. to 20l. per cent. and its stock was so low, that those notes could only be taken up by instalments of 10l. per cent. once in a fortnight; and at length, after a progressive diminution, by payments of 3l. per cent. once in three months.*

The principal cause of this deterioration of credit arose from the Bank having taken the clipped and diminished silver money, at the legal, or *par* value, and guineas, at thirty shillings each, in exchange for its own notes; whilst the supply of new silver coin,

* Even so late as the 21st of June, 1697, we learn from a paragraph in the Postman newspaper, that on the preceding day "Bank notes were between thirteen and fourteen per cent. discount.

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coin, which was but gradually furnished by the Mint, was by no means adequate to the daily *run*, or demand made for present payment.*

During this season of difficulty in 1696, the Directors were obliged to make two different calls of 20l. per cent. each, on their members; and to issue bills under the Bank seal, at 6l. per cent interest in exchange for Bank cash notes; and also to give notice, that for the conveniency of trade, whilst the silver was re-coining, any person might keep an account with the Bank, and have liberty to transfer sums as low as 5l. yet notwithstanding these expedients, the Directors were on the 6th of May, 1687, under a necessity of advertising in the Gazette for the *Defaulters* on the last call of 20l. per cent. (which should have been paid in the preceding November,) and also for those indebted to the Bank upon

* Whilst the Bank was in this embarrassed state, various pasquinades and lampoons issued from the press in derision of the plan whereon it was founded. In one of these, intituled "The Trial and Condemnation of the Trustees of the *Land Bank* at Exeter Exchange for murdering the *Bank of England* at Grocers-Hall;" a whimsical will is read, in which the Bank Company, after devising its "soul to the devil," and making various other bequests, is made to say, "And we hereby constitute our Directors, executors of this our will, giving unto each of them power out of our cash to discount their *own* talleys, bills, and notes, *at par*; and the bills and notes of other our Creditors, at the *highest* discount they can get for the same: and our body we commit to be buried, with all privacy, lest our creditors arrest our corpse." The epitaph which follows, and which states the Bank to have died May 5, 1696, in the third year of its age, says farther, that the Company had "issue legitimate, by their Common Seal, 1,200.000l. called Bank Bills; and by their Cashier 2,000,000 sons of Whores, called Speed's notes." In another satirical effusion that appeared at the same period with the title of "A new Ballad upon the Land Bank, or Credit Restored," is this verse:

I'll have a law made,
None shall set up the trade,
To borrow, or lend Money,
But they at Grocers' shop,
Who are at a *full stop*,
And neither pay *all* nor *any*!

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upon mortgages, pawns, notes, bills, or other securities, to pay in the said 20l. per cent., and the principal and interest of the said securities, by the ensuing 1st of June.*

The assistance of Parliament had now become requisite to enable the Bank to avert its threatened overthrow; and as its danger had chiefly arisen from the measures of Government in respect to the re-coinage, that assistance was deservedly bestowed. In the course of the year a new Act was passed† to enable the Corporation to increase its capital stock by new Subscriptions, of four-fifths in Exchequer tallies and orders, and one-fifth in its own Notes. It was likewise enacted that the Bank should continue incorporated till one year's notice after August the 1st, 1710; and that no other bank should be established during that term:—that the Bank should not, at any one time whatever, owe more by bonds, notes, sealed bills, &c. than the total amount of its capital stock, which should thenceforth be deemed a personal estate: that in future not more than two-thirds of the Directors should be re-chosen at the annual election:—that the capital stock should be exempted from all taxes:—that no contract for Bank stock should be valid unless registered within seven days in the Bank books, and actually transferred within fourteen days:—that no act of the Corporation should subject the share of any particular member to forfeiture, but that all the shares should be liable to the payment of its just debts:—that the Bank stock should not be subject to foreign attachments;‡ nor the members of the Company be liable to bankruptcy merely by reason of their Bank stock:—and that it should be felony, without benefit of clergy, to counterfeit the Common Seal of the Bank, affixed to its sealed bills; or to alter or erase any sum in, or any indorsement on, the sealed notes, signed by order of the Governor and Company; or to forge or counterfeit either bills or notes that should be issued by the Bank.

In consequence of the engraftment Subscription authorized by this

* Ann. of Com. Vol. II. p. 688.

† 8th and 9th William and Mary, chap. 19.

‡ See before, p. 139, where this custom of the City is explained.

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this Act, of the completion of the re-coinage, and of the effectual provisions determined on by Parliament to make good the deficiencies between the estimated and the real produce of the taxes and which at this period formed a total of 5,160,549l. 14s. 9½d. the credit of the Bank was completely restored within a very short time; and the Directors obtained great praise for the judicious measures which they had employed during their effectual struggle against insolvency. In a few months, strange as it may appear, the state of things was so much altered, that Bank stock which had been given in exchange for Exchequer tallies, (which, before the engraftment, had been at from forty to fifty per cent. discount,) was currently sold at 112 per cent.* "through which," says D'Avenant, "greater estates were raised in the least time, and the most of them than had been known in any age, or in any part of the world."† The Exchequer tallies and orders were received into the Bank at *par*, and were duly paid off by annual dividends within a few years; whilst, by the operation of the engraftment, &c. the capital stock of the Company was raised to 2,201,171l. 10s.

The state of Europe, after the decease of Charles the Second of Spain, in 1700, and the consequent seizure on the Spanish monarchy made by the house of Bourbon, greatly depressed the funds; and for a time much affected the credit of the Bank. This was also the case in 1704, when the increasing ascendancy of France occasioned a considerable fall in the price of stocks, and the Company were again obliged to issue their sealed Bills, bearing interest, for a large sum, in order to enable them to sustain the shock.

In 1706, the Bank having undertaken to circulate Exchequer Bills to the amount of a million and a half sterling, at four and a half

* Ann. of Com. Vol. II. p. 690.

† Discourses, P. I. p. 265. Mr. Anderson states, that "he had often heard it said by persons who lived at this time, that one single subscriber alone, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, (who had purchased Exchequer tallies at their greatest discount) gained by that rise of price above 60,000l."

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half per cent. was empowered to enlarge its stock for that purpose; and by the said Act was continued a Corporation till such Bills were paid off.* During this year sealed Bills were again issued to obtain money for enabling the Bank to fulfil its contracts: on these Bills a daily interest was paid of two-pence per cent.

A most important statute to the welfare and credit of the Bank was made in 1708, (6th Queen Anne, chap. 22.) when it was enacted, that during the continuance of the Corporation, no Body politic whatever, erected, or to be erected, nor Company, nor Partnership, exceeding the number of *six persons*, in England, should borrow, owe, or take up, any sum or sums of money, on their own bills or notes, *payable on demand*, or in any less time than *six months* from the borrowing thereof." This provision is stated to have been more particularly aimed at the Mine Adventure Company, which had recently set up Banking, and issued cash notes. In the same year another considerable *run* (as it is technically phrased) was made upon the Bank, in consequence of an apprehended invasion from France, in favour of the Pretender; and the demands were so great, that an additional call for 20l. per cent. was made upon the capital: by this means, and through the proffered advance of large sums of money from the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, the Dukes of Marlborough, Newcastle, and Somerset, and other noblemen; and by the Government undertaking to allow 6l. per cent. on Bank sealed bills, for six months, the Directors were enabled to surmount the danger, and to maintain the rising credit of the institution.

It seems probable that the vanquishing of these successive difficulties had excited a very high idea of the stability of the Bank in the Public mind; as in the early part of the next year, on

* This is the first instance of the *circulation* of Government Securities through the medium of the Bank; which by that measure immediately connected itself with the Government, and has ever since maintained the connection, by taking such securities, from time to time, on reasonable terms.

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on the passing of a new act of Parliament * for empowering the Company to double its capital, &c. the whole of the additional Stock, namely, 2,201,171l. 10s. though sold at the advance of 15l. per cent, was subscribed in the course of a few hours; and nearly a million more would have been subscribed on the same day, had there been room for it. The Subscription Books were opened at Mercer's Hall, at nine in the morning, on February the 22d, 1708-9, and the Subscriptions were completed before two o'clock on the same afternoon.

This permission to augment the stock was granted in consequence of the Bank having proposed to circulate Exchequer Bills for the services of the year, to the amount of two millions and a half sterling; (at 3l. per cent. per annum) and also, to advance the sum of 400,000l. for the Public use, without interest. This advance was regarded as a premium for the continuation of the exclusive privileges of the Corporation, till the first of August 1733; and till all the Exchequer Bills should be called in and discharged, and the sums advanced by the Bank entirely repaid. The Company also, on this occasion, agreed to pay the outstanding Exchequer Bills, which amounted to 1,775,027l. 17s. 10½d. The interest of the aggregate sum of 1,600,000l. viz. the (original 1,200,000l. and the present 400,000l.) was now fixed at six per cent. to commence from August the 1st, 1711. In the latter year, it was enacted that no person whatever should be 'either a Governor, Deputy-Governor, or Director of the Bank of England, and of the East-India Company at the same time.'† On a further circulation of Exchequer Bills in 1713, (12th Queen Anne, Chap. ii.) the Bank was allowed to create 'additional stock,' by a call from the Proprietors; and was to continue a Corporation till the 1st of August, 1743. In the 1st of George the First, the Bank was again allowed to increase its capital; and again, in the third year of the same King, when the Company

* In this Act the original Act for establishing the Bank is recited, together with all the material enactments of the subsequent Statutes that had been made for its regulation.

† A similar exception as to the South-Sea Company was afterwards established.

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pany consented to take 5l. per cent. upon all the sums advanced to Government, excepting upon their original capital, the interest on which was to continue at 6l. per cent. till August the 1st, 1742. Through these successive additions the capital Stock was increased to 5,375,027l. 17s. 10d.

On the establishment of the *original* Sinking Fund in the year 1717, the management of various Government Securies, which constituted the foundation of the said fund, was for the general conveniency, transferred from the Exchequer to the Bank.

The competition of the Bank with the South Sea Company, in respect to the reduction of what were termed the *Irredeemable Annuities*, was partly, the cause of the rash measures that were pursued by the latter Corporation, and that led to the extraordinary infatuation which produced the swollen *Bubble* of 1720.* Fortunately for the Bank, the proposals made to the Government by the rival Company were accepted in preference; and the Parliament legalized the agreement. The various arts afterwards employed to raise the price of South Sea Stock, had an effect upon all the other Stocks; and during the effervescence of phrenzied speculation, Bank Stock was sold at 260l. per cent.—When the wisdom of the Legislature had subsequently, applied some judicious remedies to counteract the extended ruin, the Bank purchased four Millions of the South-Sea capital stock, and by this means increased its own capital to 9,375,027l. 17s. 10½d.

Additional laws were made in 1725, to guard against the forgery, and fraudulent alteration, of Bank notes; and by the same statute (11th Geo. I. chap. 9,) it was enacted that the interest on Bank Stock should be reduced to 4l. per cent. after Midsummer, 1727; excepting on the original 1,600,000l. which was still to remain at 6l. per cent. In the year last mentioned, half a million of the capital Stock of the Bank was paid off out of the produce of the Sinking Fund.

In 1742, when the interest of money was very low, and the exclusive privileges of the Bank within little more than a year

* See the previous volume, pp. 486—492, and 655—659.

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of their legal expiration, the Governor and Company agreed to advance to the Government for the Public use, an additional 1,600,000l. without receiving any interest for the same;* the condition of their Charter being continued till after one year's notice from the 1st of August, 1764, and till the repayment of all the Exchequer Bills and other Parliamentary Securities which they might then hold. This agreement was sanctioned by the Legislature, and it was at the same time made a capital offence (15th Geo. II. chap. 13.) to forge or knowingly to utter, any forged Bill of Exchange, Dividend warrant, or Bank bond, or Obligation. Any servant of the Company breaking his trust was also to suffer death. By the same Act, the Bank was authorised to open an additional subscription for the 1,600,000l. now agreed to be advanced; and under the operation of this permission the capital stock of the Company was augmented to 10,780,000l.

The lowering aspect of Public affairs, the Scottish Rebellion and the advance of the Young Pretender into England, in the year 1745, occasioned such a *run* for cash upon the Bank, in the month of September, that the Directors, by way of expedient to avert the danger, gave orders for all the payments to be made in *silver*, and chiefly in *sixpences*. A more effectual relief, however, was afforded by the conduct of the Merchants, Bankers, &c. of London, who, to the number of eleven hundred, subscribed their names to a paper declaratory of their determination to support the credit of the Bank, by receiving its notes in all payments, and by circulating them to the utmost of their power.

In 1746, the Bank consented to deliver up Exchequer Bills to the amount of 986,800l. in lieu of an annuity of 4*l.* per cent. for that sum, and which was granted out of the impositions for licencing the sale of spirituous liquors. By this measure the capital Stock of the Company was increased to 11,686,800l.

Previously to the year 1759, the cash notes of the Bank had never

* In other words, the interest to be paid by Government upon the whole sum borrowed, namely, 3,200,000l. was fixed at 3l. per cent.

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never been issued for any lower sum than 20l.; but the unusual scarcity of Gold and Silver which then prevailed, in consequence of the exportation of specie for the purposes of war, occasioned the circulation of new notes for 15l. and for 10l. each.

In January, 1764, the Charter of the Bank being within two years of its regular termination, an agreement was entered into between the Government and the Directors, by which the latter consented to pay cash for Exchequer Bills, to the amount of one million sterling, at an interest of 3l. per cent. till the year 1766, when the Bills were to be discharged. They were also to advance for the Public service 110,000l. without either interest or re-payment; but in consideration of these concessions, they were to be continued a Body-corporate, with all their exclusive privileges, till the redemption of the whole debt due to them by Government, and one year's notice after the 1st of August, 1786. This contract was soon afterwards confirmed by Parliament; and by the same Statute (4th Geo. III. chap. 25.) it was made felony, without benefit of Clergy, to forge Powers of Attorney, on other authorities for receiving Dividends, and transferring or selling Stock; or to personate the proprietor of any stock, for such purpose.

In June, 1773, notice was given, that after the 24th of that month, the Company would no longer discount Bills at a lower rate than 5l. per cent. In the same year, an Act was passed (13th Geo. III. chap. 79.) making it death to imitate the water-mark of the Bank-note *Paper;* and in order to prevent impositions on the ignorant by notes made in resemblance of Bank Notes, it was enacted also, that no person should prepare any engraved bill or promissory note, containing the words *Bank of England*, or *Bank Post Bill*, or expressing any *sum* in *White Letters on a black ground*, in imitation of Bank Paper, under the penalty of imprisonment for six months.

During the tremendous Riots in June, 1780, the Bank had a very narrow escape from utter destruction. The proceedings of a lawless mob spread terror and consternation throughout the

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whole Metropolis, and for several days plunder and havock raged unrestrained. Fortunately the threatened attack upon the Bank was not made till a sufficient military force had been assembled to encounter the assailants; who, here, for the first time, found themselves *seriously* resisted, and were in consequence repulsed with loss, after two feeble attempts. Had the assault been made in a more early stage of the anarchy and alarm, there is little doubt but that it would have been accompanied by success; to the great distress of the nation, and the irretrievable ruin of thousands. The imminency of the danger excited the attention of Government, and a strong military guard has been ever since posted, nightly, within the interior of the Bank, in order to ensure its safety.

In the year 1781, the Governor and Company applied to Parliament for an extension of their Charter, proposing to advance for the service of the Public, two millions sterling, for three years, at an interest of 3l. per cent. on condition of their exclusive privileges being renewed till twelve months after the 1st of August, 1812, and till after the repayment of all sums of money advanced by the Bank upon Government Securities. In an animated debate on these proposals in the House of Commons, it appeared that the *annual profits* of the Bank, as estimated from the Dividends, were then about 239,000l.; independently of the sum of one-half per cent. which the Directors put by for contingencies. After much discussion, the Parliament agreed to renew the Charter on the terms proposed;* but the re-payment of the two millions was subsequently delayed by two different statutes. In the same year, in September, the Bank Proprietors agreed to make an addition,

* In the course of the Debates, Sir George Saville, who opposed the renewal, said that "the Bank business was to him, something like Art-magic! They coined their flimsy pieces of Paper; the King coined solid weighty pieces of Money, and that Money was made of sterling gold and silver; yet the thin Paper, with certain magical circles drawn on it, was deemed the most Valuable, and men were most pleased with obtaining it."

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dition of 8l. per cent. to their capital Stock, to be paid in four instalments, by the 15th of February, 1782: by this measure their entire Capital was considerably augmented.

By the Act passed for enlarging the stamp duties, in June, 1783, (23rd Geo. III. chap. 49,) the Notes and Bills of the Bank of England were exempted from the operation of those Duties, through the Company engaging to pay into the Exchequer for that indulgence the sum of 12,000l. annually, as a composition. In the year 1786, it was determined by Parliament, that the sum allowed to the Bank for the Management of the Public Debt, which at that period amounted to about 224 millions sterling, should be reduced from 562l. 10s. per million, to 450l.; and this was acceded to by the Company. In 1790, Bank Notes for 5l. were first put into circulation.

In the year 1791, when the exigencies of the state obliged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to have recourse to new measures for providing for the National Expenditure, the *Unclaimed Dividends* at the Bank, were thought to come fairly under the head of 'property convertible to Public use,' without injury to the Creditor. The Minister proposed, therefore, that 500,000l. of the dormant money (which formed a total of 660,000l.) should be appropriated to the service of the Country: this was resisted by the Directors, as being dangerous to Public Credit, and after much argument, and the publication of the names of the Persons by whom the Dividends were receivable (which led in many instances, to the discovery of the true claimants) the business was compromised by the acceptance of the 500,000l. as a loan, without interest; on the condition, that a balance of the Public Money of not less than 600,000l. of which this should form a part, should at all times remain in the Bank; and that the annual allowance to the Company for the Management of the National Debt, should continue at the rate of 450l. for every Million of the Capital.*

In the years 1794 and 1795, the Government of Ireland having negociated Loans with an option to the Subscribers of receiving

31st Geo. III. chap. 33.

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their Dividends, and transferring their Stock, in London; and the Bank having agreed to undertake the management of such Dividends and Transfers, the agreement was sanctioned by Parliament in May, 1795. By the same Act (35th Geo. III. chap. 66,) Clerks of the Bank making out false Dividend Warrants, for Irish Annuities, were subjected to seven years transportation. Previously to this, in 1793 (33rd Geo. III. chap. 47,) the East-India Annuities were placed under the Management of the Bank Company.

The increasing pressure of the times, and the unsettled state of Europe, began about this period to operate considerably in reducing the quantity of *Specie* kept in the Bank to answer the regular demands; and the Directors on the last day of December, 1795, adjudged it necessary to limit the amount of the daily Discounts to a *pro rata* proportion, in all cases where the Bills and Notes sent in for Discount exceeded a fixed sum.* It afterwards appeared, however, that the *actual* amount of the Discounts in the ensuing year, exceeded the total of 1794, by 4,640,000l. and that of 1795 by 2,930,000l. the whole amount of the Discounts in 1796 was 13,698,000l.

The year 1797 will be ever distinguished in the *Annals of the Bank*; nor will it be less memorable in the General History of the Country. The great importance of the measure which was then determined on, of restraining the Directors from making any more payments in *Specie* without the authority of Parliament, is universally admitted; yet its consequences are still but imperfectly known, and the occurrences of every passing day appear to extend its ramifications, and to involve them, with still increasing tenuity, as well around the stability of the Government, as the happiness of the People, and the destinies of the Empire.

The vast sums which had been drawn from the Bank for the Public Service, induced the Court of Directors, even as early as December, 1794, to express their uneasiness to the Chancellor of the

* Rep. of the Com. of the House of Lords, printed in April, 1797.

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the Exchequer on account of the magnitude of the debt, and anxiously to request a repayment, of at least, a considerable part, of what had been advanced. In the following month, (January 1795,) after resolving to limit their advances upon Treasury Bills to the sum of 500,000l. they informed the Minister that it was their wish "that he would arrange his finances for the year in such a manner as not to depend on any farther assistance from them." In April and June, they again found it necessary to remonstrate with Mr. Pitt; and on the 30th of July, they acquainted him, that they were determined to 'give orders to their Cashiers to refuse payment of any Treasury Bills which would extend the advance beyond the above sum.' Notwithstanding this, the '*pressing solicitations*' of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, enforced by 'the probable distress which a refusal might occasion in the then alarming situation of Public affairs,' led the Directors to depart from their resolution, and to make additional advances.

There can be little doubt but that at this period, the Directors deprecated all idea of Parliamentary interference, in the due discharge of their out-standing Notes, '*payable on demand*;' yet contrary to their better judgment, they suffered their remonstrances and their advances to go hand in hand, till at length, on the 24th of February, 1797, they felt it requisite to send a deputation to the Minister, to represent to him the vast drain that had been made upon their Specie, "*and to ask him, how far he thought the Bank might go on paying Cash;* and *when* he would *think it necessary to interfere*, before their *Cash was so reduced* as might be *detrimental* to the *immediate Service of the State?*"

In consequence of this application, his Majesty, who was then at Windsor, was requested to come immediately into town, to preside at a Meeting of the Privy Council; and on Sunday the 26th, a Council was accordingly held at St. James's, the result of which, and of another Meeting held directly afterwards at the residence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in Downing Street,

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was the following *Requisition*, or Order, addressed to the Bank Directors:—

At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, Feb. 26th, 1797.

By the Lords of His Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council. *Present:*—The Lord Chancellor, (Thurlow,) Lord President, Duke of Portland, Marquis Cornwallis, Earl Spencer, Earl of Liverpool, Lord Grenville, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"Upon the Representation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, stating, that from the result of the information which he has received, and of the inquiries which it has been his duty to make, respecting the effect of the unusual demands for Specie that have been made upon the Metropolis, in consequence of ill-founded or exaggerated alarms in different parts of the Country, it appears, that, unless some measure is immediately taken, there may be reason to apprehend a want of a sufficient supply of Cash to answer the exigencies of the Public service: it is the unanimous opinion of the Board, that it is indispensably necessary for the Public service, that the Directors of the Bank of England should forbear issuing any Cash in payment, until the sense of Parliament can be taken on that subject, and the proper measures adopted thereupon, for maintaining the means of Circulation, and supporting the public and commercial credit of the Kingdom at this important conjuncture; and it is ordered that a copy of this Minute be transmitted to the Directors of the Bank of England; and they are hereby required, on the grounds of the exigency of the case, to conform thereto, until the sense of Parliament can be taken as aforesaid.

(Signed) "W. FAWKENER."

Early on the next day, Monday, the above Order was generally promulgated, annexed to the following notice from the Bank Directors:

Bank

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Bank of England, February 27th, 1797.

"In consequence of an Order of His Majesty's Privy Council, notified to the Bank last night, a Copy of which is hereunto annexed, the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the Bank of England, think it their duty to inform the Proprietors of Bank stock, as well as the Public at large, that the general concerns of the Bank are in the most affluent and prosperous situation, and such as to preclude every doubt as to the security of its Notes.

"The Directors mean to continue their usual Discounts for the accommodation of the Commercial interest, paying the amount in Bank Notes; and the Dividend Warrants will be paid in the same manner.

(Signed) *Francis Martin, Secretary.*"

Almost directly afterwards, the principal Merchants and Bankers assembled at the Mansion House, and drew up the annexed Resolution:

Mansion House, London, Feb. 27th, 1797.

"At a Meeting of the Merchants, Bankers, &c. held here this day to consider of the steps which it may be proper to take to prevent Embarrassment to Public Credit, from the effect of any ill-founded or exaggerated alarms, and to support it with the utmost exertions at the present important conjuncture,

The Lord Mayor in the chair,

Resolved unanimously, That we the undersigned being highly sensible how necessary the Preservation of Public Credit is at this time, do most readily hereby declare, that we will not refuse to receive Bank Notes in payment of any sum of Money to be paid to us; and we will use our utmost endeavours to make all our payments in the same manner.

(Signed) BROOK WATSON."

The

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The signatures of all present were immediately affixed to this Resolution; in the course of a few days, it was likewise signed by all the principal Merchants, Bankers, and Traders, throughout London,* and copies of it were immediately circulated in all parts of the Kingdom. A similar Paper was also signed and published by the principal Lords of the Privy Council.

The apprehensions and alarm, which on the stoppage of Bank payments in *Specie*, quickly spread through every quarter of the Kingdom, were partly counteracted by the above Resolutions, but the more effectual remedy was found in the proceedings of Parliament; which being fortunately sitting at this time, immediately proceeded to investigate the affairs of the Bank, and in each House, a Secret Committee was appointed for the purpose.

In

* The following *Demi-official* Paper was also extensively circulated within a fortnight afterwards:

BANK NOTES.

"At a time when the Public mind is much agitated, and doubts have arisen respecting the solidity and ultimate security of Bank notes, especially with persons not conversant in these matters, among whom may be reckoned many who are Proprietors of Bank Stock, to such it may be of use to state and describe the foundation and conduct of the Bank, and the relation and connection that Bank Notes stand in.

"The BANK OF ENGLAND is to be considered in all respects similar in its principle and conduct to that of any private Banker, but on a scale vastly more extended; it is a Company or Partnership, called Proprietors, sanctioned by Charter from Government, who have advanced a Capital for the purpose of carrying on the business, similar to what private Bankers do. This Capital, amounting to about eleven Millions, not being wanted (the Bank having enough of other people's money for all purposes,) has been lent to Government as a kind of consideration for the Charter, at an interest of three *per cent.* this interest, together with the profits made by Discounts, dealing in Gold, Silver, &c. furnish the sum to pay Dividends on Bank Stock; from the great increase of which (namely, the Dividends) the prosperity of the Bank may be inferred.

"To account for the issue of Bank Notes now circulating, it is to be observed, that the credit of the Bank has been such, that it has long been the custom with most people, especially in the Metropolis, to place their *Specie* there,

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In the course of the Investigations a variety of accounts was produced, and many witnesses were examined, to illustrate the manner in which the Bank business was carried on, (as well in respect to the relation in which it stood to the Public, as to its connection with the Government,) and also to explain the causes by which its embarrassments had been produced, and its solvency rendered questionable.

Whilst the examinations were in progress, the attention of every class of society was strongly excited by numerous conjectures as to the probable results. In the preceding year an acute, but inflammatory Pamphlet,* which struck at the very foundation of the English Funding System, had been published by the (late)

there, and take Bank Notes for convenience and safety; and, in most cases, when they discount or lend money, Bank Notes are usually accepted. This will account for the existence of Bank Notes, and it cannot be supposed that any are issued except for these or similar reasons.

"It may now be proper to state in what predicament the Bank Notes stand. The Holders of them, together with those who have balances of accounts due to them, are the Creditors, and, it may be presumed, are the only Creditors of the Bank Company or Partnership; or, in other words, the Bank owes nothing to any beyond their Notes and such balances. In the same manner exactly, may the condition of any private Banker be stated. It is well known that the whole Property of all the Partners in a private Bank is liable to pay their Notes and Balances; but, in the Partnership or Company of the Bank of England, no individual is liable to more than his share of the Capital, which (Capital) is about eleven millions.

"From this Statement it may fairly be collected, that (before the Proprietors of Bank Stock are entitled to a shilling) the whole Capital of eleven Millions, together with another debt due by Government, of nearly the same amount, also all the Cash and Bills discounted, and other Securities, as well as the very building and estates of the Bank, are all liable, and applicable only, to the payment of their Notes and Balances of accounts.

"Under these circumstances, nothing short of a collusion or confederacy (which is inconceivable) between the Government and the Bank, can furnish a doubt of the solidity and ultimate security of Bank Notes."

* 'Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance,' London, 8vo.

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(late) celebrated Thomas Paine, wherein it was calculated from assumed data, grounded on the quantity of Cash supposed to be in circulation, that the amount of the out-standing Bank Notes was Sixty Millions! With the unreflecting this enormous aggregate obtained no inconsiderable degree of Credit; and independently of all political bias, there were many persons who believed that the real amount of circulating Bank Paper, could not be less than from thirty to forty millions, sterling. Under these circumstances, when the Committee of the House of Lords made their first Report, (3rd of March, 1797,) it was not without great surprise that the Public were informed that the '*total amount of out-standing demands on the Bank*, on the preceding 25th of February, was only 13,770,390l.'; and "that the total amount of the Funds for discharging those demands, (over and above the permanent debt due from Government of 11,686,800l.) was on the same day, 17,597,280l. which left a surplus of effects belonging to the Bank, of 3,826,890l. beyond the total of their Debts,* and over

* "If there had been a necessity at this time," says Mr. Macpherson, "to bring the affairs of the Bank to a final close, the value of the property of the Partners of the Company, or Proprietors of Bank Stock, must have been such proportion for every 100l. of their Stock as the whole capital Stock bears to 15,513,690l. the Corporation's *net estate* by the balance. But as the greatest part of that balance, or net estate, consists of a debt due by Government, which is not to be repaid but in the event of Parliament refusing to renew the exclusive privileges (of the Bank) at the expiration of the term for which they were granted, that capital, and the other Government funds belonging to the Company, could then only be valued at what they would sell for; which, if such a mass of Stock had been thrown upon the market at this time, would scarcely have reached 50l. for every 100l. upon the average of the whole: a still greater deduction would have taken place in the value of the buildings. Hence it appears, that the Proprietors, upon a *division*, must have lost a considerable part of their Stock, besides the whole of their premium, for such we may call the excess of the price paid for Bank Stock over 100l. There were, however, comparatively speaking, but very few Proprietors who wished to get rid of their Stock; and a premium, less or more, according to the general fluctuation of the Stocks, still continues to be paid for Bank Stock." *Ann. of Com. Vol. IV. p.* 413.

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over and above the before-mentioned permanent Debt due by the Government."*

The proceedings of chartered Companies, and more especially of those which are engaged in Banking or in Pecuniary Transactions, are almost always enveloped by a mysterious veil; and it

* The particular items on which this Report was founded will be seen by the following *complete* "Account of the Estate of the Corporation of the Bank of England, on the afternoon of Saturday the 25th of February, 1797."

Dr.		Cr.	
Bank Notes in Circulation	8,640,250	Bills and Notes discounted, Cash and Bullion	4,176,080
Drawing Account	2,389,600	Exchequer Bills	8,228,000
Exchequer Bills deposited	1,676,000	Land and Buildings	65,000
Audit Roll, or unpaid Dividends	983,730	Lent to the East India Company, on Mortgage Annuities of 1,200,000l.	700,000
Bank Stock Dividends, unclaimed	45,150	Stamps	1,510
East India Annuity Dividends, unclaimed	10,210	Navy and Victualling Bills	15,890
Sundry Small Articles, unclaimed	1,330	American Deben. 1790	54,150
Due from the Chief Cashier on the Loan of 1797	17,060	Petty Cash in the House	5,320
Irish Dividends, unpaid	1,460	Sundry Articles	24,150
Imperial Dividends, unpaid	5,600	Five per cent. Navy Annuities	795,800
	13,770,390	Five per cent. Annuities of 1797	1,000,000
		Treasury Bills paid	1,512,270
Balance on Net Estate of the Bank, independent of the permanent Debt due by the Government	2,826,890	Lent to Government without Interest	376,000
		Bills discounted, unpaid	88,120
		Treasury and Exchequer Fees	740
Amount of the Government permanent Debt*	11,686,800	Interest due on Sums advanced to Government	554,250
Total Net Estate	15,513,690		L.17,597,280
	L.29,284,080	Permanent Debt due by Government, with an Interest of Three per Cent.	11,686,800
			L.29,284,080

* This sum can only be regarded as an Annuity of 350,604l. since Government have the power of retaining it for ever at the easy rate of 3l. per cent.

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it is but seldom that the curious, yet un-initiated spectator can obtain a just idea of the actual state of things. From the time of the foundation of the Bank, no development had hitherto been made of the ingenious machinery by which its concerns were advanced and regulated. It was not till an interval of danger had arrived, and a wide-spreading alarm been excited, that the Directors, who had previously considered themselves as presiding over the affairs of a private Corporation, and that their books and accounts were not to be inspected under the mandate of any extraneous authority whatever, found it requisite to submit the secrets of their Fane to a public disclosure. It was now, when the aid of Government became essential to the credit, and perhaps to the very existence of the Company, that their doors were unbarred, their treasures explored, their books opened, their accounts examined, and the mysteries of their art divulged. It was now ascertained that the accounts of the Bank are managed with the ease and regularity adopted in the transactions of a commercial Counting-house; and that although the wheels, or agents, are multiplied into a prodigious aggregate, yet being all urged by one uniform impulse, no complexity arises, and entries of Millions circulated through the four quarters of the Globe, are inserted with the simplicity of a domestic memorandum. The extent of its floating paper, and of its credits and debits, was now for the first time, promulgated; the value of the precious metals in its vaults made known, and publicity given to the sum of its discounts to the mercantile world, and to the amount of its assistance to the Government.*

Among the papers laid before Parliament, was a Table professing to shew the scale of Cash and Bullion in the Bank, during every quarter, for several successive years prior to the stoppage. In this account round numbers only were used; and a mysterious kind of notation was employed in the statement, which for a time, prevented the exact sums from being known to the Public; yet it was at length discovered, that the mean number 660, denoted four

* See Life of Abraham Newland, pp. 78—81.

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four Millions, and by pursuing the calculations, and comparing the different accounts, the totals were found to be as follow:

Dates.	Cash and Balances in Hand.	Bills Discounted.	Average advance to Government
	L.	L.	L.
1793 March	3,508,000	4,817,000	8,735,200
June	4,412,000	5,128,000	9,434,000
September	6,836,000	2,065,000	9,455,700
December	7,720,000	1,976,000	8,887,500
1794 March	8,608,000	2,908,000	8,494,100
June	8,208,000	3,263,000	7,735,800
September	8,096,000	2,000,000	6,779,800
December	7,768,000	1,887,000	7,545,100
1795 March	7,940,000	2,287,000	9,773,700
June	7,356,000	3,485,000	10,879,700
September	5,792,000	1,887,000	10,197,600
December	4,000,000	3,109,000	10,863,100
1796 March	2,972,000	2,820,000	11,351,000
June	2,582,000	3,730,000	11,269,700
September	2,532,000	3,352,000	9,901,100
December	2,508,000	3,796,000	9,511,400
1797 February the 26th	1,272,000	2,905,000	10,672,490

In the last sum of this Table, viz. 10,672,490l. there is an apparent error of 708,076l. 17s. 0d. when compared with the total of the more particular advances made to Government, and outstanding on the 25th of February, 1797; but this was occasioned through the amount of the interest due not being annexed to the latter statement. The account of the advances stood thus:

		L.	
On Land Tax	1794	141,000	
	1795	312,000	4,077,000 0 0
	1796	1,624,000	
	1797	2,000,000	
On Malt Tax	1794	196,000	
	1795	158,000	1,854,000 0 0
	1796	750,000	
	1797	750,000	
Consolid. Fund	1796	1,323,000	
Vote of Credit for 1796, namely L.2,500,000.		821,400	2,144,400 0 0
Exchequer Bills without Interest			376,739 0 9
Treasury Bills of Exchange			1,512,274 2 3
Total			L.9,964,413 3 0

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In the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords, it was stated that the unusual drain of Cash which the Bank had lately experienced, was "owing in a great measure to the demands from the Country;" such demands being indirectly made through the medium of the London Bankers: that by the effect of such drain "the cash of the Bank had been very considerably reduced," but that "no permanent disadvantages had arisen till after the month of September, 1795;" for although "the amount of Cash had been *much lower than usual* in March and June, 1793, it rose in the September of that year to nearly its *usual average.*"

Now as we learn from the Table that the amount of the Cash and Bullion in hand, in September, 1793, was 6,836,000l. it may naturally be inferred that what is considered as the *usual average*, is SEVEN MILLIONS; a sum which at all times, perhaps, since the commencement of the Revolutionary war, was inadequate in itself to answer the out-standing demands, in the *extreme* case of a simultaneous operation having been given to them. The investigation proved, however, that the assets of the Bank were *more* than sufficient to discharge every engagement; and that it was the advances to the Government alone, which had caused the Directors to depart from their general system of exact punctuality.

"The Bank of England," continues the Report, "is at the head of all circulation. It is the great repository of the spare cash of the Nation, and alone carries Bullion to the Mint to be coined: on that account, therefore, it is subject to be called on for Cash, directly, or indirectly, by those who are in want of it; and is also necessarily sensible of every material failure or distress, which arises from any deficiency, or want of coin, in every part of this Kingdom or in Ireland." The apprehensions, indeed, that were entertained in the latter Country, of an approaching Rebellion, connected with an invasion from France, were partly the occasion of the unusual demand which the Bank experienced; but a still more immediate cause was the intended Loan for the service of the Irish Government, which the Chancellor

cellor of the Exchequer was on the eve of negociating in London. So strongly in fact were the Directors impressed with an idea of the danger attending such a scheme in the then state of the money market, that the Governor of the Bank informed Mr. Pitt, "that such a measure would threaten *ruin* to the House, and most probably reduce them to the necessity of *shutting up its doors!*"*

* The ensuing particulars of the 'manner in which business is conducted between the Bank and the Exchequer.' are extracted from the Evidence given by the celebrated *Abraham Newland*, whose name as Chief Cashier of the Bank has been attached to its notes for upwards of five-and-twenty years.

"When application is made from the Lords of the Treasury to the Bank, to advance Money on the Land Tax, Malt Duties, Vote of Credit, or any other service, the *rate of Interest* is then adjusted; after this, the Lords of the Treasury direct issues to be paid for the use of the Army, Navy, Ordnance, or a variety of other services upon which credit is given to the Paymaster of the Army, Navy, Ordnance, &c. to the amount of the sum issued for that particular service, and for which the Paymasters have a credit given them in their Bank Books, and for which the Bank *receives as many Exchequer Bills of* 1000*l. each*, as the *said sum amounts to*; which, when done, the Paymasters draw on the Bank for the sum carried to the credit of their account. If the sum be a fractional part of 1000*l.* the difference is made up in cash. If monies are issued to the Paymasters of the Army, Navy, &c. or other persons for any other services, out of money remaining in the Tellers' Chest, then the Tellers return to the Clerk of the Bank as many Exchequer Bills of 1000 each, as they have given credit for in the Books of the Paymasters, or that they have given Bank Notes for. If the parties should chuse to take Bank Notes instead of a credit in the Books, the Bank receives Exchequer Bills in lieu thereof. If any individual has *money* to pay into the *receipt of the Exchequer*, whether it arises from Loans, Public Duties, or any other services, the *Bank* gives to the Tellers as many *Exchequer Bills of* 1000*l.* as the above *sums amount to*; the like sum having been received in *Bank Notes* or in *Cash*, in the course of the day, and for which purpose three Clerks of the Bank attend every day at the Exchequer.

"In the case of Loans, upon a 15*l.* per cent. payment on a Loan of 12,000,000*l.* which amounts to 1,800,000*l.* *the said sum remains in the Bank till the Act passes* relating to the Loan; then the Chief Cashier directs one of

Notwithstanding the strong language which the Directors thus deemed it necessary to employ, and the "extreme reluctance," with which they yielded to the "pressing solicitations" of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they yet continued to make advances to Government, till they found it necessary to implore the intervention of its power in order to shield them from the dreaded effects of their own indecision. On the 10th of February, according

of the Clerks who attends the Exchequer from the Bank, to pay the said 1,800,000l. into the receipt of the Exchequer, which is done by giving 1000 *Exchequer Bills of* 1000*l. each.* The future instalments are paid in the same way, directly after their receipt. In the course of a year, 100,000l. in *Cash* is fully sufficient to transact the business of the Exchequer: the detail part of the business is all transacted at the Bank.

"When any Money is paid [from the Exchequer] on the Land-Tax, or any other service, the same is given to the Clerks of the Bank, and at the close of the day, the Clerks of the Exchequer send up a piece of paper to the Bank Clerk, informing him that so much money has been paid off the Land-Tax, (or other service,) which sum *he receives,* and the *interest ceases* at the same time:—but the interest is continued till *then* whether the Exchequer Bills remain in the Bank, or are deposited in the Exchequer.

"When money is raised under the authority of Parliament, by Exchequer Bills, when those Bills have been issued from the Exchequer to the Bank, and afterwards are returned, and deposited in the Tellers' chest, the *Bank still continues to receive the interest,* and are under an obligation to take back the said Exchequer Bills as *Cash,*"—till they are finally paid off, as above, by receipts from the Land-Tax, or other impositions.

"The manner in which provision is made for the payment of the Quarterly Dividends is as follows:—"the Lords of the Treasury direct a warrant to be drawn for the payment of particular funds, due at each quarter; which warrants are sent to the Auditor of the Exchequer, who directs an order to be made out for the Tellers of the Exchequer to pay certain sums to satisfy the Dividend then due, which warrant and order are returned to the Treasury, to be signed by the Lords of the Treasury, who direct them to be sent back to the Auditor of the Exchequer, who keeps the warrant in his own possession for his security; and upon the order directs the Tellers of the Exchequer to pay certain sums thereout to the amount of the Dividends then due, and particularly specified; which they do by giving to the Clerk of the Bank

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cording to a statement delivered to Mr. Pitt, the sum due to the Bank on successive advances from the year 1794, was 7,186,445l. on the 25th of the same month, it amounted to 9,964,413l. 3s. The difference between these sums is 2,777,968l. 3s. of this sum it may be fairly estimated from a comparison of the accounts contained in the different statements, that from 500,000l. to 600,000l. was advanced in *hard cash*. Can it be that the Directors were influenced in the line of conduct which they thought proper to pursue, by any latent apprehensions of probable loss, which a disappointed Minister might occasion to the Bank in removing the management of the Public debt into another channel?

as many Exchequer Bills of 1000l. each, as the said Quarterly Dividends amount to, and for which the Chief Cashier gives a receipt; and the Bank pays each claimant his Dividend due thereon.—Supposing the Dividends paid in the course of the year at the Bank, to amount to 14,000,000l. sterling, about 1,300,000l. or 1,400,000l. of that sum is paid in *Cash*, and the *remainder* in *Bank Notes*.—When the amount of the Quarterly Dividends is 3,000,000l. the sum paid to the principal Bankers of London, out of that total may probably amount to from 600,000l. to 800,000l.

"There must certainly be an increase in the circulation of Bank Notes, owing to the payment of the Dividends; but that is often counteracted by Loan payments, and other payments made to the Bank. Between April and the end of May, the Receivers of the Land-Tax pay not less than from 600,000l. to 800,000l. which money is paid into the Bank, and cancels as many Exchequer Bills; and they do the same in the months of October and the middle of December, or to a larger amount; and the weekly revenues also, amounting to between 200,000l. and 300,000l. per week, continually lessen the circulation of Bank Notes.—About 990l. in every 1000l. of the instalments on the Loans, is paid in Bank Notes; and speaking vaguely, the Bank does not receive from the Customs 500l. a year in *Cash*; nor from the Excise above 50, or 60,000l.

"Of all the Public Revenues, the produce of the Land-Tax in the home counties, brings most cash into the Bank; and of all the Public Services, the Navy, including the Dock Yards, requires the largest payments in Cash: the Army is in the next degree.—Almost the whole of the advances to Government are made in Bank Notes."

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Among the papers laid before Parliament were the following statements of out-standing Bank Notes at various periods.

" Average amount of Bank Notes in circulation for every quarter in the ensuing years:

	1791.	1792.	1793.
January to March	*L.*11,601,950	*L.*11,239,170	*L.*11,963,820
April to June..... ...	12,060,620	11,765,280	12,100,650
July to September.....	11,764,680	11,316,790	10,938,620
August to December.....	11,225,840	11,157,040	10,967,310

	1794.	1795.	1796.
January to March.....	*L.*11,159,720	*L.*12,432,240	*L.*10,824,150
April to June.....	10,366,450	10,912,680	10,770,200
July to September.....	10,343,940	11,034,790	9,720,440
August to December.....	10,927,970	11,608,670	9,645,710

" The *weekly* amount of Bank Notes in circulation in the first eight weeks of the year 1797:

January 7th	*L.* 9,185,520	February 4th	*L.*9,667,460
14th	9,893,340	11th	9,431,550
21st	10,550,830	18th	9,137,950
28th	10,024,740	25th	8,640,250

On the stoppage of Cash payments at the Bank, means were concerted to fill up the void in the circulation which it was easily foreseen would be produced from such a measure; and on the 1st of March, Mr. Pitt introduced a Bill into Parliament for empowering the Directors to issue Notes for sums *lower* than 5l. to which amount they had hitherto been restricted. The preamble to the Act, (which was passed into a law with such celerity as to receive the Royal Assent on the second day afterwards,) sets forth, that such issue was " expedient for the Public Service and for the convenience of Commercial circulation." Bank Notes for 1l. and

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and 2l. each, were in consequence immediately issued; and within a few days after, (March the ninth,) in order to supply coin for small payments, *Spanish Dollars*, stamped with a miniature head of his Britannic Majesty, were also circulated by the Bank at the rate of four-and-ninepence per Dollar, which was about threepence more than their then value.*

Whilst the alarm was at its height, the Bank was repeatedly crowded day after day, by persons who wished to secure *some value* for that Paper which it was apprehended was now falling into complete discredit; and the Dollars, could scarcely, at first, be supplied fast enough to meet the increasing demands. The Reports made by the Committees of Parliament, however, and the agreement entered into by the Bankers and Merchants, to receive and to pay Bank Notes as usual, very soon elicited a returning confidence on the part of the Public; and within a few days, so great is the versatility of the human mind, "all transactions of every kind went on, as if nothing had happened,—for people in general did not perceive, at least not immediately, that there was any difference between Bank Notes, not convertible into money of solid Gold and Silver, [but which still passed from hand to hand without any sensible depreciation] and that money itself." †

The Debates in Parliament upon the policy of the course of proceedings which Mr. Pitt adopted in respect to the Bank, were particularly animated; though both parties were agreed as to the necessity of the restrictions on Cash payments being merely *temporary*, and confident expectations were expressed by the Minister, that the Company would resume its accustomed issues in specie in a short time. Every idea of *enforcing* the circulation of Bank Notes was also deprecated; but it was judged ex-

 pedient

* These continued in circulation till the 31st of October, and were then called in; the Directors being apprehensive of loss from the great quantity which had been imported from Foreign Countries, and stamped in imitation of those issued from the Bank.

† Ann. of Com. Vol. IV. p. 410.

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pedient that they should be regarded as a legal tender; and th no man should be held to bail for any debt whatever, wher could be proved that Bank Notes had been offered in payment a refused. The Governor and Company of the Bank were likewis indemnified, from all suits at law that might be brought aga them for refusing to give Cash for their Notes; and were s prohibited by law, (37th Geo. III. chap. 45,) from issuing Ca in payment of any debt or demand whatsoever, excepting in sum under twenty shillings; and excepting of all payments order by the Privy Council, for the Army, Navy, and Ordnance Services. But they were left at liberty, to advance Cash to th Bankers of London, to the amount of 100,000l. in such proportions as they thought proper; and 25,000l. to each of the two chartered Banks in Scotland; besides having power to repay, after the 17th of April, three-fourths of any sum, not under 500l. that had been lodged with them in Cash, and to pay any other sum in Cash after giving five days' notice to the Speaker of the House of Commons. It was enacted also, that Collectors of the Public Revenues should receive Bank Notes in payment: and that the restrictions should cease and determine on the 24th of June. By subsequent Statutes, however, the suspension has been continued from time to time, and is now to remain in force till after the signing of a definitive treaty of Peace.

In the year 1798, when the exigencies of the state had occasioned Parliament to make an Act rendering it legal to collect Voluntary Contributions for carrying on the war, the Bank took the lead, and commenced the subscriptions by the gift of 200,000l.

In January 1799, the Directors of the Bank gave notice, that they would thenceforth pay all odd sums, not exceeding 5l. in Cash; and that all notes for 1l. and 2l. which had been issued previously to the month of July, 1798, should also be paid in Cash, or exchanged for new notes, at the option of the holders: this was on account of an extensive forgery of small notes having been then recently discovered. The profits of the Bank were found

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found to have so much increased by the several suspensions of payments in specie, and other circumstances connected with national affairs, that the Directors were in March, this year, enabled to make a *bonus* to the Proprietors of Bank Stock, at the rate of 10*l.* per cent. upon their capitals, in addition to their customary Dividends of seven per cent. This was done by making transfers to that amount in the Loyalty five per cent. stock, of 1797.

In January 1800, the Bank Company proposed to advance for the Public Service, three Millions on Exchequer Bills, without interest, for six years from the 1st of April, on condition of their Charter being extended, with all its exclusive privileges, till one year's notice after August the 1st, 1833; and till the repayment of all debts that might be then due to them by Government. This proposal, which is said to have had origin from an apprehension entertained by the Directors that a rival company might be incorporated, was agreed to by Parliament, and an Act, (40th Geo. III. chap. 28,) was passed on the 28th of March to give it effect. It appears, however, from subsequent proceedings in Parliament that "this agreement was not considered, either by those who acted upon the part of the Public, nor by the Bank Directors themselves, as a bar against further participation, whenever the increase of their profits derived from the Public, and the circumstances of Public affairs, might upon similar principles, make such a claim reasonable and expedient."* In May, 1801, another *bonus*, of 5*l.* per cent. in the Navy five per cents. was made to the Proprietors of Bank Stock.

In the year 1803, an extraordinary instance of embezzlement and fraud was discovered at the Bank, on the part of *Mr. Robert Astlett*, a principal Cashier, and one of the most confidental servants in the Company's employ. The detection arose from circumstances communicated to the directors by Mr. Bish, the Stock-broker and Lottery-office keeper, in Cornhill, who had been engaged by Astlett to dispose of some Exchequer Bills, which on

 examination,

* Second Rep. of the Committee of the House of Commons on Public Expenditure, printed in Aug. 1807.

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examination, Mr. Bish had found to have previously passed through his own hands, and been delivered in to the Bank. It appeared on evidence, that Astlett had the custody of all Exchequer Bills brought into the Bank, till a sufficient quantity was collected to arrange in bundles, and deliver to the Directors in the parlour; where the bundles are counted, and a voucher for the delivery of them given to the Cashier. In conformity to this practice, three bundles to the supposed amount of 700,000l. had on the 26th of February, been transferred to the parlour, and the proper entry made under the signatures of two Directors; yet on counting the Bills, it was seen that the vouchers had been given for 200,000l. more than the bundles contained. For the felonious embezzlement of three of those Bills, of 1000l. each, Astlett was put on his trial at the Old Bailey, on the 8th of July, when it was proved by his Counsel, that the purloined Bills were not valid; inasmuch as they had not been signed by a proper officer, as required by an Act of Parliament. The prisoner was therefore acquitted; but he was detained in custody by order of the Court, in consequence of it being stated that the Bank Directors intended to issue a civil process against him for 100,000l. and upwards, money paid for Bills, which he had converted to his own use.

On the Thursday following, July the 14th, at a half-yearly General Court of Proprietors, (which was held at the Bank for the purpose of declaring a Dividend,) the Chairman entered into a detailed and satisfactory explanation of the manner in which Astlett had imposed upon the Directors, and been enabled by interlining sums, and other artful contrivances, to carry on his frauds without suspicion. He also stated that 'the actual loss was about 320,000l. a sum *nearly* amounting to the entire Dividends of the half year; but that the affairs of the Company were in so prosperous a state that they should be able to divide as usual: about 78,000l. likewise, of the above sum, he expected the Bank would be able to recover.'

Previously to the return of the Sessions, the Directors departed from

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from their declared intention of issuing a civil process, and Astlett, on the 3rd of September, was again tried for a criminal offence. The indictment was founded on the Act of the 15th of George the Second, chap. 13, and he was charged with the felonious embezzlement of property and effects of the Bank of England. The same ground of objection was taken as on the former trial, against the validity of the Bills, from their want of a proper official signature; but this was over-ruled by Mr. Justice Le Blanc, and the Jury having brought in a verdict of guilty as to the facts, the point of law was reserved for the decision of the twelve Judges. That decision was pronounced at the Old Bailey, on the 16th of February, 1804, by Mr. Baron Hotham, who stated that 'the objection had been ably and legally discussed; but that the Judges were of opinion that the Bills in question came properly under the denomination of the 'effects,' meant by the Statute; and that the prisoner, by having been found guilty of the embezzlement of them, was subjected to the pain of death.' This sentence, however, has not been executed, and Mr. Astlett has ever since remained a prisoner in Newgate!

In the year 1806, a new agreement was made with the Bank in regard to the three Millions which had been lent to the Government without interest in April 1800; and it was now arranged that the said sum should be retained as a Loan, at an interest of 3l. per cent. per annum, till six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of Peace. The agreement was substantiated by Parliament; (46th Geo. III. chap. 40,) and it was considered that the advantage obtained by it to the Public was equal to an annual gift of 60,000l. during the continuance of the war.

In 1807, a very important investigation of the general affairs of the Bank was made by a Committee of the House of Commons, which had been appointed to inquire into the state of 'the Public Expenditure, and to determine how far it could be reduced and controlled without detriment to the Public Service.' From the Second Report of that Committee, which

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which was ordered to be printed, on the 10th of August, 1807, the following particulars have been extracted: besides elucidating the principle upon which the nation is duly entitled to a participation in the Bank profits, they also supply a more detailed and authentic account of the business of the Corporation than can be obtained from any other source.

"The Funds of the Bank, which are the *sources of profit*, and which constitute the measure of the sum they have to lend, (subject only to a deduction on account of the Cash and Bullion,) may be classed under three heads:

"First, the sum received from their Proprietors as capital, together with the savings which have been added to it. Secondly, the sums received from persons keeping Cash at the Bank: this sum consists of the Balances on the deposit accounts both of Government and of individuals. In 1797, this fund, including all the Balances of individuals was only 5,130,140l. The present Government Balances alone have been stated at between eleven and twelve Millions, including Bank Notes deposited in the Exchequer. Thirdly, the sum received in return for Notes put into circulation. A corresponding value for every Note must originally have been given; and the value thus given for Notes, constitutes one part of the General Fund to be lent at interest? A Note-holder, indeed, does not differ essentially from a person to whom a balance is due: both are Creditors of the Bank, one holding a Note, which is the evidence of the debt due to him, the other having the evidence of an entry in the Ledger of the Bank. The sum at all times running at interest, will be in exact proportion to the amount of these three funds combined, deduction being made for the value of Cash and Bullion.

"Under the three heads above mentioned, first of Capital and savings; secondly, Balances of deposit accounts; and thirdly, Notes in circulation; all the sums are stated which the Bank would have to discharge in the event of the winding up of their affairs: and they must of course, have assets sufficient and available

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available for this purpose, which assets can only consist of Cash and Bullion, and Securities for money lent.

" In whatever degree, therefore, the three first mentioned items, namely, Capital, Deposit, or Notes, increase, the other two remaining fixed, in the same degree must the sum running at interest increase, provided the Cash and Bullion do not vary; and this adaptation of the sum at interest to the amount of the Balances, may be presumed to take place without any particular connizance of the subject by the Directors, who make a profitable use of the Balances, by consenting so far to satisfy the current demands for discount, or by making such loans to Government, or buying such number of Exchequer Bills, or other Securities, as may suffice to maintain in circulation the accustomed quantity of Notes. Those Balances are lent at interest because a demand for loans to this extent cannot fail to rise out of the natural demands for the accustomed quantity of notes. The Bank have *no property of any moment* lying dead, *Cash and Bullion* excepted; they possess, indeed, property in buildings, but these are stated in the evidence to have been paid for as they were erected, out of their current profits, and constitute no article in their accounts. Unless, therefore, they have a sum at interest applicable, together with the Cash and Bullion, to the purpose of answering the demands of those who have deposits in their hands, they have not assets necessary to satisfy the three classes of claimants which have been mentioned.

" The *productive quality of the floating Balances* is confirmed by a statement presented by the Bank itself to the Committee of the House of Lords in 1797; from which it appears, that the ' Bank Notes,' were on the 25th of February in that year.. 8,640,250

And the ' Drawing Accounts,' (or Deposit Accounts) and ' Audit Roll,' (or Unclaimed Dividends, &c.)..... 5,130,130

And the ' Surplus' (or undivided profit) of the Bank, which was of the nature of additional Capital..... 3,826,890

Making together.....*L.* 17,097,280

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This *debit* side of the account exhibited the total sum due both to the Bank proprietors and to others, on the 25th of February, 1797, with the exception of 11,686,800l. capital, lent to Government, which was adverted to only, at the foot of the statement. The *credit* side of the account enumerated the effects (amounting to 17,597l.280l.) applicable to the payment of that debt.

"These assets were stated to consist of 'advances on Government Securities,' viz. 'Land and Malt,' on 'Exchequer Bills, &c.' on 'Bills discounted, &c.' and 'Cash and Bullion.' Supposing, therefore, the amount of surplus Capital and Bank Notes on the debit side, and the Cash and Bullion on the credit side, to continue stationary, the amount of the *other articles* on the credit side, [See the Statement itself, p. 525,] all of them articles *producing interest*, must necessarily fluctuate in exact correspondence with every fluctuation of the Deposits; and in case another statement, formed in the same manner as that presented in 1797, were now to be made out, the sum of 8,640,250l. of Notes, having been augmented to 16,621,390l. and the sum of 5,130,000l. of Deposits, having risen probably to about 13 or 14 Millions, there would unquestionably be an *increase* of about 16 or 17 Millions, running at interest, to be stated on the other side, deducting whatever may have been added to the Cash and Bullion since February, 1797.

"The annual and temporary *bonus* of five per cent. which the Bank have for some successive years *added* to their accustomed Dividends of seven per cent. the recent augmentation of their regular Dividends to *ten* per cent. exclusive of property tax, and the rise also of the market-price of their Stock, which having sold in 1800 at from 156l. to 172l. per cent. now sells at 230l, are strong circumstances in confirmation of the *large increase of their profits*. This increase cannot be accounted for by any material augmentation of the advantages derived from the management of their own capital, nor from that part of their business which they transact as Bankers to individuals, (a part indeed,

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indeed, at all times comparatively small in its amount;) for although the number of persons having accounts open with the Bank has been lately much increased, the floating balances on those accounts are known to be generally very small, most of the accounts being only kept open for the sake of the opportunity which they afford of borrowing in the way of discount. The extension of either loans to Government, or of discounts to the Merchants, or of both, is the necessary effect of the augmentation of the Government deposits, and it is to the *largeness of these deposits* that the *increased profits* ought to be referred.

" Besides the management of the Debt, the Bank have large transactions with the Public, affording a considerable profit to the Corporation, into the nature and amount of which it is proper to enter:

" 1. The average balance of Cash kept at the Bank during the three months ending January, 1807, under the head of Customs, Excise, and Stamps, was about		*L.* 457,000
" Under the head of Post-Office, during several months in 1807, in which year that account was first opened		20,500
" 2. Average balance of sundry other accounts, during a similar period of three months, to January, 1807, viz. under the head of Postmaster-General of the Forces, Treasurer of the Navy, Treasurer of the Ordnance, Barrack-Master General, Transport Office, Agent-General of the Volunteers, Treasurer of Chelsea Hospital, Surveyor-General of Woods and Forests, Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery, and Commissioners for the reduction of Land-Tax.		1,531,974
" 3. Average amount of Unclaimed Dividends in the hands of the Bank during 1806..... *L.* 1,341,154		
Deduct lent to Government on that account without interest.	376.739	964.415
" 4. Average balance during three months to January, 1807, in the hands of Commissioners for reduction of National Debt, arising from the Dividends received by the Commissioners on Stock purchased by them, and from the issue of Sinking Fund money		1,488,078

" 5. A

'5. A further balance of Cash to a very large amount, consists of sums lying nominally in the Exchequer, which nevertheless actually accumulate for the benefit of the Bank, and are for the most part applicable at the end of each quarter, to the payment of Dividends. The total average of Exchequer Money by which the Bank may thus have profited, was from January 10, 1806, to December 19.....	6,167,928
	*L.*10,629,890
" To this may be added a balance of a temporary nature, which has remained for no inconsiderable time in the Bank, on account of the Commissioners under the Convention with the United States of America, which is part of 600,000l. originally deposited	475,029
Total *average* balances*.....	*L.*11,104,919

" The magnitude of these balances, and of the profit which must be derived from them, (a profit which is likely to increase during the war, but which may be subject to diminution on the return of peace,) has attracted the attention of the Committee no less than that of the allowance for the management of the National Debt. The annual interest upon them amounts to between 500,000l. and 600,000l.

" Whenever an addition is made to the amount of these balances, it is effected in general by a payment into the Bank, of their own Notes; which, when so paid in, are cancelled; but the reduction thus occasioned is only temporary, as fresh issues are continually made by additional Discounts, by the purchase of Exchequer Bills, and by loans to Government.

" That the great augmentation of Government balances which has taken place since the year 1797, (an augmentation amounting probably

* The *actual* Balances, as stated by the Committee, on the 11th of October, 1806, which was the time *immediately preceding* the payment of the Dividends, amounted to 12,198,236l.; and between the 1st and 7th of November, which was three weeks *subsequent* to the payment of the Dividends, to 11,623,189l.

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probably to seven or eight millions,) has not permanently diminished the Notes in circulation, is proved by the amount of Notes in circulation between February the 7th, 1795, and February the 1st. 1807, by which it appears that the Notes, exclusively of 1l. and 2l. Notes [which amounted to 4,217,960l.] were, on

February the 7th, 1795.....	*L.*12,870,500
February the 6th, 1796.....	... 11,215,000
February the 1st, 1806.....	12,856,770
February the 1st, 1807.....	12,333,430

"The fluctuation in those twelve years, (with the exception of a short interval preceding the suspension of the Cash payments, was only between the sums 11,589,380l. and 13,845,800l. to which last-mentioned sum they amounted on the 25th of January, 1801, a period not long subsequent to the day of paying the Dividends, when a more than ordinary issue of Paper must be supposed to have taken place. Since therefore each augmentation of the Government balances, though it may be at first attended by a diminution of Bank Paper, is followed by a proportionate re-issue of that Paper, and since, in return for the Paper so re-issued, additional Bills are discounted, additional Exchequer Bills are bought, or additional loans are furnished to Government, (all articles equally yielding interest,) it follows, that those additions which are made to the balances must be considered as producing a corresponding increase of interest. The proportion will be exact, whenever the Notes suppressed are exactly restored, provided the quantity of Cash and Bullion continues precisely the same."

Such then were the advantages which the Bank derived from its connection with Government, in 1807; independently of its profits upon the management of the National Debt, and of other considerable allowances for the receipt of contributions on loans and lotteries.

The sum paid for the management of the Debt was, in 1786, reduced to 450l. per million. On January the 5th, 1797, the principal of the Debt unredeemed was 272,892,444l. the charges upon which, so far as the Bank was concerned, were 115,543l. On

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January the 5th, 1800, the unredeemed Debt was 375,185,801l. and the charges of management received by the Bank were 170,053l. The Debt unredeemed on the 5th of January, 1807, was 550,441,314l. and the sum paid to the Bank for its management was 265,818l. besides 5,687l. on account of the Austrian loan. The allowance of 4,000l. towards the expenses of the House; and also the original allowance of 1,898l. on the four Millions purchased from the South-Sea Company, are in addition to the before-mentioned sums.

"The increase in the establishment of the Bank," continues the Report, "which has been rendered necessary by the progressive augmentation of this branch of their business, consists principally, in a large addition to the number of Clerks, of whom the whole number employed in the Public business, exclusively, or principally, was, in 1786, 243; in 1796, 313; and in 1807, 450; whose salaries, it is presumed, may be calculated at an average of between 120l. and 170l. for each Clerk: taking them at 135l. each, which exceeds the average of those employed in the South-Sea House, the sum is - - - - - - 60,750l.

at 150l. the sum is - - - - - - - - 67,500l.

at 170l. the sum is - - - - - - - - 76,500l.

either of which two last sums would probably be sufficient to provide a superannuation fund.

"The very moderate salaries received by the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors, amount to between 7000l. and 8000l. and only a part of these salaries must be considered as compensation for the trouble of superintending the Public business.

"The incidental expenses and sundries may be estimated at about - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 15,000l.

"Buildings additional and repairs, at about - 10,000l.

"Law expenses, and losses by frauds and forgeries, at about - - - - - - - - - - - - - 10,000l.

"The whole increase of the officers who actually transact the business, in the last eleven years, is only 137, whose annual expense may be from 18,449l. to 23,290l.: the addition to the other

other permanent charges being probably about one-half, or two-thirds of that sum; but the additional allowance [receipt rather] for management in the last ten years is more than 155,000l. This general conjectural estimate of the expenses actually incurred by the Bank, exhibits, if it be near the truth, the charge which would have attended the management of this business by Government, if previous to the arrangement which took place in 1786, it had been thought advisable to adopt the suggestion formerly made by the Auditors of Public Accounts, when this matter was referred to them by the Treasury.

"Upon reviewing therefore these circumstances in the present times, 1807, and without questioning the propriety of the arrangement made in 1786, when the Public debt was so much inferior in amount; your Committee cannot forbear to state it as a question still deserving the attention of Parliament, whether a *further reduction of expense, cannot, and ought not to be made upon this branch of Public Expenditure?*"

"After a summary recapitulation of the advantages which the Bank derives from their Charter, and from their connection with the Public, it will be proper to enumerate the benefits which the Public receive from them in return:"

The recapitulation consists of three heads; "First, a larger profit on the management of the Public debt is enjoyed by the Bank; and secondly, the interest arising from between eleven and twelve Millions of Government balances lying in their hands. Thirdly, they have whatever profit is to be derived from their paper circulation, amounting to 16,621,390l., the issue of which results from the exclusive powers given to them by their Charter,"—What the *aggregate profits* have been may be conceived from the *bonus's* "which the Bank Proprietors have received, [since the stoppage of Cash payments] in addition to their usual Dividend of 7 per Cent.

June, 1799, Ten per Cent. in 5 per Cents. 1797.
May, 1801, Five per Cent. in Navy 5 per Cents.
Nov. 1802, Two and half per cent. in ditto.

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Oct. 1804, Five per Cent. in Cash.

Oct. 1805, Five per Cent. increase of Dividend.

Oct. 1806, Five per Cent. ditto.

April, 1807, Three per Cent. permanent increase of annual Dividend."

The benefits derived by the Public in return may be arranged thus:—"First; the capital (11,686,800l.) of the Bank is lent to the Public at the rate of 3l. per cent. a saving amounting at present, to 233,720l. Secondly; advances are made to the extent of 2,750,000l. upon the annual land and malt taxes, or the duties substituted, at an interest of 4l. per cent. Thirdly; the 3,000,000l. lent to Government in 1800, without interest, for six years, as the price of the renewal of the Bank Charter, is now retained at an interest of 3l. per cent. till the conclusion of the present war.

"Another direct advantage derived to the Public consists in the receipt at the Bank of the Property-tax upon the Dividends, and the prompt payment of it into the Exchequer without any charge or additional allowance; by which means all delay is obviated in the collection of a large portion of the war taxes; and the expense of officers is saved. Neither is the Stock transferred to the Commissioners for reducing the National Debt, and on account of the redemption of Land Tax, charged by the Bank without any allowance for management; which two sums amount to about 134,000,000l. exclusive of South-Sea Annuities.

"The accommodations derived by the Public from its connections with the Bank have been carried, in some years, to a very large amount; and it must always be considered as an object of the greatest consequence to maintain the permanence of an establishment of such opulence and credit, which by the judicious conduct of its own affairs, has contributed so materially to extend the Commercial prosperity, and to maintain the Public faith of the Country."

This Report of the Committee made a strong impression on the Public mind; and all parties were convinced of the pro-

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priety of making a new arrangement, by which the Nation should participate in the benefits that thus resulted to its agents from the increase of its expenditure. Various conferences, therefore, and a long correspondence, took place between the Chancellor of the Exchequer, (Mr. Perceval) and the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank; and at length, on the 21st of January, 1808, the following proposals made by the Minister under the three heads of "Unclaimed Dividends, allowance for Charges of managing the Public Debt, and Balances kept at the Bank," were agreed to at a general Court of Proprietors of Bank Stock.

"First. That the Bank shall now advance out of the Unclaimed Dividends in their hands, the sum of 500,000l. for the use of the Public, in addition to the sum already advanced out of that Fund pursuant to the Act, 31st Geo. III. chap. 33,* and under similar conditions: provided always that the amount of such Dividends remaining in the Bank, shall not be reduced below 100,000l.

"Second. That for the management of the Public Debt, the Bank shall henceforward be allowed as follows:—

340l. per Million per annum, upon the whole of the Unredeemed Debt, whenever it may amount to 400 Millions, and not exceed 600 Millions.

300l. per Million per annum, upon the whole amount of any excess of Debt Unredeemed above 600 Millions; the said 600 Millions continuing in such case to be managed at the aforesaid rate of 340l. per Million per annum.

450l. per Million per annum, upon the whole Unredeemed Debt, whenever it may exceed 300 Millions, and not amount to 400 Millions.—With respect to the rate of Allowance which it may be proper to fix for the management of any

* The Committee reported, that "in consequence of the second clause for repayment, in this act, in case of a deficiency, the sum remaining in the hands of the Public is no more than 376,739l. there being no provision for increasing it after the diminution had once taken place."

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Debt less than 300 Millions, it has been deemed advisable to defer the consideraton of that subject until the actual Diminution of the Debt may be such as to require some determination upon it.

"Third. That the Bank shall, on or before the 5th of April next, advance for the Public service in the present year, 3,000,000l. by way of Loan without interest; the principal to be secured by Exchequer Bills, to be deposited in the hands of the Bank, payable at the expiration of six months after the Ratification of a Definitive Treaty of Peace. And it is understood that during the continuance of this advance by the Bank, no alteration is to be proposed in the general course of business between the Bank and Exchequer, nor any regulation introduced by which the Account now by Law directed to be kept at the Bank, shall be withdrawn from thence."

A misunderstanding in regard to the advance from the Unclaimed Dividends subsequently arose between the Directors and Mr. Perceval; but the whole was arranged in accordance with the proposals of the latter, and the contract was ratified by Parliament (48th Geo. III. chap. 20,) in the following May.

The progressive increase in the prices of gold and silver since the period of the restriction in 1797, has had a corresponding effect on the price of corn, and of other articles of the first necessity. Notwithstanding therefore, that the *nominal* value of Bank Paper still remains the same as before the stoppage of Cash payments, it must be admitted that an *actual* depreciation really exists; and the measure of this depreciation is to be found in the difference between the price of bullion, or standard gold, as it was at the time when the suspension took place, and that which it has now arisen to. In 1797, as appears from the evidence of Mr. Newland, the price given by the Bank for Gold in bars, that is, light guineas melted into bars, was 3l. 17s. 6d. per ounce, which is four pence halfpenny per ounce less than the coinage price:—"but," he continues, "if the Bank were now to buy

Gold

Gold in bars at Hamburgh, or elsewhere, I believe they would lose 2l. per cent. by so doing." * The present price of fine Gold in London is 5l. 11s. per ounce †; from which it may be calculated that the value of standard Gold per ounce, is 5l. consequently, the intrinsic worth of a guinea is 1l. 5s. 4d.; so that if the Bank Company were now to purchase bullion to a sufficient amount to discharge their notes, a loss would be sustained of 21l. 18s. 8d. per cent. or nearly 19l. per cent. more than would have resulted from the purchase of Gold in bars at the time Mr. Newland gave his evidence. The highest price which the Bank ever paid for Gold was in 1795, when a small quantity was imported from Portugal at 4l. 8s. per ounce; at other times the Bank has paid 4l. 1s. 4d.; 4l. 2s.; and 4l. 6s. per ounce.

The relative disproportion between the value of Bank Paper, and the prices of Gold and Silver, would doubtless, have been much greater than it is, but for the measures recently adopted by the Legislature to enforce the circulation of Bank Notes at their expressed amount. The high price of Gold of late years had induced many persons, either secretly, or openly, to make a trade of the purchase and sale of guineas, and other coin; and as this could only be for the purpose of exporting them to the Continent, or of melting them into bars, it was conceived that the persons so dealing were amenable to the laws. But it appeared from the opinion of the Judges in the celebrated case of De Yonge, who was convicted for selling guineas in June, 1811, that there was no existing Statute on which a conviction could be enforced; the Ministers therefore, adopted a measure which had been introduced into Parliament by Lord Stanhope, and passed a temporary Act to remedy the evil. This was further extended in the early part of 1812, and it was then enacted that, 'No

 person

* Report of the Comm. When "the price of bullion is higher than the coinage price, it is an inducement for persons to melt the guineas, and convert them into bars, and send them abroad, and return them afterwards to England, and sell them to the Bank at the price the bullion bears," so that the difference is their profit.. *Ibid.*

† Silver in bars is now 6s. 10d. per ounce: June 10, 1813.

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person shall *receive*, or pay, for any *Gold coin*, lawfully current within the United Kingdom, *any more in value than it imports by its denomination*, whether the value or profit be made or taken in lawful money, or, if paid or taken in Great Britain, in *Notes*, *Bills*, or *Silver Tokens*, of the *Bank of England*; or, if paid or taken in Ireland, in *Notes*, *Bills*, or *Silver Tokens*, of the *Bank of Ireland*; or by any other means, device, shift, or contrivance whatsoever, on pain, on conviction thereof, of suffering six months imprisonment, and of finding sureties for good behaviour for one year more:' for a second offence, the imprisonment to be a year; and for any subsequent offence, two years, in addition to the securities.

By the same Act, (52nd Geo. III. chap. 50.) in order to prevent the depreciation of Bank Paper, it was enacted, that, 'No person shall, by any means, device, shift, or contrivance whatsoever, *receive*, or *pay*, in Great Britain, any *Note*, or *Bill* of the *Bank of England*; or in Ireland, of the *Bank of Ireland*, for *less than the amount expressed*, (except lawful discount on such Notes or Bills as are not payable on demand) on pain, if convicted thereof, of forfeiting double the amount of such Bill, or Note, and of being imprisoned for any time not exceeding two months.' The same Statute renders the offer of payment in Bank Notes, a legal tender in all cases of rent, and no distress for rent due can be prosecuted in where such tender has been made and refused.

Since the stoppage of Cash payments, and the consequent increase in price of the precious metals, through which all the regular Gold and Silver coin has been long withdrawn from general circulation *, the Bank has found it necessary to issue *Spanish Dollars* at the advanced rate of five shillings each, in order to

* The *small quantity* of Coin which is *occasionally* issued by the Bank when the Dividends are paid, does not contravene this statement, as the specie so obtained is either hoarded, or sold at an advance;—or otherwise laid out in the purchase of articles which are purposely *lowered* in price to obtain the Gold.

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o provide a sufficiency of small change for the purposes of rade *. Yet even these, although they were raised to five shilings and sixpence each, in March, 1811, are now but seldom seen; he modern *Bank Tokens*, (of which the silver being more alloyed than the standard, is consequently inferior in value,) and the 1l. Bank Notes, having gradually taken place as well of the Dollars, as of all the regular Specie †. In the last session of Parliament, the coining, or counterfeiting of any Dollar, or Bank Token, and (on a second offence) the utterance, or having in possession the same, knowing it to be false, or counterfeit, is punishable by transportation for fourteen years.

The extensive forgeries of Bank Paper which are continually committed, and more especially of 1l. and 2l. Notes, and the numerous frauds that have been practised on the unwary and the ignorant, by Notes made to resemble Bank Notes, yet so contrived as to avoid the charge of forgery, have occasioned the Legislature to make new laws both for the prevention of the evil, and the punishment of offenders ‡ Not a session, however,

 passes,

* The Dollars were prepared for circulation by Mr. Bolton's powerful Steam-Engine Machinery, by means of which the original impression of the Spanish King, and the Spanish Insignia, are totally effaced from the coin, and their places occupied by a head of his Britannic Majesty, and on the reverse a figure of Britannia.

† The number of Dollars issued by the Bank up to the 8th of February, 1810, inclusive, was 4,817,634, which at their present current value of five shillings and sixpence each, amount to 1,324,849l. 7s. sterling. The *Silver Tokens* issued by the Bank, from the 9th of July, 1811, to the 10th of December, 1812, inclusive, of three shillings each, amounted to 9,548,690, or 1,432,303l. 10s.; and those of one shilling and sixpence each, to 4,708,937, or 353,170l. 5s. 6d. No Bank Token has hitherto been issued for a less amount than eighteen-pence. The weight of the 3s. Token is 9 dwts. 11 grs.; and that of the 1s. 6d. Token, 4 dwts. 17½ grs.

‡ The very particular manner in which the enactments alluded to are drawn up, will be seen by the following extract from the 52nd Geo. III. chap. 138. sec. 5:—

"If

passes, but proves the inadequacy of penal restraint, to repress the interdicted crimes; for where the temptation is so great, and the forgeries so, *comparatively*, easy of execution to what they might be rendered, it is neither the fear of death, nor the apprehension of banishment, that will deter the ingenious depredator from pursuing his evil course. On different occasions, indeed, the Bank has very laudably altered the face of its Notes, and adopted contrivances to make forgery more difficult; yet much remains to be done, and in the high state of the Arts in this Country, it were hardly presumptuous to affirm that the imitation of Bank Notes might be made *impossible*; excepting to those, perhaps, whose talents would inevitably betray them.

The remarks of the famous Dr. Adam Smith, in his Wealth of Nations, that "the stability of the Bank is equal to that of the British Government;" and that, "all it has advanced to the Public must be lost before its Creditors can sustain any loss," are more than ever applicable to the existing state of things. The immense augmentation in the National Expenditure, and the powerful and efficient means which the Bank affords for enabling the Ministry to raise the necessary supplies on the least possible notice, will always identify its interests with those of the Government;

"If any person shall engrave, cut, etch, scrape, or by any other means, or device make, in or upon any plate of copper, brass, steel, pewter, or any other metal, or mixture of metals, or upon wood, or any other materials, or upon any plate whatsoever, any words, figures, or characters, the impression taken from which shall resemble the whole, or any part of Bank Notes, or Bank Post Bills; or shall contain any word, number, figure, or character, in white on a black, sable, or dark ground, without an authority in writing for that purpose, from the Governor and Company of the Bank of England; or shall cause or procure the same to be done; or shall knowingly aid and assist in the same; or shall use any such plate, wood, &c. without such authority as aforesaid; or shall knowingly have in his or her custody any such plate, instrument, or device; or shall knowingly or wilfully utter, publish, or dispose of, or put away, any paper or other material containing any such words, figures, or characters, without lawful excuse; he shall, on conviction thereof, be adjudged a felon, and be transported for fourteen years."

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vernment;* and were even, so complete is the connection, an acknowledged and absolute depreciation of its Paper to take place, the loss would eventually fall upon the Public. The Parliament would be found to vote Millions to supply the deficiency; and the difference between the diminished and the *par* value of Bank Notes, would become the basis of an additional Loan. It is to be sincerely hoped that this reciprocity of good offices, will ever tend to the lasting welfare of the country.

The price of Bank Stock, which at the era of the restriction was only 130l. per cent. is now 213l. A considerable fluctuation has taken place during the intermediate time; and in November 1809, it was as high as 288l. per cent. The great increase in the amount of out-standing Notes will be seen from the following Table:

	Amount of Bank Notes in circulation of Five Pounds each, and upwards, including Bank Post Bills, payable seven days after sight.	Amount of Bank Notes in circulation of Two Pounds, and of One Pound, each.
Feb. 25,	1797.... 8,640,250l.	1797....1,096,100l.
	1798....11,527,250l.	1798....1,807,502l.
	1799....12,408,522l.	1799....1,653,805l.
	1800....13,598,666l.	1800....2,243,266l.
	1801....13,454,367l.	1801....2,715,182l.
	1802....13,917,977l.	1802....3,136,477l.
	1803....12,983,477l.	1803....3,864,045l.
	1804....12,621,348l.	1804....4,723,672l.
	1805....12,697,352l.	1805....4,544,580l.
	1806....12,844,170l.	1806....4,291,230l.
	1807....13,221,988l.	1807....4,183,013l.
	1808....13,402,160l.	1808....4,132,420l.
	1809....14,133,615l.	1809....4,868,275l.
Jan. 12,	1810....15,552,120l.	1810....5,854,170l.
July 13,	1811....15,976,690l.	1811....7,588,700l.
Dec. 7,	1812....15,032,150l.	1812....7,580,630l.†

The

* On the 7th of April last, Exchequer Bills were funded at the Bank to the amount of 12,000,000l. between the hours of twelve and four o'clock; and the whole of this large sum was subscribed for, by no more than 184 persons, to the great disappointment of at least an equal number who had obtained admission and tickets of subscription.

† Where the particular date is not given in this Table, the sums denote the average amount for the entire year.

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The BANK OF ENGLAND, considered as a whole, and with reference to its use, yet abstractedly from all regard to its architectural anomalies, is the most extensive and magnificent fabric of the kind, that was ever raised in any quarter of the globe. The buildings, with some little deviation, are of Grecian architecture; but from having been erected at different times, and in a different style of art, they present to the eye of taste, as incongruous an association of character as could well result from the intermixture of the Ionic, the Corinthian, and the Doric, Orders, in the same edifice. The contrast is nearly equally striking, whether we inspect the exterior or the interior; and it would almost seem that the professional abilities of the three architects, who have had the superintendance of the works in succession, had been directly exerted to render their respective designs as unlike each other as possible. The general impressions excited in the mind on viewing this vast pile, are those of stability and strength, mingled with heaviness; of grace and elegance, combined with a misplaced luxuriancy of ornament; of classical enrichment united with security; and of a skilful adaptation of ancient examples to modern arrangements, and modern business.

The concerns of the Bank were originally commenced at Grocers' Hall, and they continued to be carried on there during forty years; but the Company's lease being nearly expired, and the increase of their establishment requiring larger premises, it was determined at a General Court of Proprietors, held on the 20th of January, 1732, that a hall and offices should be built in Threadneedle Street. In the following month the Directors made a contract for the erection of the new building with Messrs. Dunn and Townsend, who were then employed at Greenwich Hospital, and who agreed to complete the work by Michaelmas, 1733. The designs, however, were made by Mr. George Sampson, and the fabric was raised under his direction; the front being of stone, and the major part of the offices of wood. The new Bank was first occupied on the 5th of June, 1734; and on the 1st of January following

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following, a marble statue of William the Third was put up in the great hall with much ceremony. The ground which had been previously covered by the house and garden of Sir John Houblon, the first Governor of the Company, was destined to become the site of the new structure.

In the 4th and 6th years of his present Majesty two Acts of Parliament were obtained to enable the Bank Directors to purchase premises which adjoined to their buildings, in order to enlarge them: and by another Act, passed in the intermediate year, the glebe land, the parsonage, &c. belonging to the Rector of St. Christopher le Stocks, were vested in the Governor and Company. Other houses and ground had been purchased at different periods; yet the Directors, still finding themselves in want of room, and perceiving by the riotous transactions which occurred in June 1780, that St. Christopher's Church * might become a dangerous fortress in case of a determined attack upon the Bank, they entered into an agreement with the Patron and Rector, and under the sanction of Parliament, became in the following year, possessed of the entire Parish of St. Christopher, with the exception of a few offices beneath the Royal Exchange, and the habitations of seven parishioners on the west side of Princes Street.

* In St. Christopher's Church was buried *Mr. John Kendrick*, (Citizen and Draper, of London,) a native of Reading, who died in 1624, and whose extensive bequests to that town, and to Newbury, to the Drapers' Company, St. Paul's, Christ Church, &c. amounted to upwards of 32,000*l*. *Mr. Robert Thorne*, Merchant Taylor, who in 1532, devised 4445*l*. for charitable purposes, was also buried here; as were several of the *Varelst* family; namely, "*William Varelst*, (uncle to the Governor of Bengal,) a portrait painter of eminence; his mother, who inherited her grandfather's art, and painted flowers; and his sister, who married Mr. Fraser, a Russia Merchant. Their remains, with all others in the vaults, were decently removed to the adjoining church of St. Margaret, Lothbury, or elsewhere, by their relations, on timely notice from the Directors." *Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. II. p.* 461. Simon Varelst, the ancestor of this family, was the celebrated fruit and flower painter of the time of Charles the Second.

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Street. Since that time the Church has been taken down, and the spot on which it stood is now a part of the site of the Bank itself. Another Act to enable the Company to purchase contiguous houses and ground, was passed in the year 1793; and in 1800, (39th and 40th Geo. III. chap. 89,) they were further empowered to purchase houses, &c. and to improve the surrounding avenues. Under the successive operation of these statutes, the Bank has been completely insulated; and the buildings progressively extended as the greatly increased, and still accumulating business made it necessary.

The names of the architects under whom, in succession, the Bank buildings have been erected, are Mr. George Sampson, Sir Robert Taylor, and John Soane, Esq. R. A. and Professor in Architecture. The centre of the principal or south front, with some of the apartments on the same side, are by Sampson; the lateral wings, and the returns on the east and west sides, with the several offices immediately attached, were built by Sir Robert Taylor, between the years 1770 and 1786; all the other and far more extensive buildings, have been designed and erected by Mr. Soane, between the year 1788, and the present time.

The exterior walls of this edifice measure 365 feet on the south side, 440 on the west side, 410 on the north side, and 245 on the east side. Within this circuit, are nine open courts, a spacious rotunda, court, and committee rooms, numerous public offices, an armoury, a printing office, library, &c. besides various private apartments for the chief officers and servants. The marshy soil on which a part of the buildings is raised, (the ancient stream of *Walbrook* having taken its course in this direction) rendered it necessary to pile the foundations, and to construct counter arches beneath the walls.*

The

* When the foundations of the principal front were laid in 1732, Oyster shells were dug up in a moorish soil at the depth of thirty feet below the surface of the ground. *Malt. Lond.* p. 623, Ed. 1739.

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The centre of the principal front, which extends about eighty feet, is composed in the Ionic order; it consists of two stories on a rusticated basement, and has a bold entablature. In this design, simplicity and grandeur are combined into a dignified elevation of character that perfectly accords with the intention of the building, but which is singularly foiled by the wings attached by Sir Robert Taylor; who, instead of making his work harmonize with the original and admirable plan of Mr. Sampson, in which external propriety was united to internal convenience, has deviated into a more sumptuous yet meretricious style, whose prevailing characteristics are gaiety and flutter. In the façade of the wings, (which he has copied from a small ornamental building by Bramante, in the Belvidere Gardens, at Rome,) Corinthian columns, fluted, and gutherooned, are arranged in pairs along the whole front, supporting a pediment at each extremity, and a balustraded entablature between; the intercolumniations have arched recesses in place of windows, and in the tympanum of each pediment is a bust within a circular niche: the returns at each end are in the same style.

It would be very difficult, and perhaps, impossible, to give a complete idea of the *interior* of the Bank, without the aid of a ground plan. The principal entrance from Threadneedle-street opens by a large arched gateway (having a smaller entrance on each side,) into a quadrangular paved court, with which all the leading communications are connected.

Before the late alterations, many of the offices which should have been approximate to each other were widely separated, and the approaches to them irregular and difficult to be found, so that the public business was very materially delayed. To remedy this great defect, which had resulted from the buildings having been erected at various periods, and with different degrees of accommodation, the Governor and Directors consulted Mr. Soane, who recommended that the whole should be simplified in accordance with one general plan, and every future addition and alteration made subservient to the same grand system; by which means

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means the inconveniencies complained of, would be gradually diminished.

Under this arrangement, one main line of connection has been opened through the interior from south to north; namely, from Threadneedle Street through the Paved Court, Pay Hall, and Bullion Court into Lothbury; and affording easy communications with the Court and Committee Rooms; the Governor's, Deputy-Governor's, and Waiting Rooms, the Discount Office, the Treasury, the Bullion Office, the General Cash-Book Office, the Chief Cashier's Office, the Chancery Office, the Secretary's Office, &c. At the entrance to the Secretary's Office, the main passage turns westward, and leads to the Land-Tax Redemption Office, the Loan, or Property Office, the Bank Note Office and the Stamping Office, the Drawing Office in the Accomptant's department, the Accomptant's Office for the New Specie, and various other Offices dependent upon them. Between the Land-Tax Redemption and the Loan, or Property, Offices, is a passage leading to the Accomptant's Office for the Old Specie. On the west side of the Paved Court is the Dividend Pay-Office; adjoining to which is the Green Court, (formerly St. Christopher's Church-Yard,) which gives communication to the Cheque Office, the Reduced Annuity Office, the Armoury, the Barracks, and the Bank Note Printing-Office.

The east side of the Paved-Court leads to the Rotunda, the 3 per cent. Office, the 4 per cent. Office, the Bank-Stock Office, the 3 per cent. Consols. Dividend Office, the 3 per cent. Consol. and Unclaimed Dividend Office; and, through the latter, communicates with the new entrance from Lothbury. Through this disposition of the avenues, the inconveniencies that formerly arose to persons who had business to transact in the 3 per cent. Consol Office, and were therefore obliged to pass through the crowded Rotunda, have been entirely obviated.

The principal suite of apartments is on the ground floor; and there are no rooms over the chief offices, which are lighted from above. Beneath this floor, however, and even below the surface of

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of the ground, there is more building, and a greater number of rooms than in the entire superstructure.

The *Pay Hall*, which fronts the main entrance, is a part of of the original building, by Sampson. The front is handsomely designed in the Corinthian style; and in the tympanum of the pediment is an alto-relievo of the Company's Seal, which represents Britannia, sitting; at her feet a cornucopia. The interior measures 79 feet in length, by 40 in width. Here Bank Notes are issued and exchanged; and, before the restrictions, they were here convertible into cash. At the east end of the Hall is the statue of *King William* by Cheere; below which, on the pedestal, is this inscription:

Ob
Legibus vim,
Judicies Auctoritatem,
Senatui Dignitatem,
Civibus Universis Jura sua,
Tam Sacra, quam Civilia Restituta,
Et illustrissimæ Domus Hanoveriane
In Imperium Britannicum Successionem
Posteris confirmatam,
Optimo Principi,
GULIELMO TERTIO
Conditori suo,
Grato Animo posuit, dicavitque
Hujus Ærarii Societas,
*A. C. MDCCXXIV. harumque Ædium I.**

The

* This has been translated as follows: 'For restoring efficacy to the Laws—Authority to the Courts of Justice—Dignity to the Parliament—to all his Subjects their Religion and Liberties, and confirming them to Posterity, by the succession of the illustrious House of Hanover to the British Throne—To the best of Princes, WILLIAM THE THIRD, *Founder of the Bank*, this Corporation from a sense of gratitude, has erected this Statue, and dedicated it to his Memory, in the year of our Lord 1734, and the first year of this Building.'

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The *Clock*, which has been recently fixed up in a building erected for the purpose directly over the Hall, is a very ingenious piece of mechanism; and is intended, as much as possible, to obviate the inconvenience frequently experienced in the various offices most immediately connected with the stock business, by the Clocks differing from each other several minutes in time. This, with the present Clock, can never be the case; for as the hands are all moved by *one machine*, whether that be right as to time, or faster or slower than the true time, the hands must all shew the same as the regulating hand which is attached to the Clock. The whole of the communication is carried on by means of brass rods, properly arranged within the roof of the Hall, and from thence continued *externally*, along the top or roof of the different offices in which the time is to be shewn. From the external rods, smaller ones are carried into the building to the hands of the respective dial-plates, which are *sixteen* in number. The aggregate length of the various rods employed to communicate the motion, is about 700 feet; and the weight of them is between six and seven cwt. The number of wheels in constant action is about 200; yet notwithstanding the length of the communication, the weight of the rods, and the quantity of wheels, the entire power requisite to keep the machine in play does not exceed the weight of seven pounds on the periphery of the wheel that first communicates the motion, and which wheel is ten inches in diameter. The Clock is wound up twice a week; the principal weight is between three and four cwt. Besides shewing the time on the sixteen dial-plates as already stated, this Clock strikes the hours and quarters on very large bells, so as to denote the same to those offices which have not dial-plates from it.*

The *Court-Room* was designed by Sir Robert Taylor, and it is unquestionably one of the best compositions that he ever made. It is a very superb apartment of the Composite order, 60 feet long

* The ingenious makers of this curious machine were Messrs. Thwaites and Reed, Rosomond-street, Clerkenwell.

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ong and 31 feet 6 inches wide, with large and well-proportioned Venetian windows on the south side; these overlook the churchyard of St. Christopher, which now forms a pleasant area planted with trees and shrubs. On the north side are three fire-places, having sumptuous chimney-pieces variegated with statuary marble; the central one is particularly grand. At the east and west ends are coupled columns, detached from the walls, supporting enriched arches, which sustain an horizontal ceiling, highly decorated by stuccoed ornaments of varied character. The west end communicates by folding doors, with an elegant octagonal *Committee Room*, where also is a rich marble chimney-piece; and over it a clever half-length picture of WILLIAM THE THIRD, who is represented in armour. The *Governor's Room*, which is square, and painted of a red colour, has an intersected ceiling, with semi-circular windows near the top. The chimney-piece is of statuary marble, and above it is a very large mirror; against the opposite wall is a fine painting by Morland, of the Bank, Bank-buildings, Cornhill, and Royal Exchange, from an interesting point of view near the Mansion House. The *Anti-Room* contains a good half-length portrait of the late celebrated *Abraham Newland*, Esq. who was Chief Cashier to the Bank, from January, 1782, till the infirmities of age obliged him to retire from office in September, 1807;* and a whole length by Hickey, of

* The life and advancement of MR. NEWLAND presents a most splendid example of the beneficial consequences resulting from persevering industry and attention to business. He was the son of Mr. William Newland, who had been a Miller and Baker, at Grove, in Buckinghamshire, and who afterwards carried on the latter trade in Castle Street, Southwark, where young Newland was born on the 23rd of April, 1730. At an early age he became acquainted with the arrangements of the Counting-house; and before he was eighteen, was admitted into the Bank as a Junior Clerk. The assiduity with which he fulfilled his duty soon attracted notice, and he was progressively advanced through the various gradations of the Company's establishment, till he attained the high and important office of Chief Cashier. In this situation

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Mr. David Race, who also was a Chief Cashier, and is
sented as a diminutive man, habited in black. These pa
were executed by order of the Directors, in grateful and h
able testimony of their approbation of the faithful service
persons thus commemorated. In the adjoining Waiting
on brackets, are two very fine *Busts*, in statuary marbl
Nollekens, of the late renowned but rival statesmen, Charles
Fox, and *William Pitt*. The whole of this suite of apart
is elegantly fitted up, and appropriately furnished.

The *Rotunda* is a spacious and lofty apartment, dis
octagonally below, but terminating above in a circular
and lantern lights. Here a vast crowd of Stock-brokers, St
jobbers, and other persons having business in the Funds, a
assemble to make purchases, drive bargains, &c. yet the stran
discordant and Babel-like confusion which arises in this p
from the avidity with which the pursuit *of gain* is carried o
by no means equal to what it was previously to the erecti
the Stock Exchange, in Capel Court. The original Rotu
by Sir Robert Taylor, having been roofed with timber, was,
a survey in 1794, found to be in such a decayed state, th
was judged expedient to take the whole down; and, in the
lowing year, the present fabric was erected from the des

situation a suite of rooms within the Bank was appropriated to his
and so devoted was he to his official business, and so regular in his h
that he never absented himself for a single night till the period of his
nation. He died at Highbury-Place, Islington, on the 21st of Nove
1807, leaving property to the amount of about £000l. per annum, which
been principally obtained by various successful speculations in the Fun
He never was married; but many instances of his liberality to his poor ne
tions, and others, have been recorded. He is stated to have written the fo
lowing Epitaph upon himself only a short time previously to his decease:

Beneath this stone Old *Abraham* lies;
Nobody laughs and nobody cries.
Where he is gone, and how he fares,
No one knows, and no one cares.

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Engraved by Matthews from a Drawing by J.C.Stadler.

For the Beauties of England & Wales.

ROTUNDA,
Bank of England.

London, Published by John Harris, St Paul's Church Yard, March 1.1816.

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and under the direction of Mr. Soane. In measures 57 feet in diameter, and about the same in height to the lower part of the lantern; the divisions between the lights are formed by *Caryatides*, which support the crown of the dome, and have not an unpleasing, though singular effect. The large iron-stoves which formerly stood here, have been removed, and open fire-places introduced, as being more favourable to ventilation. Here also large desks, with pens, ink, &c. are placed for public convenience. This edifice is wholly constructed of *incombustible* materials, in order to exclude every danger from fire:—and it must be stated that such likewise is the case in all the new buildings erected at the Bank, under the superintendency of its present architect.

The various offices appropriated to the management of the different Stocks, (excepting the 3 per Cent. Reduced Office,) branch out from the different sides of the Rotunda and its *Vestibule*; the latter adjoins to the entrance in Bartholomew Lane, and is designed and ornamented with much taste. In the different offices, under the several letters of the Alphabet, are arranged the Books in which the names of all Persons having property in the Funds are registered, as well as the particulars of their respective interests.

The *Stock Offices* were originally constructed by Sir Robert Taylor, but considerable alterations have been made of late years, and some parts wholly taken down to make way for new and more convenient buildings. The *Four per Cent. Office*, which is nearly in its primary state, is more noticeable from presenting an exact imitation of the interior of the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, than from being skilfully adapted for business. The roof is sustained by Corinthian columns of stone, with wood capitals; above which, and extending to the walls, are small domes for the admission of light; through this arrangement the rays being thrown directly downwards, are unpleasantly reflected from the white paper of the books. This office measures 64 feet

in length by 45 broad. The *Five per Cent. Office* is in the same style of building, and of similar dimensions.*

The *Three per Cent. Consol Office* was erected by Mr. Soane on the site of the old Bank Stock Office, and an adjoining apartment: it is 89 feet 9 inches in length, and 50 in breadth. This noble apartment was designed from models of the ancient Roman Baths. It has ornamented piers sustaining a vaulted ceiling, in the centre of which rises an elegant dome, with lantern lights, supported by Caryatides. The soffites of the arches are decorated after the antique, with sunk pannels, roses, and other classical enrichments. Adjoining to this, and built in the same style, is the *Three per Cent. Consol Dividend Office*, which is in length 64 feet, and in breadth, 45 feet 9 inches: here the dome over the lantern lights is supported by columns in lieu of figures. The new *Bank Stock Office* is of similar dimensions and architecture, excepting that the dome is supported by pilasters in place of columns.

* The following Regulations for conducting the business of the *Transfer Offices* were made by the Bank Directors, after the conviction of Francis Fenton, one of their Clerks, for Forgery, in September, 1790.

'No Transfer to be entered without a Ticket.

'No Stock to be allowed to be transferred till it has been accepted.

'No Transfer to be entered nor witnessed in any of the offices but by the Clerks belonging to each division in their respective offices. Although a Clerk in one office may not witness a Transfer in another, yet he may be allowed to vouch for the identity of the Party transferring, but must sign his name at length to such voucher. All other persons who shall vouch for the identity of the Party transferring, must sign their names at length.

'All Clerks in the Transfer Offices when they shall see a Person about to sign a Transfer, or an Acceptance, must notify to each person what He or She are about to do, more particularly when the Party appears to be unacquainted with the business.

'The Supervisors are requested to sign the Transfers, adding the letter S at the end of their names.

'They are likewise required whenever they meet with any irregularity or omission in a Transfer, to report it immediately to the head of the office.

'The Hours of Acceptance are from Nine o'clock till Eleven; and from half past One till Three o'clock.

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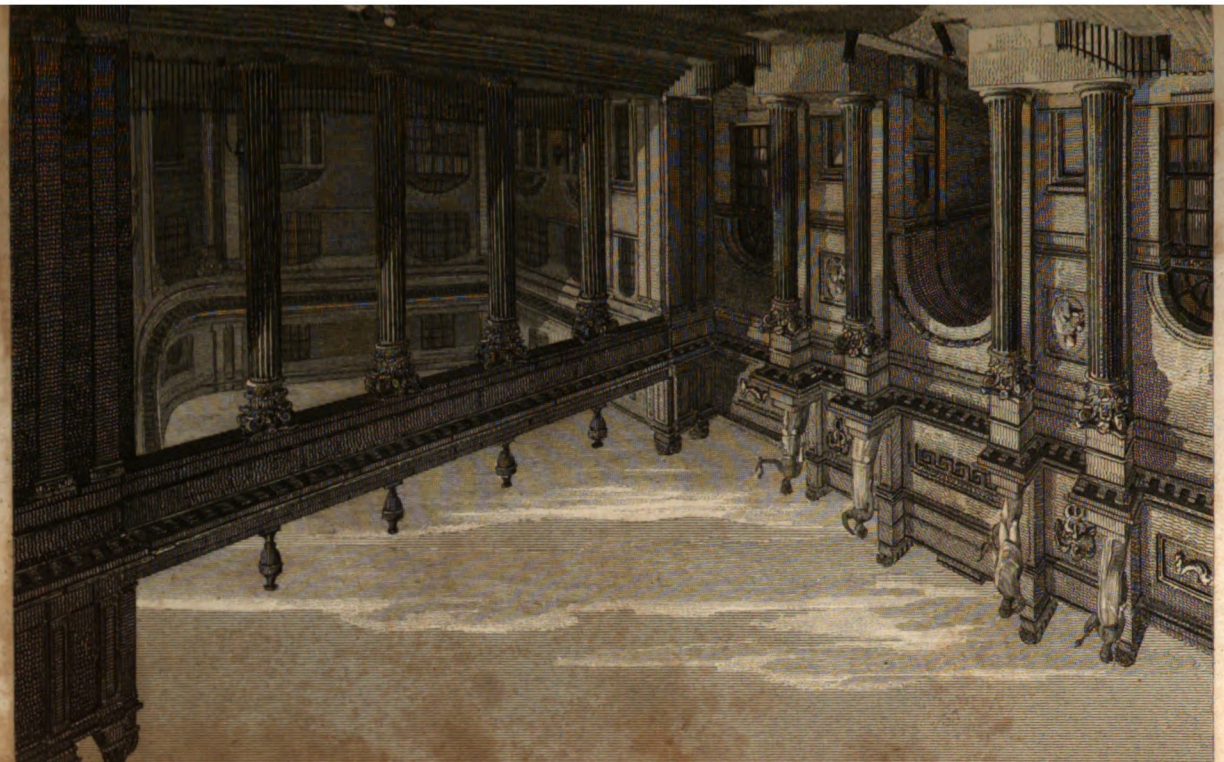

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columns. The *Chief Cashier's Office* is a spacious apartment, (measuring 45 feet by 30) built in imitation of the Temple of the Sun and Moon at Rome; with large and lofty windows, but perfectly simple in decoration. Connected with it is a room for the Chief Cashier, as well as a smaller Interior office for conducting the more confidential concerns of this department. The *Accomptant's Office for One and Two Pound Notes* is 95 feet long, 38 feet 9 inches broad, and 38 feet high. The ceiling, which is waggon-headed, and ornamented with sunk pannels, is sustained by Ionic columns standing upon pedestals. This apartment presents a most curious scene during office hours, from the number of Clerks who are employed here, and who are mostly young men; a due gradation being observed in the management of the concerns of the Bank Company, and the servants being regularly promoted according to merit and seniority. The *Anti-Room* to the Discount Office, which has been built of late years for the public use, should be noticed as having been designed after a portion of the remains of Adrian's Villa. The *Accomptant's Office for Five Pound Notes*, and upwards, is 94 feet in length, 25 in breadth, and about 13 in height. Over this is the *Bank-Note Printing Office*, which is of similar dimensions as to length and breadth, but considerably higher: about forty Printers are regularly employed here. The offices in this part have a communication through the *Bullion Court*, with the entrance from Lothbury; the buildings surrounding the former display a neat entablature, supported by pilasters and columns of the Corinthian order.

The new entrance on this side opens by a spacious and lofty archway into *Lothbury Court*, which exhibits a very singular yet interesting display of architectural designs after some of the best specimens of Grecian and Roman art. This Court forms an irregular quadrangle; the brick buildings on the east and west sides, are partially masked by open Screens, constructed with stone, and consisting of a lofty entablature, surmounted by vases, and supported on fluted columns of the Corinthian order,

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the bases of which rest on the upper part of a double flight of steps: these were copied from the beautiful Temple of the Sybils near Tivoli. On the south side, forming the entrance into the Bullion Court, is a magnificent arch and façade, designed on the model of the triumphal arch of Constantine at Rome. The entablature is supported by Corinthian columns, fluted, and crowned with statues, emblematical of the four quarters of the globe: the intercolumniations are enriched by basso-relievi in pannels, executed by the late eminent sculptor, T. Banks, Esq. R. A. and allegorically representing the Thames and the Ganges. The great roses in the vaulting of the arch are exact copies from those in the Temple of Mars, the Avenger, at Rome. The north side of this Court contains the Lodge, and other offices. All the buildings in this part of the Bank, and from hence westward to Princes Street, have been erected from the designs, and under the direction of Mr. Soane.

From the passage connected with the new entrance in Princes Street are direct communications with many of the principal offices, but this entrance has not yet been opened to the Public. The *Vestibule*, or *Entrance Hall*, is designed in a very singular taste; and from the massiveness of the columns, which are of the Doric order, without bases, and posited on three different planes, of various height, in imitation of the Propylæa, at Athens, it assumes the impressive and solemn character of a Mausoleum. The two columns next the door seem intended to exemplify a passage in Vitruvius, in which he is supposed to direct the construction of columns larger in the middle than at the base; and of which a few examples may be found in Sicily. In the centre is a small dome, classically ornamented: the vaultings, and other parts, are also decorated after the antique. The effect of the light and shade is broad and strongly defined.

The *Dividend Pay-Office* which opens into the Paved Court, measures 45 feet by 41; and the *Cheque Office* which adjoins to it, 41 feet by 28. The *Three per Cent. Reduced Office* occupies a portion of the site of St. Christopher's Church, and is 54 feet in

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in length, and 43 broad. The *Engraver's Rooms*, and *Library*, are also on this side. The *Armoury* is a large square apartment, containing the arms and accoutrements of the Bank Volunteers, who consist of about four-fifths of all the Officers and Clerks on the establishment: they compose two corps, a principal, and a supplementary one, which together form a body of upwards of 800 men. The arms are kept in the most complete order; and in adjoining departments are depositories for the regimentals, an Orderly Room, and every other appropriate convenience. The entire expense attending these volunteers are defrayed by the Bank Company. The *Barracks* are conveniently fitted up for the accommodation of the regular Guard which is nightly posted here to ensure the safety of the building, and which consists of 30 Privates, one Drummer, two Serjeants, and a superior Officer.* The *Vaults*, in which the Bullion, Coin, Bank-Books, &c. are deposited, are of vast strength, and wholly incombustible.

Besides the offices above described, there are many others in this edifice; yet capacious and numerous as they be, they are still insufficient for the convenient management of the immensely accumulated business which the extraordinary events of the last thirty years have entailed on this Corporation. So extensive are its present concerns, that upwards of a thousand persons are constantly employed in the various departments and offices within the building.

The principal front of the Bank has been already described;† there only remains to add a brief account of the peculiarities of the remaining part of the *exterior*. From the return on the west side in Princes Street to the east, in Bartholomew Lane, the architectural masses are of similar character, both the order and the forms having been copied from the Temple at Tivoli.—Strength and security were the first objects that demanded the attention of the architect, and these have been effectually provided; whilst at the same time the monotonous insipidity of an immense line of wall is judiciously relieved by projecting

 entrances,

* See before, p. 516. † See pages 556, 557

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entrances, blank windows, &c. the former being under lofty archways, and ornamented by Corinthian columns, fluted, with an entablature and turrets above.* The Portico at the north-west angle is very striking, and leaves on the mind an impression of dignified elegance. It consists of a raised basement, and eight fluted Corinthian columns, disposed semicircularly, supporting a very highly enriched frieze, and attic, with a turret above; the whole having the appearance of a Temple.

The ensuing particulars relative to the Bank Restrictions were inadvertently omitted in the preceding history of the establishment. They were derived from the '*Report*' made to the House of Commons in the year 1810, (ordered to be printed June the 8th) by a Select Committee 'appointed to Enquire into the cause of the High Price of Gold Bullion, the State of the Circulating Medium, and the State of the Exchanges between Great Britain and Foreign Parts.'

The Committee, after a laborious investigation, and the examination of many witnesses, and numerous papers, came to the opinion that both the High Price of Bullion, and the unfavourable State of the Exchanges, were owing to the Restriction on Cash payments. The more important results of this Enquiry are thus stated in the Report.

'It is due, however, in justice to the present Directors of the Bank of England, to remind the House, that the suspension of their Cash payments, though it appears in some degree to have originated in a mistaken view taken by the Bank of the peculiar difficulty of that time, was not a measure sought for by the Bank, but imposed upon it by the Legislature for what were held to be urgent reasons of State policy and Public expediency: and it ought not to be urged as matter of charge against the Directors, if, in this novel situation in which their Commercial Company was placed by the Law, and entrusted with the regulation and control of the whole circulating medium of the Country, they were

* The annexed view, which includes somewhat more than one half of the Lothbury front, will give a good idea of this portion of the building.

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Engraved by Stewart & Barratt, from a Drawing by J.T. Thompson.

for the Proprietors of England in Views, &c.

THE BANK,
North Front. from Lothbury
London.

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were not fully aware of the principles by which so delicate a trust should be executed, but continued to conduct their business of Discounts and Advances, according to their former routine.

"At the same time, it is important to observe, that under the former system, when the Bank was bound to answer its Notes in specie on demand, the state of the Foreign Exchanges, and the price of Gold, did most materially influence its conduct in the issue of those Notes, though it was not the practice of the Directors systematically to watch either the one or the other. So long as Gold was demandable for their Paper, they were speedily apprized of a depression of the Exchange, and a rise in the price of Gold, by a run upon them for that article. If at any time they incautiously exceeded the proper limit of their advances and issues, the Paper was quickly brought back to them, by those who were tempted to profit by the market price of Gold, or by the rate of Exchange. In this manner the evil soon cured itself:—for the Directors of the Bank having their apprehensions excited by the reduction of their stock of Gold, and being able to replace their Gold only by reiterated purchases of Bullion at a very losing price, naturally contracted their issues of Paper, and thus gave to the remaining Paper, as well as to the Coin for which it was interchangeable, an increased value; while the clandestine exportation either of the Coin, or of the Gold produced from it, combined in improving the state of the Exchange, and in producing a corresponding diminution of the difference between the Market price and Mint price of Gold, or of Paper convertible into Gold.—

"It was a necessary consequence of the suspension of Cash payments, to exempt the Bank from that drain of Gold, which, in former times, was sure to result from an unfavourable Exchange and a high price of Bullion; and the Directors released from all fears of such a drain, and no longer feeling any inconvenience from such a state of things, have not been prompted to restore the Exchanges and the price of Gold to their proper level, by a reduction of their advances and issues. The Directors, in former

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former times, did not perhaps perceive and acknowledge the principle more distinctly than those of the present day, but they felt the inconvenience, and obeyed its impulse; which practically established a check and limitation to the issue of Paper: in the present times, the inconvenience is not felt, and that check is no longer in force.

"The suspension of Cash payments has had the effect of committing into the hands of the Directors of the Bank of England, to be exercised by their sole discretion, the important charge of supplying the Country with that quantity of circulating medium which is exactly proportioned to the wants and necessities of the Public;—a trust which, in the judgment of the Committee, it is unreasonable to expect that the Directors shall ever be able to discharge. The most detailed knowledge of the actual state of the Country, combined with the profoundest science in all the principles of Money and Circulation, would not enable any man, or set of men, to adjust, and keep always adjusted, the right proportion of circulating medium to the wants of trade. When the currency consists entirely of the precious metals, the natural process of Commerce, by establishing Exchanges among all the different Countries of the world adjust in every particular Country, the proportion of circulating medium to its actual occasions, according to that supply of the precious metals which the mines furnish to the general market of the world:—but if this natural system of currency and circulation be abandoned, and a *discretionary issue* of Paper money substituted, it is vain to think that any rules can be devised for the exact exercise of such a discretion; although some cautions may be pointed out to check and control its consequences, such as are indicated by the effect of an excessive issue upon Exchanges and the price of Gold. That the recent policy of the Bank Directors involves great practical errors, your Committee are fully convinced; but those errors are less to be imputed to the Directors, than to be stated as the effect of a new system.—

"On a revision of all the facts and reasonings which have been

been submitted to your Committee in the course of their Enquiry, they have formed an opinion which they submit to the House, viz. That there is at present an excess in the Paper circulation of this Country, of which the most unequivocal symptom is the very high price of Bullion, and next to that, the low state of the Continental Exchanges; that this excess is to be ascribed to the want of a sufficient check and control in the issue of Paper from the Bank of England; and originally to the suspension of Cash payments, which removed the natural and true control. Your Committee are also of opinion, that no safe, certain, and constantly adequate provision against an excess of Paper currency, either occasional or permanent, can be found, except in the convertibility of all such Paper into Specie:—and that the system of the circulating medium of this Country ought to be brought back with as much speed as is compatible with a wise and necessary caution, to the original principle of Cash payments at the option of the Holders of Bank Paper.

"In effecting so important a change, your Committee are of opinion that some difficulties must be encountered, and that there are some contingent dangers to the Bank against which it ought most strongly and carefully to be guarded. But all these may be effectually provided for, by entrusting to the discretion of the Bank itself the charge of conducting and completing the operation, and by allowing so ample a period of time as will be more than sufficient for the purpose. Parliament ought to do little more than to fix, definitively, *the time at which Cash payments are to become* as before, *compulsory*;—and with this view, your Committee would suggest, that the Restrictions cannot safely be removed at an earlier period than *two years* from the present time."*

The

* From the Appendix to the Report we learn, that the 'average price paid by the Bank for *new Dollars*, (the value of which is from 2¼d to 3d. per ounce, *less* than that of Standard Silver) from 1797 to 1809—9, was as follows:

Per

The above Report proved by no means satisfactory to the House of Commons; and after a vehement and protracted debate, (of

	Per oz.		Per oz.
1797	5s. 1d.	1803—4	5s. 5¼d.
1798	5 — 1¼	1804—5	5 — 6
1799	5 — 3¼	1805—6	5 — 3¼
1800—1	5 — 7¼	1806—7	5 — 5¼
1801—2	5 — 9	1807—8	5 — 4
1802—3	5 — 5¼	1808—9	5 — 5

From the 1st of January, 1797, to the 1st of March, 1810, the Bank has sold 58,916,937 ounces, of Silver *Pieces of Eight*; and 12,954,291 ounces of Silver Ingots. The *annual* amount in ounces is thus stated:

	Pieces of Eight.		Ingots.	
	Oz.	Dwts.	Oz.	Dwts.
From Jan. 1, to Feb. 28, 1797	130,200	—	———	—
From March 1, 1797, to March 1, 1798	2,235,905	—	———	—
Do. 1799	4,196,771	5	446	10
1800	7,409,814¼	13	2,686,637	7
1801	1,939,926	5	80,875	14
1802	2,812,751	4	———	—
1803	2,345,147	18	———	—
1804	4,096,133	15	1,696,813	5
1805	4,893,603	5	2,785,657	12
1806	10,263,310	3	24,688	7
1807	5,271,268	—	302,170	4
1808	1,257,917	15	166,540	5
1809	10,315,394	15	4,005,550	8
1810	1,718,793	2	1,204,851	8
	58,916,937	—	12,954,291	—

The quantity of *Gold* and *Silver* deposited in the Bullion Office of the Bank 'as imported from abroad,' from January 1, 1809, to March 30, 1810, amounted to, Gold, 520,225l.; Silver, 1,971,042l. The amount of Foreign Gold Coin, and Bar Gold, delivered from the Bullion Office 'at sales and purchases by Private Dealers,' from January 1, 1809, to April 18, 1810, was 805,568l. 9s. 8d. The amount of *Cash* issued by the Bank, under divers Orders of Council from May 1, 1803, to October 26, 1809, was 725,330l.

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(of several days continuance) in which different sets of Resolutions were proposed by the opposing parties, it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Vansittart, (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) "That the situation of this Kingdom, in respect of its political and commercial relations with foreign Countries, is sufficient, without any change in the internal value of the currency, to account for the unfavourable state of the Foreign Exchanges, and for the high price of Bullion.

"That it is highly important that the Restriction on Payments in Cash of the Bank of England, should be removed whenever the political and commercial relations shall render it compatible with the public interest.

"That under the circumstances affecting the political and commercial relations of this kingdom with Foreign Countries, it would be *highly inexpedient* and *dangerous*, now to fix a definite period for the removal of the Restriction of Cash payments at the Bank of England, or *prior* to the *conclusion* of a *Definitive Treaty of Peace.*"

Opposite the east entrance to the Bank, at the upper end of *Capel Court*, (so called from Sir William Capel, Lord Mayor in 1503, who had a Mansion or Inn here) is the STOCK EXCHANGE: this is a neat plain building, fronted with stone to the height of the attic story, which is of brick. It was erected in the year 1801, by Mr. James Peacock, architect; and is very conveniently arranged, and handsomely fitted up. The expense was defrayed by a Subscription among the principal Stock-Brokers, of 50*l.* transferrable shares. No person is allowed to transact business here but those who are ballotted for annually by a Committee, and on being chosen, subscribe ten guineas each. Under the clock at the south end of the spacious room where the Subscribers assemble, is a tablet for the purpose of exhibiting the names of such defaulters as have not been able, or willing, to settle their losses on agreements made for the purchase or transfer of stock, and who are not again suffered to

become members. On the east side is a recess, with an elevated desk, for the use of 'the Commissioners for the Redemption of the National Debt,' who make their purchases four times a week, namely, on Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, precisely at the hour of twelve. No other business is transacted here, than what solely relates to the purchase and sale of Stock in the Public Funds, Exchequer Bills, India Bonds, and the like Securities. The hours are from ten till four: this building has three entrances, besides the principal one in Capel Court.

That the nature of the business carried on at the Bank and the Stock Exchange may be better understood, the following explanatory statement relating to THE STOCKS is here inserted; together with some general particulars concerning the *Art of Stock Jobbing*.

The STOCKS, or PUBLIC FUNDS, comprise the aggregate of all the Loans that have been advanced to Government for defraying the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of the Nation; and generally speaking, constitute what is appropriately termed the *National Debt*. The *Funding* System was first practised by the Venetians in the year 1171; but was not legally established in Britain till the period of the incorporation of the Bank: it consists in the due payment of the interest on every Loan by means of the taxes and duties imposed and levied for the service of the state.

The National Debt is divided into various portions under the following denominations: Bank Stock—5 per Cent. Navy Annuities—3 per Cent. Consols---3 per Cent. 1726---5 per Cent. 1797---4 per Cent. Consols---3 per Cent. Reduced---Long Annuities---3 per Cent. Imperial Annuities---Imperial Annuities for twenty-five years---5 per Cent. Irish Annuities---Irish Annuities for fifteen years---Deferred Stock---South-Sea Stock---3 per Cent. New South-Sea Annuities---3 per Cent. 1751---3 per Cent. Old South-Sea Annuities—Omnium.—Exchequer, Navy, Victualling, Ordnance, and Treasury Bills.

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This variety of denominations has arisen, partly, from the exigencies under which the Loans were raised;* and partly, from the terms on which they were negociated, either on annuities, or on the funded property of incorporated Companies. In raising Loans, a *douceur* is occasionally given by Government of an Annuity for a limited time; such are named Terminable and Redeemable Annuities; but the regular Stocks on which the common interest is paid, are called Perpetual, and also, Irredeemable Annuities.

New Loans are paid at stated periods, by instalments of 10*l.* or 15*l.* per cent, and the terms on which they are made generally occasion an increase on different kinds of Stock to the amount of three per cent. and upwards, (according to the emergency and state of the money market,) *more* than the sum borrowed: thus, for every 100*l.* capital, new stock is created to the amount of 103*l.* The Difference is called the *Bonus*; and the aggregate of the additional stock of different kinds, is termed *Omnium*: if these be disposed of separately before all the instalments are paid, the different articles are called *Scrip*, which is an abbreviation for subscription.

The

* The Five per Cent. *Navy Annuities* are so called from having been created by funding Navy, and Victualling Bills. The Three per Cent. and Four per Cent. *Consols*, that is, Consolidated Annuities, are so named from the old and new debts (at those rates of interest) being consolidated into one sum, at the interest made payable out of the general produce of the same funds. The Three per Cent. *Reduced* Annuities take their title from having originally consisted of sums which had been borrowed at higher rates of interest, and reduced subsequently, at different periods to 3*l.* per cent. The Long Annuities have been granted at different periods, and for different terms, but all extending to the 5th of January 1860. The *Short* Annuities expired on the 5th of January 1808. The *Imperial* Three per Cent. Annuities, and Annuities for 25 years, arose from Loans made during the Revolutionary War to the Emperor of Germany, the Dividends on which were guaranteed by the British Government. The *South-Sea* Stocks are not transferable at the Bank, but at the South-Sea House.

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The *Funded* debt is that portion of the whole, for which taxes have been appropriated by Parliament to discharge the interest regularly: but as the necessities of Government frequently occasion the borrowing of money, for which no opportunity to make such provision has been afforded, such money is called the *Unfunded* Debt; and of this description are all sums due upon the Exchequer, Navy, Victualling, and Ordnance Bills, which are issued under Legislative authority by those different offices, and which bear an interest of about 3d. or 3½d. per day, for every 100l. till paid off.

The value of the Stocks is ever fluctuating; the variations being occasioned as well by unfounded causes as by real ones. Any occurrence by which the security of the state is either put to hazard or confirmed, though one may be equally as imaginary as the other, has an immediate effect upon the price; which will advance or fall, as the news may be considered as good, or otherwise. The gaining of a victory, the signing of an armistice, and the conclusion of a peace, have all a direct influence on the rise of Stocks; whilst on the other hand the loss of a battle, the death of a Sovereign, the commencement and the protraction of war, are sure to lower the funds: even the mere report of a momentous event will frequently lead to a considerable alteration of price, though this, as is obvious, can be only temporary. The quantity of stock in the market for *bona fide* sale, has also its proportionate effect, and will either depreciate or exalt the value, as the purchasers may be more or less numerous.

The manner of buying stock is to give a *specific* number of pounds for a *nominal* hundred pounds: thus, if the purchase be made in the three per Cents. and the current price be 60l. that sum is paid for 100l. stock, which yields a dividend of 3l. per year; that is 5l. per cent. per annum. Persons conversant in the art, can sometimes obtain a considerable advantage by transferring Stock from one branch of the Funds to another, the variations in the value of the different Stocks not being always adjusted to their proper level.

In

In the purchase and sale of Stocks it should be remembered, that the interest due on them from the time of the last payment of the dividends is always taken into the current price, and the seller never receives any consideration for it; excepting in the case of India Bonds and Exchequer Bills, when the interest due is calculated to the day of sale, and paid for by the purchaser, independently of the price agreed on. It must likewise be observed, that as the interest on the different Stocks is paid at different times, some have always a quarter's interest due on them, more than others; and this circumstance occasions a seeming considerable difference of value, when there is none in reality: for instance, the late price of Old South Sea Annuities was 85¼l. per cent. or 85l. 10s. whilst the New South Sea Annuities sold for no more than 84¼l. per cent. or 84l, 15s. though each of them produce the same annual sum of 3l. per cent.; this apparent variation is occasioned by the old Annuities having a quarter's interest more due on them than the new Annuities, and that amounts to 15s. the exact difference.

Every possible degree of facility consistent with prudence, is given to the purchase and sale of Stocks; yet the intervention of a Stock-Broker is generally thought requisite; as the identity of the person making the transfer must be vouched for before the witnessing clerk will admit his signature to be made in the Bank Books. All transfer of Stock are made on the appointed transfer days; and no stock can be twice transferred on the same day. The space between the shutting and opening the Books of any stock, is usually about six weeks. At the time of shutting, the Dividends due are carried to a separate account, and cannot be transferred with the Stock of the Proprietor, the warrants being filled up in the name which the stock stands in when the Books are shut. The Dividends on Bank Stock are payable the day after they become due; but those on the Stocks of other Companies, and on the Government Funds, are not payable till about a week after they become due.

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The operation of the SINKING FUND has considerable effect in maintaining a kind of stationary balance in the value of Stocks *. This Fund, on its present enlarged system, had origin in the year 1786, when it was determined by Parliament (26th Geo. III. chap. 31.) to make a permanent and *unalienable*, provision for the

* The following TABLE shews the *comparative* value *per Cent.* of the principal Public Stocks; as well as the amount of the annual interest which 100l. sterling will produce when invested in the Funds at different prices, from Fifty-one to Seventy-five *per Cent.*

3 per Cents.	4 per Cents.	5 per Cents.	Bank Stock 7 per C.	India Stock 10½ per C.	Annual Interest. L.	s.	d.
51	68	85	119	178½	5	17	7
51¼	69	86¼	120¾	181⅛	5	15	11
52½	70	87½	122½	183¾	5	14	3
53¼	71	88¾	124¼	186⅜	5	12	8
54	72	90	126	189	5	11	1
54¾	73	91¼	127¾	191⅝	5	9	6
55½	74	92½	129½	194¼	5	8	1
56¼	75	93¾	131¼	196⅞	5	6	7
57	76	95	133	199½	5	5	3
57¾	77	96¼	134¾	202⅛	5	3	10
58½	78	97½	136½	204¾	5	2	6
59¼	79	98¾	138¼	207⅜	5	1	3
60	80	100	140	210	5	0	0
60¾	81	101¼	141¾	212⅝	4	18	9
61½	82	102½	143½	215¼	4	17	6
62¼	83	103¾	145¼	217⅞	4	16	4
63	84	105	147	220½	4	15	2
63¾	85	106¼	148¾	223⅛	4	14	0
64½	86	107½	150½	225¾	4	13	0
65¼	87	108¾	152¼	228⅜	4	11	11
66	88	110	154	231	4	10	10
66¾	89	111¼	155¾	233⅝	4	9	10
67½	90	112½	157½	236¼	4	8	10
68¼	91	113¾	159¼	238⅞	4	7	10
69	92	115	161	241½	4	6	11
69¾	93	116¼	162¾	244⅛	4	6	0
70½	94	117½	164½	246¾	4	5	1
71¼	95	118¾	166¼	249⅜	4	4	2
72	96	120	168	252	4	3	3
72¾	97	121¼	169¾	254⅝	4	2	5
73½	98	122½	171½	257¼	4	1	7
74¼	99	123¾	173¼	259⅞	4	0	9
75	100	125	175	262½	4	0	0

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the reduction of the National Debt. It was therefore enacted, that one Million sterling should be annually set apart, from the Public Revenue, and vested in Six Commissioners of high rank and character, for the purchase of floating stock; the accruing interest upon which, as received quarterly, together with all Terminable Annuities, as they became extinct (the taxes for paying them being still continued) to be immediately added to the principal by new purchases. An additional sum of 400,000l. for similar purposes was voted to the Sinking Fund in April 1792, at which time the Commissioners had bought in, or redeemed, 9,441,850l. of the capital of the National Debt. In the same Session, an act was passed for providing a yet more effective antidote against the indefinite accumulation of the Public burthens; this was by appropriating to the Sinking Fund the sum of 1l. per cent. per annum, upon every new Loan, over and above the funds necessary for discharging the interest of the debt created. In April, 1793, an additional 200,000l. was granted by Parliament, in aid of the Fund, and an annual vote for a similar sum has been since made perpetual by these means, and by the access of expired Annuities to the amount of 119,880l. combined with the increased dividends, and the low price of Stocks; the total of the debt redeemed by the Commissioners on January the 5th, 1800, amounted to 42,705,316l.

Since that period various new appropriations under Parliamentary enactments have been made to increase the Fund, particularly by transferring to the Commissioners the amount of Land Tax redeemed, and by sums arising from the sale of Life Annuities; through these means, and by the progressive augmentation of the interest from new purchases of Stock, the total amount of debt redeemed on account of Great Britain had, on the the 1st of November, 1813, risen to the vast sum of 254,000,000l. Some considerable change as to the future application of the proceeds was made by Parliament, during the past year, on a plan proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; by which a distinct portion of the redeemed fund is to be applied to the ex-

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tinction of outstanding Exchequer Bills, as well as in aid of other branches of Public Expenditure *.

The

* The following particulars of the Funded and Unfunded Debt of the UNITED KINGDOM, and of the Monies raised by Taxes and by Loan for the service of the year 1813, &c. have been abstracted from the Papers recently laid before Parliament.

Amount of the *Funded Debt* on the 1st of February 1813.

Great Britain	L.812,013,135	9	0½
Ireland (payable in Great Britain)	68,930,250	0	0
Imperial (German) Loan, guaranted by Great Britain	7,502,633	6	8
Loan to Portugal ditto	895,522	7	9
Total funded Debt	L.889,341,541	3	5½

Amount of Unfunded Debt and Demands outstanding to the 5th of January 1813.

Great Britain. Exchequer Bills (Provided for L. 25,406,400; Unprovided for L. 20,000,000)	L.45,406,400	0	0
Great Britain. Treasury	1,974,037	13	4½
Great Britain. Army	1,507,580	12	5
Great Britain. Navy	7,748,872	9	1
Great Britain. Ordnance, Barracks, and Civil List Advances	1,201,805	13	11½
	L.57,838,696	8	10
Ireland	2,342,215	18	11
Total unfunded Debt	L.60,180,912	7	9
Grand Total	L.949,522,453	11	2½

The amount redeemed of the National Debt since the institution of the Sinking Fund, in August, 1786, to the first of November, 1813, (omitting fractions) was as follows:

Redeemed by Sinking Fund	L.227,412,215	0	0
Ditto by Redemption of Land Tax	24,569,830	0	0
Ditto by Life Annuities purchased	2,284,730	0	0
Total on account of Great Britain	L.254,266,775	0	0
Ditto ditto of Ireland	11,979,791	0	0
Ditto Imperial (German) Loan	1,482,848	0	0
Ditto on Loan to Portugal	207,606	0	0
Ditto ditto East India Company	211,356	0	0
Total Debt redeemed	L.268,178,376	0	0

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The practice to which the term *Stock-jobbing* is more particularly applicable, is that which is carried on among persons who

possess

When the Sinking Fund was established in 1786, the National Debt amounted to no more than 238,231,248l. 5s. 2½d. and it is a remarkable fact that by the operation of the Fund, not only the whole of that sum has been redeemed, but also a portion of the debt since created to the amount of Thirty Millions.

The amount of the various sums made applicable by Parliament to the reduction of the National Debt for the year ending on February the 1st, 1813, was 14,258,207l. 6s. 7d.

The total annual charge upon the Unredeemed Debt (exclusive of the foregoing sum) was, 37,793,405l. 11s. 1d.

Account of all monies raised during the year ending January the 5th, 1813; specifying the sums raised by Taxes and by Loans.

Raised by Taxes.

Paid into the Exchequer	L.63,211,422	12	7
Balances in the hands of Collectors and Receivers	2,196,089	0	6¼
Payments out of net Produce, applicable to National objects, as Militia, Bounties, on Fisheries, &c.	1,036,597	2	5¼
	L.66,444,108	15	6¼
Drawbacks, Discounts, Charges of Management, &c. paid out of the Gross Revenue	6,025,148	9	0
Total Gross Revenue	72,469,257	4	6¼
Raised by *Loans*, of which 4,350,000l. was for Ireland, and 2,500,000l. for the East India Company	29,268,586	16	8
Total sum raised by Taxes and Loans	L.101,737,844	1	2½

Amount of *Exchequer* and other *Bills*, &c. issued for the Public Service in the year ending January the 5th, 1813, and not redeemed within that period.

Exchequer Bills	L.39,406,400	0	0
Navy ditto	1,462,159	12	9
Victualling ditto	1,110,369	3	4
Transport ditto	696,899	11	4
Total	L.42,675,828	7	5

The total of the *Public Expenditure* of *Great Britain*, for the year ending January the 5th 1813, was 97,549,731l. 7s. 3½d.

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possess but little or no property in any of the Funds; yet who contract for the sale or transfer, of Stock, at a *future* day, at a price *now* agreed on. Thus A agrees to sell B 1000l. of Bank Stock, to be transferred in thirty days for 1200l.; A, in fact, does not possess any such property; yet if the price of Bank Stock on the day appointed for the transfer, should be only 118l. per cent. he may then purchase as much as will enable him to fulfil his bargain for 1180l. and thus gain 20l. by the transaction: on the contrary, should the price of Bank Stock have advanced to 125l. per cent. he will then lose 50l. by completing his agreement. As neither A nor B however, may have the means to purchase Stock to the extent agreed on, the business is commonly arranged by the payment of the *difference* between the current price of the Stock on the day appointed, and the price bargained for.

In the language of the *Alley*, as it is called, (though all dealings in the Stocks having been formerly transacted in Exchange Alley) the Buyer, (in these kind of contracts) is denominated a *Bull*, and the Seller a *Bear*: as neither party can be compelled to the fulfilment of these bargains, their own sense of honour, and the disgrace, and the loss of future credit that attends a breach of contract, are the sole principles by which this business is regulated. When a person refuses, or has not the ability to pay his loss, he is termed a *Lame Duck*; but this opprobrious appellation is not bestowed on those whose failure is owing to insufficient means, provided they make the same surrender of their property voluntarily, as the law would have compelled had the transaction fallen within its cognizance.

This mode of dealing, though expressly contrary to the law, is yet carried on to a great extent. In itself, it is nothing more than a wager as to what the price of Stocks may amount to at a fixed period; but the facility which it affords for extravagant and unprincipled speculation, and the mischief and ruin which it has been known to produce, have very wisely determined the Legislature to lay a penalty of 500l. upon every person making

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such time-serving contracts, or bargains; and the like sum upon all brokers, agents, and scriveners, employed in transacting or writing the said contracts. By the same Statute also, (7th Geo. II. chap. 8.) a similar penalty is laid upon all persons contracting for the sale of stock of which they are not possessed at the time of such bargain; and 100l. upon every broker, or agent, employed in procuring the said bargain.

Historical View of the Rise and Progress of the East-India Company, including general Particulars of its Trade, Government, Possessions, Establishments, &c. together with a Description of the East-India House, and Accounts of the Company's Warehouses, and of the East-India Docks.

That a commercial intercourse between the western parts of the world and the opulent regions of the East, was established in the very dawn of authentic history, may be inferred from the following notices in the Scriptural account of Joseph and his Brethren:—"And behold! a Company of Ishmaelites; which came from *Gilead;* (having their camels loaden with *spicery,* and balm, and myrrh;) were passing by, in order to go down into *Egypt*:—there also passed by Medjanites, who were *merchantmen.**" Independently of these passages, there are in the Mosaic writings various words of *Sanscrit* origin: they mention also, *spices* of different kinds, that grew exclusively on the Indian Continent, or Islands; and relate incidents that demonstrate a more familiar intercourse, and a greater extent of commercial dealings with India, than can now be proved by direct testimony. The presents made to King Solomon by the Queen of Sheba, or Sabæa, included precious stones and *spices* of superio quality;† the latter could hardly have been obtained except by importation from the Spice Islands.

* Genesis, Chap. xxxvii. v. 25 and 28. † Chron. Chap. ix. ver. 9.

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In the more early ages the *Sabæans* were the principal medium of intercourse between the Eastern and the Western world.—The happy situation of *Arabia Felix*,* (now *Aden*,) their principal city and port, at the southern extremity of the Arabian peninsula, gave to them an exclusive command of this advantageous commerce. They had even possessions in Africa; and it is not improbable but that Tyre itself, or the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean, had its rise and became a *depôt* of Oriental merchandize under the fostering protection of the Sabæan merchants.

The southern Arabians long continued to be the principal commercial agents between the nations of the East and those of the West. The Egyptians received the rich merchandize of the Oriental nations immediately from Arabia; and all the more western nations were supplied by the Sidonians, Tyrians, and other Phœnicians, including the merchants of Carthage, and those of the little Island of Gadir, now Cadiz, who all obtained their Indian goods immediately from the merchants of South Arabia, who also supplied Syria and Mesopotamia by the navigation of the Euphratus, and by land caravans.†

The subjection of the Phœnicians of Asia to the Macedonians, the foundation of the city of Alexandria, and the establishment of Ptolemy as King of Egypt, occasioned the opening of a new channel for commercial intercourse; till at length the emporium for the productions and manufactures of the East was removed from Arabia to Egypt; and after the subjection of that country by the Romans, Alexandria became the great commercial entrepot of the Roman dominions, and was scarcely inferior to the capitol itself in population and opulence.

On

* Arabia *Felix*, that is, the *Happy* or *Fortunate*, was so called, says the accurate author of the Peryplus of the Erythræan Sea, because "when as yet no person sailed from India to Egypt, neither had any one ventured to sail from Egypt as far as India, they proceeded only to that City, which was a mart for the merchandize both of India and Egypt."—*Peripl. Mar. Erythr. p*, 156, *ed. Blancardi.*

† Macpherson's European Com. Intro. p. 2,

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On the downfall of the Roman Empire, the Arabians resumed their rank as the first commercial people in the western world, and being stimulated by the enthusiasm of a new religion, which held out Paradise as the sure reward of military prowess, they also became the greatest conquerors, and with most astonishing rapidity obtained lasting possession of many of the finest countries upon the surface of the globe. Their military ardour did not detach them from their commercial pursuits, but rather added new vigour to them. Their conquests enabled them to command the whole extent of the Mediterranean Sea, and also to assume the empire of the Indian ocean, and thereby to extend their commercial voyages far beyond the utmost limits of the navigation of their ancestors. On almost every shore of that ocean they either became the ruling people, or established Factories, and were in consequence enabled to command the commerce of silk, precious stones, pearls, spices, and other articles of luxurious expenditure.*

Some historians have alleged that the East-Indies were known to Britain in very ancient times; and it is not improbable that such knowledge was first communicated by the Phœnicians during their trading for tin to the Cassiterides. At any rate it could not have been long deferred after the time that Britain became a Roman province. William of Malmsbury relates, that in the year 883, Sighelmus, Bishop of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, having been sent by King Alfred to Rome, with presents to the Pope, proceeded from thence to the East-Indies to visit the tomb of St. Thomas, at Meliapour, by which means the English nation had an early view of the riches of those countries in the spices and jewels that the Bishop brought back with him.

During the continuance of the Crusades, or Holy Wars, as they have been impiously denominated, which, with some intermissions, lasted from the year 1095 to 1291, the communication with India was greatly interrupted, and Alexandria divested of nearly all its commercial consequence. The Crusaders, after their

* Macph. Euro. Com. In. p. 5.

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their expulsion from Jerusalem in 1187, fixed their chief residence at St. Jean de Acre, a sea-port of Palestine, which thence became a distinguished emporium for Eastern goods; and, together with Constantinople, whither the productions of India were conveyed by the northern caravans, was much resorted to by the Merchants of Venice, Genoa, and other cities of Italy, who, at that time, were the principal conductors of the European branches of Oriental traffic.

About the year 1300, according to Galvano,* the Soldan of Cairo gave orders that the merchandize of India should be carried through the Red Sea, as it formerly had been: it was chiefly from this circumstance that Alexandria regained its commercial pre-eminence, which it continued to preserve till after the discovery of the passage to the East-Indies by the Cape of Good Hope.

This important discovery was made by Vasco da Gama, in the year 1497; and its immediate consequence was to give to Portugal, of which country Gama was a native, an almost exclusive command over the commerce with the East. Partly by treaty, but chiefly by force, the Portuguese soon acquired sovereignty over extensive districts, and formed numerous settlements on the coasts of the Peninsula of India, and the Eastern Islands. By these means, for nearly a century, they engrossed the greater part of the Asiatic trade, and deranged the ancient commerce of the Italian Republics. That of Venice was irreparably depressed as soon as it became generally known in the Western world, that the rich productions and manufactures of India could be had at much lower rates in Lisbon than in the former city; and Lisbon immediately became the resort of traders from every part of Europe. Still farther to augment their commerce, the Lisbon merchants exported their Indian goods to Antwerp, then the great entrepot between the north and south parts of Europe, where they met with traders from all the northern kingdoms, who, glad to see those costly articles brought so much nearer to them,

* Chron. of Discoveries.

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them, and sold so much cheaper than formerly, purchased more largely than they had ever before done; and by afterwards vending their commodities at reasonable prices in their own countries, enlarged the demand prodigiously.*

That the Portuguese should have preserved the monopoly of Indo European commerce for so long a period as one hundred years, after their discovery of the new route to the Indian Ocean by the Cape of Good Hope, is a curious and singular fact; and it can only be accounted for by a more extended research into the particulars and relative situations of the European nations during the sixteenth century, than the necessary limits of these pages will admit. When, however, the Seven Provinces of Holland had revolted from Spanish tyranny, and, in the year 1579, united themselves into one Republic, the characteristic industry and spirit of the Dutch people, quickened by the possession both of national and civil liberty, speedily advanced them to commercial pre-eminence. The East-Indies presented to them an inviting field of adventure; but for some years, a wish to avoid a direct encounter with the fleets of Portugal, (which having been seized by King Philip, was now subject to Spain,) aided, perhaps, by the then prevalent ardour for maritime discovery, influenced them rather to explore some new channel of communication, than to pursue the track of the Portuguese; and it was not till the failure of several strenuous attempts in quest of a north-east passage, that the first Dutch voyage to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, took place in the year 1595. The success of this experiment animated the merchants throughout the Republic to similar efforts. Various partnerships were formed for the prosecution of the East-India trade; and at length, in the year 1602, the leading members of the different associations were incorporated by the States General into one Company, with exclusive privileges.† From that period, the monopoly which the Portuguese had

* Macph. Euro. Com. p. 22.

† See And. Ann. of Com. and Grant's Sketch, &c. of the East-India Company.

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had so long possessed, was completely and deservedly destroyed; for their rapacity and intolerance, their cruelty and oppressions, had been so great, that the Indian nations which had been subjugated either by their arms or craft, were fully disposed to co-operate with any Power who might offer to relieve them from the intolerable yoke under which they groaned.*

Though the ENGLISH were only "the third European nation, in order of time, who effectually engaged in the commerce of India, they were next to the Portuguese in perceiving the importance of conducting the valuable trade with that country entirely by sea. As the great objects of the Portuguese were to bring home their Indian goods at a lighter expense of carriage than the Venetians paid upon theirs, and to avoid the dangerous and arbitrary impositions to which traders are exposed in traversing the territories of a great number of despotic sovereigns, so the English prepared to search for a route which should be shorter, and consequently cost less time and money than that which the Portuguese had so long been labouring to discover.

"In the beginning of May, 1497, Giovanni Gavotta, (or John Cabot) a skilful and enterprising Venetian navigator, who had for some time resided in England, being commissioned by King Henry the Seventh, who put two vessels under his command, and having also the direction of some vessels fitted out by the merchants of Bristol, sailed on a voyage of discovery; the object

† In the year 1594, there arrived in India an order from the Pope and the Catholic King, Philip, to convert the *Infidels* by force. "Such an order" as Macpherson has justly remarked, "was in fact a commission to murder and plunder; and the pagodas, or temples, hitherto the sacred and inviolable depositaries of the wealth of India, which even the ferocious bigotry of the Mahomedans had respected, were despoiled of the accumulated riches of a long succession of ages. The natives, with horror, beheld their most sacred rites trampled upon, and their minds were filled with the most rooted detestation against the perpetrators of atrocities daily committed on their property, their lives, and their religion."—Euro. Com. p. 38.

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object proposed by him being to find a western passage to India, which no European had yet been able to accomplish by sea in any direction. Gavotta endeavoured to make his passage by keeping to the northward, but was prevented from proceeding in that direction beyond the latitude of 67° 30′, by the mutinous spirit of his men, which obliged him to bend his course more to the southward; in conseqnence of this he fell in with Newfoundland and the Continent of North America.*

"Gavotta was accompanied by his son, Sebastian, whose genius for nautical research was similar to his own, and who, after some voyages of discovery in the service of Spain, returned to England; and in January, 1548-9, had a pension of 166l. 13s. 4d. settled on him by Edward the Sixth. Inheriting his father's belief of the possibility of accomplishing a passage to India by a shorter navigation than doubling the southern extremity of Africa, he persuaded a number of merchants, and others, to contribute a capital of 6,000l. in shares of 25l. each, for the purpose of prosecuting the discovery in the north part of the world, and laying in a cargo of such goods as they thought might be suitable for the countries they expected to arrive at. This Company having obtained the King's Charter, fitted out three ships, and gave the command of them to Sir Hugh Willoughby, who sailed on the 10th of May, 1553; but was himself, with his whole ship's crew, frozen to death in the Northern Ocean, on the coast of Lapland. Captain Chancellor, (the second in command) got into the harbour of St. Nicholas, at the mouth of the river Dwina. Thence he travelled to the court of Ivan Basilowitz, Czar, or Duke of Muscovy, who being desirous, for many reasons, of promoting a direct friendly intercourse with England, received

* Rym. Fœd. V. XII. p. 595; and Hakluyt's Voyages, V. III. 6. Ed. 1600.

† When the weather became moderate, the Fishermen of the country found the body of Sir Hugh, sitting in his cabin as if writing in his Journal, which, with his Will, also found beside him, shewed that he was alive in January, 1553—4.

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received him very favourably, and granted many commercial privileges to the English, which encouraged the Company to continue the trade.

" A great number of other voyages for the discovery of the supposed passage to India by the northern parts of the world were afterwards made, partly by the said Company, partly by other Societies of Adventurers, and partly by Government. Nor was the impracticability of it ever demonstrated till the late journies of Hearne and Mackenzie by land through the very space which the supposed open sea was believed to occupy, have unquestionably proved that no such passage can be made in any climate wherein the sea can be free from ice."*

The accession of Elizabeth to the English throne proved particularly favourable to trade, and it is from that era we have to date our entrance on an active and steady course of commerce. Previously to that period, the desolations of civil war, 'the mistaken foreign' policy of some Sovereigns, and the oppressive domestic government of others, had in a great degree frustrated this country of the benefits derivable from its natural advantages for the successful prosecution of trade and the advancement of manufactures. London is said to have possessed, in the year 1540, no more than four ships of 120 tons burthen, exclusive of the navy royal. The merchants of the Hanse Towns resident in that capital were still privileged above the natives. Even up to the year 1552, those aliens engrossed a great part of the foreign trade of the Kingdom, and all their imports and exports were made in foreign bottoms. At a still later period we read that the Venetians sent their Argosies to England, laden with Turkish, Persian, and Indian merchandize.†

Elizabeth, urged by the necessity of securing herself against the efforts of the Sovereigns whom her protection of the Protestant cause had rendered her enemies, seems early to have felt the importance of naval power; and perhaps, not less from this motive,

* Macph. Euro. Com. p. 72—75.

† See Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts.

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motive, than from a general regard for the welfare of her dominions, applied herself to the systematic encouragement of commerce. She set about the formation of a respectable navy; and excited her opulent subjects, after her example, to build ships. She negociated with most of the Princes and States of Europe in favour of the commerce of her people. She devised every practicable regulation to promote and extend the trade and manufactures of the Country; and she made it a particular object that both should be conducted by its own natives in preference to foreigners. The result was, that the commercial resources of England developed themselves with a rapidity truly wonderful.

Amongst other expedients devised or adopted by Elizabeth for the promotion of commerce was the institution of exclusive Companies, or the encouragement of such as she found already established. Of the latter class were the 'Merchant-Adventurers of England,' who for several ages held their staple, first, in the Low Countries, and then in Germany; the 'Eastland Company,' who traded to the Baltic; and the 'Russia Company,' first instituted in 1554, "for the discovery of Countries before unknown or unfrequented by Englishmen;" and twelve years afterwards incorporated by Parliament. Besides, however, the protection given to these Companies, and some smaller associations, the Queen, in 1581, incorporated the 'Levant, or Turkey Company;' having previously, by an Envoy sent to Constantinople, obtained for her subjects trading to the Turkish dominions, the same privileges as were enjoyed by the French, Venetians, and Germans.

The Company of the Merchant Adventurers and the Eastland Company were patronized with a view to supersede the agency of the Hanseatic merchants of the Steel-yard, whom the Queen permitted to remain in England with diminished privileges, until the gradual increase of the forign trade and shipping of her own subjects enabled her to annul their privileges altogether. The Parliamentary charter granted to the Russia Company was not merely intended to promote a direct and beneficial exchange

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exchange of merchandize between English and Russian subjects but had a view to the prosecution of a trade through the dominions of the Czar into the higher Asia. The establishment of the Turkey Company was designed both to procure the commodities of the East, which till then were imported into England chiefly by the Venetians, at much cheaper rates than that people imported them, and at the same time to rescue from the hands of foreigners this valuable branch of the national trade. Similar considerations to those which influenced the institution of the the two Companies last mentioned, soon pointed out the expediency of opening, if possible, a *direct intercourse* with the *East-Indies* by *Sea*.*

The celebrated voyage round the world made between the years 1577 and 1580, by Sir Francis Drake, who, with five ships, sailed through the Straits of *Magelhaens*, or (Magellan, as they have been erroneously called,) with intent to make prizes of the rich Spanish ships in the South Seas, was the exciting cause of a yet stronger feeling in favour of a direct trade with India. To Sir Francis, indeed, must be awarded the honour of being the first Englishman by whom such intercourse was commenced, for that enterprising commander having obtained information that Spain had sent out a strong force to intercept him on his return, and his own fleet having been reduced by losses to a single ship, determined to proceed homewards by the Moluccas and

* Grant's Sketch, &c. Intro.—The Levant, or Turkey Company, in the prosecution of their trade, having sent merchants, with clothes, from Aleppo to Bagdad, and thence down the Persian Gulf, attempted to open a trade to the East-Indies, and having obtained Indian articles at Agra, Lahore, Bengal, and even at Malacca, on their return to England, brought information of the riches to be acquired by a trade to the East-Indies. Anderson says, (Ann. of Com. Vol. II. p. 179,) that the information thus acquired *first gave rise* to the project of opening a communication, by sea, between England and Asia; yet this is surely incorrect, for we learn that so early as the reign of Henry the Eighth, two ships had been sent out by some London Merchants for the express purpose of opening a passage by the north-west to Tartary and China—See *Mill. Ori. Com.* Vol. I. p. 2.

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and the Cape of Good Hope. In the course of his passage, he touched at Ternate, one of the Molucca Islands, and having furnished some assistance to the King of that country against the King of Tidone, with whom he was then at war, he obtained from him in return a treaty, agreeing to supply the English nation with all the *Cloves* produced on his own Island. This contract was formally ratified, according to the Eastern custom, by the delivery of a present; and Sir Francis Drake having taken a large quantity of Cloves on board, departed in February, 1580, for England, where he safely arrived on the 3rd of November following.*

The example of Drake was followed by Captain Thomas Candish, or Cavendish, who left England in July, 1586, passed the Straits of Magelhaens in January, 1587, and after coasting northward, proceeded to the Ladrones, where he arrived in January, 1588. In the following March he sailed through the Straits of Sunda; and on the 9th of September arrived at Plymouth by way of the Cape of Good Hope. During the absence of Cavendish, Sir Francis Drake had proceeded on his second voyage; and, in 1587, he captured, near the Azores, a large Portuguese carrack, named the St. Philip, from the East-Indies. The accounts and documents found on board this vessel, furnished so much information as to the value of the Eastern trade, and the modes of conducting it, that Camden considers them to have given origin to the idea of establishing an immediate intercourse with India.†

That such was a prevailing disposition among the English Merchants about this time, appears from a Memorial presented to the Lords of Council, in October, 1589, which is introduced

* When the Spaniards, anno 1588, complained of the English having infringed their rights, by frequenting the Indian Seas, in allusion to the circumnavigation of the globe by Sir Francis Drake, Queen Elizabeth replied, "It is as lawful for my subjects to do this as the Spaniards, since the sea and air are common to all men."

† Hist. of Queen Eliz

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with a 'Survey of the Portuguese Settlements on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, their occupation of Malacca, and of the Bandas and Moluccas,' and which infers, that in the countries bordering on the Indian and China Seas, and in the Peninsula of India, there were many Ports which might be visited with advantage by English ships, at which sales might be made of English goods, and other staple and manufactured articles, and purchases obtained of the produce of those countries; it concludes by remarking that such a trade would, by degrees, add to the shipping and seamen of the Kingdom, and to its naval force, in the same manner as the Portuguese fleets had been increased.*

This Memorial appears to have been favourably received; and, in 1591, three ships were sent out to try the experiment: of these, one returned home without passing the Cape of Good Hope; the second, bearing the flag of Captain Raymond, disappeared in a storm near Cape Corientes, and was never heard of more; the remaining ship, under Captain Lancaster, reached India, and procured a cargo of pepper and other spices, at Sumatra and Ceylon, but was lost in the voyage home: Captain Lancaster, with some of the crew, being on shore at the time, escaped with life, and obtaining a passage to Europe in a French vessel, he arrived in England in May, 1594.

In the year 1596, Sir Robert Dudley, and others, fitted out three ships for China; and it is memorable that Queen Elizabeth, in a Letter addressed to the Sovereign of that country, after recommending her merchants to the Emperor's protection, and vouching for the probity of their dealings, expressed her desire, through them, "to be informed of those institutions, by which the Empire of China had become so celebrated for the encouragement of trade," and in return, "offered the fullest protection to the subjects of China, should they be disposed to open a trade to any of the ports in her dominions."† This expedition was still more unfortunate than the preceeding one; the three ships' companies were so reduced by sickness, that only

* Bruce's Annals, Vol. I. p. 109. † Ibid. p. 110.

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only four men remained alive, and they were ultimately murdered by the Spaniards.

The Merchants of London, though somewhat discouraged by these disastrous issues of their first attempts to open a trade with India, were not disheartened; and the avarice of the Dutch, who, taking advantage of the war with Spain and Portugal, had raised the price of pepper from three shillings to eight shillings per lb. operated as an additional stimulus to new exertions. They therefore, in the beginning of the year 1599, engaged Mr. Mildenhall, a merchant of London, to travel to the Court of the Great Mogul, with the view of establishing a connection that might be serviceable to their future intercourse. That gentleman did not reach Agra, the residence of the Mogul, till the year 1603; but after a prodigious waste of time and money, occasioned by the machinations of some Jesuits and Italian Merchants, he succeeded in obtaining for the English an ample grant of commercial privileges."

Meanwhile the merchants at home were assiduously employed in devising means for the establishment of a regular Company; and on September the 22d, 1599, they assembled at Founder's-Hall, to the number of 101, including the Lord Mayor, and most of the Aldermen, and agreed to form an Association for trading to India. The fund subscribed amounted to 30,133l. 6s. 8d. the subscription of individuals, varying from about 100l. to 3000l. Within about ten days another general meeting was held, and the Adventurers came to a Resolution to apply to the Queen, for her Royal Assent to a project "intended for the honour of their native country, and the advancement of trade and merchandize within the realm of England; and to set forth a *Voyage* this year to the East-Indies, and other Islands and Countries thereabouts." It was next agreed that no ship should be received as the stock of any adventurer; that the management of the business should be vested in fifteen Committee-men,

Macph. Euro. Com. p. 77.

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who were to regulate the intended voyage; that no future share should be less than 200l. and that a call of 12 per cent. should be made for the purchase and equipment of vessels.

Almost immediately afterwards a Petition was presented to the Privy Council, stating, that "Divers Merchants, induced by the success of the Voyage performed by the Dutch nation, and being informed that the Dutch were preparing for a new voyage, and to that end have bought divers ships here in England, were stirred by no less affection to advance the trade of their own native Country, than the Dutch merchants were to benefit their Commonwealth; and upon that affection have resolved to make a voyage to the East-Indies," they therefore intreat that her Majesty will grant them Letters Patent of Incorporation, with succession, &c. "for that the trade of the Indies being so remote, could not be carried on but on a *joint and united stock*;" and request that "the ships, when prepared, may not be stayed upon any pretence of service, as the delay of one month might lose a whole year's voyage." This Petition also solicited for the adventurers, permission to export *foreign* coin, and that they should be exempted from payment of customs for six voyages, "in regard that many experiments must be made before it will be known what commodities are best suited to the Indian market; as also in regard that the Dutch, for their encouragement, are freed from the customs for divers years both outward and inward." On the 16th of October the Merchants were informed that the Queen had signified her approbation of the Voyage, and that the Lords of the Council had desired that some of the principal Adventurers would attend them to receive directions for further proceedings.

About this juncture negociations were commenced between Queen Elizabeth and the crown of Spain; and as it was evident, from the claims made by the latter, that any privileges which the Queen might grant must be directly influenced by the terms of the Treaty, it was feared by some that the infant establishment would be destroyed even on the threshold of its birth. This apprehension gathered strength, when, on a petition to the Privy

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Council from the Adventurers, soliciting a warrant for liberty to proceed on their voyage as soon as the shipping were prepared,' notwithstanding the negociations, they received for answer, that it was more beneficial for the general state of merchandize to entertain a Peace, than that the same should be hindered by the standing with the Spanish Commissioners for the maintenance of this trade."—After receiving this reply, the Adventurers determined to suspend all preparation for their intended voyage till the following year.

The next step of the Associated Merchants was to present a new Memorial to the Lords of Council, requesting them to *urge* the Spanish Commissioners, " truly and faithfully," to " put down under their hands," the names of every place eastward from the Cape of Good Hope to the East-Indies, and other Oriental parts of the world," where the Spaniards commanded and were in actual authority; so that they continue, " if we cannot be able, manifestly, to prove the contrary, then will we be content, in no sort, to disturb nor molest them." They next remark, that if the Commissioners will not " be drawn to this themselves, then we will take the pains to do it for them;" and they immediately proceed to enumerate all the places eastward from the Cape, of which the Spaniards were in possession; they then give a list of a chief part of the ' very many rich Kingdoms and Islands of the East,' which were out of the Spanish jurisdiction, and " free for any other power or people of the world to repair unto;" and lastly, with imperative shrewdness, they say, in reference to the Spanish Commissioners, " Let them shew us just and lawful reasons, void of affection and partiality, why they should bar her Majesty, and all other Christian Princes and States, of the use of this vast, wide, and infinitely open ocean sea, and of access to the territories and dominions of so many free Princes, Kings, and Potentates in the East, in whose dominions they have no more sovereign command or authority than we, or any other Christians whosoever."*

* See this curious document printed at length in Bruce's Ann. Vol. I. p 115—181.

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In consequence of this Memorial, the Privy Council directed that a more particular enquiry should be made as to the places in the East where the Spaniards were permitted to traffic, and their possessions; and the celebrated *Foulke Grevil* was employed by Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State, to obtain the required information.* Shortly afterwards the negociations with Spain were terminated by a dispute regarding precedency; and the apprehended impediment being thus removed, the Merchants resumed their preparations for trading to India, and determined to 'goe on with the voiage,' the Queen having signified her consent by Letters Patent from the Council. The management of the business was then entrusted to seventeen Committee-men, or Directors, who on the same day, viz. September the 22d, 1600, held their first Court at Founder's Hall. Three days afterwards they purchased their first Vessel, the *Susan, of 240 tons*, for 1600l. but prudentially bargained that the owners should receive her again for 800l. on her return from the voyage.

In this state of the concern, an unexpected application was made by the Lord Treasurer to the Court of Committees, (as they were termed) recommending that '*Sir Edward Michelborne* should be employed in the voyage.' This early attempt at undue influence the Court had the firmness to resist; they resolved "*not to employ any Gentleman in any place of charge*," and requested "that they might be allowed to sort their business with men of their own quality, lest the suspicion of this employment of *Gentlemen* being taken hold upon by the *generality*, do drive a great number of the Adventurers to withdraw their contributions."†

During the ensuing months, every necessary preparation was made for the Voyage; and as the certainty of obtaining a Patent of Incorporation became daily more apparent, it was ordered that the entire sum subscribed by the Adventurers should be paid in by

* Sir Foulke Grevil's interesting reply has been printed by Bruce, in his *Annals*, Vol. I. p. 121—126.

† Minutes of the Court, Oct. 5, 1600.

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by the 13th of December. Such then were the preliminary circumstances, and such was the train of events, that led to the rise and final establishment of the East-India Company.

On the very last day of the year 1600, in the 43d of her reign, Queen Elizabeth affixed her signature to the Company's first Charter, by which, "for the honour of the nation, the wealth of her people, the encouragement of her subjects in their enterprises, the increase of navigation, and the advancement of lawful traffic," she constituted George, Earl of Cumberland, and 215 Knights, Aldermen, and Merchants, therein named, "one body corporate and politic indeed, by the name of THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF MERCHANTS TRADING INTO THE EAST-INDIES," with perpetual succession, the power to purchase lands without any limitation, to sue and to be sued, and to have a common seal. By the same instrument, the general management of the Company's concerns was vested in a Governor and twenty-four Committee-men, who were to be chosen annually in July, and to have the direction of voyages, provision of shipping, and sale of merchandize. The members of the Company, their sons of the age of twenty-one years, and their apprentices, factors, and servants, were authorized to carry on trade for fifteen years from Christmas, 1600, to all parts of Asia, Africa, and America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope eastward to the Straits of Magelhaens, 'except such Countries or Ports as may be in the actual possession of any Christian Prince in amity with the Queen, who should publicly declare his objection thereto.' The Company were empowered to assemble, at any place and time convenient, and make bye-laws, &c. and order offenders to be punished by imprisonment or fines, consistently with the laws of the realm. A total exemption from all duties on the goods imported in the four first voyages, was granted, on the principle that many articles might be carried out 'in a new and unknown trade,' unfit for sale in India; and if, after the said four voyages, any goods were lost in the passage outward, the duties paid upon them should be deducted from those payable on the goods to be next shipped. The Company were

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privileged to carry out in every voyage foreign coin or bullion to the amount of 30,000l. 'so as at least 6,000l. thereof, be first coined at the Queen's mint, provided that they re-import bullion to the same amount; and 'it being necessary that the Company's ships sail at a particular season of the year,' they shall 'at any time of restraint,' be empowered to send six good ships, and six good pinnaces, well armed, and manned with 500 English seamen, who shall at all times be permitted to go on their voyages, 'without any stay or contradiction,' unless notice be given in due time that the Queen 'may not spare the said six ships' &c. from her own service. All the Queen's subjects, excepting 'the Company, their servants, or assigns,' are prohibited from trading to India, under 'pain of forfeiting both ships and cargoes, and of being imprisoned till they give bond for 1000l. not to offend again,' unless with consent of the Company, and with their licence.—Lastly, should 'the Company's exclusive privilege be found prejudicial to the realm, the Queen may revoke it, upon giving two years notice; on the contrary, should the trade be beneficial after the trial of fifteen years, 'new Letters Patent shall be granted for other fifteen years.'*

The Company being thus legally established, immediately increased their capital to 57,543l. 6s. 8d. yet finding that insufficient, they soon after raised an additional 20 per cent. making in all 69,091l. 6s. 8d. With this sum they purchased and fitted out for their *First Voyage*, four ships, 'the best that could be found in England,' viz. the Malice Scourge, afterwards named the Dragon, of 600 tons, and 200 men; the Hector, 300 tons, 108 men; the Ascension, 260 tons, 82 men; and the Susan, 240 tons, 88 men: to these was added a pinnace, called the Guest, of 100 tons, and 40 men, to serve as a victualler to the fleet. These vessels, with their stores, provisions, &c. cost 39,771l.; the merchandize for the outward cargo, came to 6,860l. and the value of the bullion exported was 21,742l. the whole forming

* East-India Charters, printed Coll. p. 3.

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forming a total of 68,373l. The cargoes consisted principally of iron, tin, (wrought and unwrought) lead, quicksilver, cutlery, English broad cloths of all colours, Devonshire kerseys, Norwich stuffs, and Muscovy hides, with numerous smaller articles for experiment and presents. The command of this first fleet was given to Captain James Lancaster, who had been already in the East with the unfortunate Captain Raymond, and whose experience and judgment were much relied on for the success of the voyage. Before his departure, the Queen invested him with the power of exercising martial law, and gave him Letters of Introduction to the Kings of Acheen and Bantam, and of other Parts to which he might resort.* Captain Lancaster sailed from Torbay on April the

* The following is a Copy of the Queen's Letters, as given by Mr. Bruce from the papers in the State Paper Office;

"Elizabethe, by the Grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the Faithe, &c.—To the greate and mightie Kinge of ———, or lovinge brother, greetinge;

"Whereas Almightie God, in his infinite wisdome and providence, hath so disposed of his blessings, and of all the good things of this world, which are created and ordeined for the use of man, that howsoever they be brought forthe, and do either originallie growe, and are gathered, or otherwise composed and made, some in one countrie, and some in another, yet they are by the industrie of man, directed by the hand of God, dispersed and sent out into all the ptes of the world, that thereby his wonderfull bountie in his creatures may appeare unto all nacons, his divine matie havinge so ordeyned, that no one place should enjoy (as the native commodities thereof) all things appteyninge to man's use, but that one countrie should have nede of another, and out of the aboundance of the fruits which some region enjoyeth, that the necessities or wants of another should be supplied, by which meanes, men of severall and farr remote countries have commerce and traffique, one with another, and by their enterchange of commodities are linked togeather in amytie and friendshipp;

"This consideracon, most noble Kinge, togeather with the honorable report of yor matie, for the well enterteyeinge of straungers which visitt yor countrie in love and peace (wth lawful traffique of merchaundizinge) have moved us to geave licence to divers of or subjects, who have bene stirred up wth a desire (by

the 22d, 1601, and after a tedious passage, owing chiefly to the want of sufficient knowledge of the proper seasons and courses, he arrived at Acheen, in Sumatra, on the 5th of June, 1602.

So zealous was Queen Elizabeth for the success of the trade which she had thus patronized, that long before the return of Lancaster, she suggested the expediency of following up the first voyage by a second on a new subscription. The measure was strongly recommended to the new Company by the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Treasurer, the Lords of the Council, and even by their Royal patroness herself. It was intimated to them that by not proceeding with the business, "with spirit, in the manner the Dutch did, it seemed as if but little regard was entertained either for her Majesty's honour, or for the honour of the Country."

(by a long and daungerous navigacon) to finde out and visitt yr territories and dominions, beinge famous in theise ptes of the world, and to offer you commerce and traffique, in buying and interchaunginge of commodities wth our people, accordinge to the course of merchaunts; of wch commerce and interchanging, yf yor maie shall accept, and shall receive and entertayne or merchaunts wth favour, accordinge to that hope wch hath encouraged them to attempt so long and daungerous a voindge, you shall finde them a people in their dealinge and conversacon, of that justice and civilitie, that you shall not mislike of their repaire to yor dominions, and uppon further conference and inquisicon had wth them, both of theire kindes of merchaundize brought in their shippes; and of other necessarie commodities wch or dominions may afforthe, it may appeare to yor maie that, by their meanes, you may be furnished, in their next retourne into yor portes, in better sort then you have bene heretofore supplied, either by the Spanyard or Portugale, who, of all other nacons in the ptes of Europe, have onlie hetherto frequented yor countries wth trade of merchaundize, and have bene the onlie impediments, both to our subjects, and diverse other merchaunts in the ptes of Europe, that they have not hitherto visited yor countrie wth trade, whilest the said Portugales pretended themselves to be the soveraigne lordes and princes of all yor territories, and gave it out that they held yor nacon and people as subjects to them, and, in their stiles and titles, do write themselves Kinges of the East-Indies;

"And yf yor maie shall, in yor princelie favour, accept, wth good likinge, this first repaire of our marchaunts unto yor countrie, resortinge thether in peaceable traffique, and shall entertaine this their first voiage, as an introduccon to a

Country." Yet no sufficient number of persons could be found to comply with this admonition; the majority very prudently resolving to await the termination of the first experiment, an event which Elizabeth did not live to witness.

The voyage of Lancaster proved on the whole highly prosperous. He formed treaties of commerce with the Kings of Acheen and Bantam, left factors in both those places, and procured from both supplies of pepper. Nor was he less successful in war than in trade; capturing, in concert with a Dutch vessel, a large Portuguese carrack, of 900 tons burthen, richly laden with calicoes and other Eastern commodities. His return to the Downs, however, (where he arrived on the 11th of September, 1603,) took place at a most unfortunate period. The Plague was

further continewaunce of friendshipp between your maie and us, for commerce and intercourse between yor subjects and ours, wee have geaven order to this, our principall mrchaunt (yf yor maie shall be pleased therwth) to leave in yor countrie some such of our said merchaunts as he shall make choice of, to reside in yor dominions, under yor princelie and safe proteccon, untill the retourne of another fleete, wch wee shall send unto you, who may, in the mean tyme, learne the language of yor countrie, and applie their behaviour, as it may best sorte, to converse wth your maies subjects, to the end that amitie and friendshipp beinge enterteyned and begun, the same may the better be continewed, when our people shall be instructed, how to direct themselves accordinge to the fashions of yor countrie.

"And becawse, in the consideracon of the enterteyninge of amytie and friendshipp, and in the establishinge of an intercourse to be continewed betweene us, ther may be required, on yor maies behaulfe, such promise or capitulacons to be pformed by us, wch wee cannot, in theise our Lres, take knowledge of, wee therefore pray your maie to geave eare therein unto this bearer, and to geave him creditt, in whatsoever he shall promise or undertake in our name, concerninge our amitye and entercourse, wch promise, wee (for our pte) in the word of a prince, will see pformed, and wilbe readie gratefullie to requite unie love, kindnes, or favour, that our said subjects shall receive at your maies handes; praying yor maie that, for or better satisfaccon of yor kinde acceptaunce of this our love and amytie offered yor highenes, you would by this bearer, give testymonie therof by yor princelie Lres, directed unto us, in wch wee shall receive very great contentement. And thus," &c.

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was then raging with great violence, and every person who could find means to quit London had flown to the country. In this state of general distress no money could be raised, either by borrowing, or by sales of merchandize; and the sum of 35,000l. was immediately required to defray the current expenses of the adventure, besides funds for a second voyage. The Company, therefore, as a matter of necessity, resolved that every subscriber of 250l. in the original stock should be required to advance an additional 200l. in consideration of which he should receive pepper, at a settled price, to the amount of 500l. and be allowed to dispose of it at his own discretion. Whilst the Adventurers were thus devising measures to overcome their difficulties, the King (James the First) thought proper to interfere, and, in the style of an Eastern despot, to intimate that 'no part of the Company's pepper should be disposed of, until a quantity of the same commodity belonging to his Majesty, and then lying in Leadenhall-street, should have been uttered and sold.' This led to a tedious negociation between James and the Company, and the affair seems to have been terminated by a sort of compromise.*

Notwithstanding the difficulties which the Adventurers experienced, they were so fully convinced of the practicability of establishing a profitable trade with India, that having had their four ships repaired and provisioned at an expense of 48,140l. they dispatched them on a *Second Voyage*, under the command of Sir Henry Middleton, who was to proceed, in the first instance, to the factories which had already been settled; but with permission to open a trade with the Spice Islands. The sum subscribed for this voyage was 60,450l. The bullion carried out amounted to 11,160l. The value of the goods exported was no more than 1,142l. The fleet sailed on the 25th of March, 1604, and arrived in December, at Bantam, where two ships were laden with pepper; the other two were sent to Banda and Amboyna for nutmegs, mace, and cloves, at the time when the Dutch were endeavouring to exclude the Portuguese, and establish themselves in those

* Grant's Sketch, p. 7.

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those Islands. Sir Henry Middleton arrived in England with three ships, in May, 1606; one ship having been lost in the voyage. When the accounts were finally adjusted in 1609, it appeared that the net profits on both voyages amounted to 95*l.* per cent.

It is deserving of remark, that the first attempt made by private traders, or *interpolers*, as they were termed, to interfere with the Company's exclusive privilege of trading to India, was under a licence from the King, granted in 1604, to Sir Edward Michelborne and other persons, who were empowered to trade to "Cathaia, China, Japan, Corea, and Cambaya, &c. and the isles thereto belonging," without interruption, "any restraint, grant, or charter, to the contrary, notwithstanding."* Mr. Michelborne, on his arrival in India, instead of exploring new places of trade, as was the professed object of his voyage, committed various depredations upon the Chinese Junks trading among the Eastern Islands, and having obtained a considerable booty, he returned to England with the plunder. Through this conduct the Company's affairs at Bantam were much involved, nor was the quarrel adjusted without great difficulty.

The subscription for the Company's *Third Voyage* amounted to 53,000*l.* of this sum 28,620*l.* was expended on the equipments, &c. of three ships, and 7,280*l.* for goods; the remaining 17,600*l.* was taken out in bullion. One of the ships, the Consent, of 115 tons, sailed from the Thames in March, 1607, and in the January following reached the Moluccas, where a cargo of spices was procured, but not without considerable difficulty, owing to the malevolence of the Dutch. The other vessels, viz. the Dragon, Captain Keeling, and the Hector, Captain Hawkins, sailed from the Downs in April, 1607: the Dragon got a lading of pepper at Bantam, and was dispatched for England; the Hector, after landing Captain Hawkins at Surat †, proceeded to Bantam,

* Rym. Fœd. V. xvi. p. 582.

† This officer was entrusted with a Letter from King James to the Great Mogul,

tam, and afterwards to Banda and the other Spice Islands, where, in despite of continued opposition from the Dutch, Captain Keeling succeeded in lading his ship with spices, with which he arrived in England in May, 1610. The prime cost of the cloves brought from Amboyna by the Consent was 2,948l. 15s. and they were sold for 36,287l. This great success induced the Adventurers to send out, in April, 1609, another vessel under Captain Middleton, who reached the Moluccas in safety, and by his prudence and intrepidity surmounted numerous difficulties, which the enmity of the Dutch had excited, and obtained a full cargo of nutmegs and mace at Pulo-Way; he arrived in England about two years after his departure outwards. The proceeds of this, which is called the *Fifth Voyage*, were connected with the third voyage, and the entire profits on the whole amounted to 234l. per cent. on the original subscription *. The *Fourth Voyage* was decidedly unfortunate; both the vessels which were sent out in 1607, at an expense of 33,000l. being lost; the Ascension off Diu, and the Union on the coast of France.

On May the 31st, 1609, King James granted the Company a renewal of their Charter with enlarged privileges; the principal of which was an exclusive right to "the *whole, entire*, and *only trade* and *traffic* to *the East Indies, for ever*:" the power of abrogating the same, however, was reserved to the Crown on giving

Mogul, but from the many obstacles thrown in his way by the Portuguese, who even bribed his own servants to murder him, he was not able to penetrate to the Imperial residence at Agra till April the 16th, 1609. The Mogul treated him with kindness, and granted him permission to establish an English factory at Surat; but this grant was soon revoked through the machinations of the Portuguese. Hawkins was a man of great courage and judgment, and by his address he again prevailed on the Mogul to renew the grant; yet that fickle prince was once more induced to rescind it, and Hawkins quitted Agra in disgust, after losing two years and a half in this kind of tantalizing attendance at the Mogul's Court: he arrived in England in 1613. *Macph. Eur. Com.* p. 86.

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. I. p. 155.; from MSS. in Indian Reg. Office.

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giving a notice of three years, if it should appear that the trade was not profitable to the realm. *

The high profits which the Adventurers had derived from their third voyage, and the increased advantages they had reason to expect from the growing extension of their trade, occasioned them to come to the resolution of building their own ships; and also of constructing them of greater burthen than any they had hitherto been able to procure. They, in consequence, "purchased a piece of ground at Deptford, where a dock-yard was formed, and storehouses and other conveniences erected at a very great expense; and, in this year [1609] was launched from the yard, to use the words of Sir William Monson † 'the goodliest and greatest ship that was ever framed in this Kingdom,' and from this beginning, he adds, may be dated the 'increase of great ships in England.' This effort on the part of the Company was viewed by all ranks with great exultation. The King honoured the launch with his presence, accompanied by his son, (afterwards Charles the First) the principal officers of state, and numbers of the nobility. His Majesty performed the ceremony usual on such occasions, and named her the '*Trade's Increase.*' After the launch, the King and the nobility partook of a sumptuous banquet, provided at the Company's expense [on board the new ship], and it was then spoken of, as a specimen of Eastern magnificence, that the whole of the tables were covered with services of China-ware." ‡

The vessels taken up for the *Sixth Voyage* were the Trade's Increase, (the burthen of which was 1100 tons,) the Peppercorn, and the Darling, with a bark to accompany them as a victualler. The equipment of this fleet cost 32,200l. The investment consisted of goods valued at 21,300l. and bullion to the amount of

* Anderson, Ann. Com. Vol II. p. 259, states that this charter was granted in 1610; yet as the Charter itself bears date in the 7th of King James, he is certainly in error.

† Naval Tracts. ‡ Milb. Ori. Com. Vol. I. p. ix.

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of 28,500l. The chief object of this voyage was to establish an advantageous trade in the Red Sea, on the coasts of which it had been stated, woollen goods, metals, and other British merchandize, might either be exchanged, or sold, with much profit. This fleet sailed in the spring of the year 1610, under the command of Sir Henry Middleton, who, whilst trading at Mocha, was, with seventy of his crew, treacherously seized by the Aga, or Governor, and kept in prison for five months. Having afterwards recovered his own and his people's liberty by stratagem, he compelled the Aga to make him compensation by threatening to batter the town about his ears. He next proceeded to Surat; but was prevented from establishing any commercial intercourse with the natives, through the hostility of the Portaguese, who opposed him with a strong fleet. He then returned to the Red Sea, and being determined to revenge himself for his recent undeserved captivity, he prevailed on Captain Saris, who had just reached Mocha with three ships (which, with one other vessel had been equipped for the Company's *Seventh Voyage*, and had left England in April 1611,) to unite with him in obtaining a trade by force. This plan was carried into effect by stopping all the country vessels as they arrived from India, and obliging them to exchange their Indian commodities for English merchandize. They afterwards sailed for Bantam, where several of the ships completed their ladings, and were dispatched for England. Captain Saris, in the Clove, proceeded to Japan, with a view to open a trade with that Empire; but Sir Henry Middleton in the Trade's Increase, remained in Bantam roads for the purpose of careening his ship, which had been damaged by striking on a rock. Whilst the repairs were carrying on many of the crew fell victims to an infectious disorder; and the ship itself, was at length, overset and lost, through the breaking of an overswayed cable, the remaining hands being too scanty to remedy the accident. This was in 1613: Sir Henry died shortly afterwards, of grief. Notwithstanding the delays and numerous losses

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losses which occurred during this voyage, the profit was sufficient to admit a division of 121l. 13s. 4d. per cent. on the whole of the advanced capital. Captain Saris, who arrived at Japan in June 1613, was received with much kindness by the Emperor, and he succeeded in obtaining liberty to establish a factory at Firando, with full exemption from customs, as well as other privileges. * He afterwards returned to Bantam, and loaded his ship with pepper, for England, where he arrived in September, 1614†. The profits on this voyage amounted to 218 per cent. on the capital subscribed ‡.

In 1611, what has been termed the Company's *Eighth Voyage* was undertaken, and a fleet of four vessels was fitted out; namely, the Dragon, the James, the Solomon, and the Hoscander, on a subscription amounting to 76,375l. of which 17,675l. was exported in bullion, and 10,000l. in goods §. The chief command was given to Captain Best, a brave and skilful officer, who sailed from England in February, 1611, having it in charge to conciliate the Mogul Emperor with regard to the reprisals made by Sir Henry Middleton in the Red Sea. This point was accomplished with much address; and Captain Best, succeeded also in obtaining liberty to settle factories at Amadevar (Ahmedabad) Surat, Cambaya, and Goga, with other valuable privileges. The Mogul's Phirmaund confirming the treaty was delivered to the Captain on the 11th of January, 1613, with much ceremony at

* The Emperor's grant in the original language and character, with an English translation, may be seen in *Purchas's Pilgrim*. L. iiii. C. i. § 7.

† Macph. Eur. Com. p. 90.

‡ Bruce's Ann. Vol. I. p. 160. On comparing the notices, given by this gentleman, of the *Seventh* voyage, it would seem that Macpherson had inaccurately divided that voyage into two: viz. the seventh and the eighth.

§ Ibid. p. 161. Here Mr. Bruce is again followed, though Macpherson and Milburn have divided this voyage into the ninth and tenth: the authority of the former is preferred, because it appears from the references he has given, that his information was directly acquired from MSS in the Indian Register Office.

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Swally; where, but a few weeks before, his little squadron had bravely repulsed a Portuguese fleet, consisting of four galleons, and twenty-six smaller vessels, in four several encounters, and with considerable loss on the part of the enemy. This achievement greatly increased the reputation of the English with the natives of India, who had previously considered the Portuguese to be invincible. Captain Best afterwards proceeded to Acheen, in Sumatra, and Bantam; and arrived in England in June, 1614. The profits on this voyage are stated to have amounted to 211 per cent. * The *Ninth Voyage* was made by a single ship, the Expedition, which was equipped on a subscription of 7,200l. and sailed in 1612: the profits amounted to about 160l. per cent. †

In the major part of the voyages that had been hitherto made, the equipments were fitted out by separate associations of the Adventurers, members of the Company, on their own particular portions of the stock subscribed; but at length, in 1612-13, the strong clashing of interests which arose from this erroneous policy, both in India and in Britain, induced the Directors to resolve that 'the trade should be carried on by a *Joint Stock*' only, and that all the accounts should be made up in the name of the Company, as 'one united body.' That they might, however, have an opportunity to regulate their subsequent proceedings as circumstances should require, they determined to limit the duration of such Joint Stock to four years; or more properly speaking, to the sending out of one voyage on the Joint-capital in each successive year from the above. The stock thus subscribed amounted to 418,691l. and with this sum four fleets were equipped, and successively dispatched to India, where, for several years, the trade proved so successful, that the profits amounted to 120l. per cent; yet from the losses occasioned by the enmity of the Dutch and Portuguese, the eventual gains at the final settlement in 1621, were only 87l. 10s. per cent. ‡

In

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. I. p. 161. † Ibid. p. 162.
‡ Ibid. p. 180.

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In the year 1615, a treaty was entered into with the King of Acheen, who granted permission to the Company to settle a factory at Tekoo, in Sumatra, on payment of a duty of 7 per cent. on all exports and imports, and a promise of various presents, the King requiring by the treaty, that "ten mastiff dogs, and ten bitches, and a great piece of cannon that a man might sit upright in, should be sent out to him." * In the same year the celebrated Sir Thomas Roe was, in compliance with the wishes of the Company, "appointed ambassador to the Great Mogul, or King of India," with a view of obtaining additional privileges for the English in their trade with the Mogul empire.† Sir Thomas succeeded in obtaining for the Company several favourable grants for the establishment of factories, and a general Phirmaund for English trade in every part of the Mogul dominions. Through the medium of an agent at Ispahan he also

 made

* The value of this kind of present may be estimated by the following extract from a Letter of Mr. Kerridge, dated at Agimere the 20th March, 1614-15. "Mr. Edwardes presented the Kinge a mastife, and speakinge of the dog's courage, the Kinge caused a yonge leoparde to be brought to make tryall, wch the dogge so pinchtt, thatt fewer howers after the leoparde dyed. Synce, the Kinge of Persia, with a presentt sent heather haulfe a dozen dogges—the Kinge cawsed boares to be brought to fight with them, puttinge 2 or 3 dogges to a boare, yet none of them seased; and rememberinge his owne dogg, sentt for him, who presently fastened on the boare, so disgraced the Persian doggs, wherewth the Kinge was exceedingly pleased. 2 or 3 fierce mastiffes; a couple of Irishe greyhowndes, and a couple of well-taught waterspanyells, wold give him greatte contente."

† "From the Company's agents having been too profuse in their presents to the Ministers and favourites, Sir T. Roe found that the articles which he had carried out as presents were not so highly estimated as he had expected, he therefore informed the Court, that nothing less than valuable jewels would be deemed worthy of acceptance; at the same time he desired that 4 or 5 handsome cases of red wine should be sent as presents to the King, and Prince, as in his own words, "never were men more enamoured of their drink as these two," and which, "they would more highly esteem, than all the jewels in Chepeside." Bruce's Ann. V. I. p. 174.

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made an advantageous treaty with the King of Persia. The Company were so well satisfied with his services, that, on his return to England in 1619, they voted him an honorary seat in the Court of Committees, and settled on him an annuity of 200l. About the same period, likewise, an advantageous treaty was concluded with the Zamorin of Calicut.

The oriental commerce had now assumed somewhat of a systematic character. Bantam and Surat were constituted, and they long continued to be, the principal stations of the Company in the East, and the whole range of their Indian operations was divided into two parts, respectively placed under the superintendency of those stations. The presidency of Bantam controlled all the factories from Cape Comorin eastwards, to China and Japan, while the presidency of Surat directed all the factories from the same Cape westwards, to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs *.

These

* The following interesting survey of the English establishments in the East Indies, was transmitted to the Court of Committees, in the year 1617, or at the conclusion of the Joint Stock of 1613.

Surat was the most commodious station in all India, at which, though English goods were not in great request, all the Eastern parts of India could be supplied with cloths; but those articles could only be procured by exchanges of China goods, spices, and money.

At the two factories of Acheen and Tekoo, on the island of Sumatra, large quantities of Cambaya and Masulipatam goods might be disposed of, and, in return, gold, camphor, pepper, and benjamin, could be obtained.

Bantam was the greatest place of trade in the Indian seas, where Cambaya and Masulipatam goods, estimated at fifty or sixty thousand rials, were annually imported, and, in return, in good years, one hundred and fifty thousand sacks, and in bad years, sixty thousand sacks of pepper could be exported:—the price of pepper, however, had been raised treble, in the last few years, from the competitions in the market, between the English, Dutch, and Chinese.

Jaccatra yielded arrack, rice, and fish, for shipping; but a settlement at that place would be difficult, from the exorbitant sum demanded by the King, for ground on which to build a factory

Jambee had been recently settled as a factory, at which there was an increasing demand for Cambaya and Coromandel cloths, and, in return, it would afford about ten thousand sacks of pepper. At

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These extensive establishments excited the opposition of some London merchants, and in 1615, an anonymous tract was published, intituled "Trade's Increase," which, though avowedly hostile to the Company, contains some passages indicative of their rapidly-extending commerce. "You have built," says the writer, "more ships in your time than any other merchants' ships, besides what you have bought out of other trades, and all those wholly belonging to you.—You have set forth some 13 voyages, and there hath been entertained by you since you first adventured, 21 ships; so that at the first appearance you have added both strength and glory to the kingdom by this your accession to the navy; but where, I pray you, are all these ships?" This was answered by Sir Dudley Digges, who, in his

At Potania, about ten thousand rials of Surat and Coromandel cloths might be sold; but it furnished few articles of export, and trade was on the decline.

At Siam, if the country were in a state of peace, Coromandel cloth might be sold to the amount of forty or fifty thousand rials per annum; in return, it would yield gold, silver, and deer skins, for the Japan market.

At Japan, English cloth, lead, deer skins, silks, and other goods, would find a considerable market, and, in return, it would furnish silver, copper, and iron; but the English cargoes, hitherto sent to this place, had been ill assorted, and the trade was on the decline.

At Succadania, diamonds, bezoar stones, and gold, might be obtained, had not this trade been ruined by the ignorance of the first factors.

At Banjarmassin, in the island of Borneo, diamonds, gold, and bezoar stones could be procured; but the character of the natives was so treacherous, that it would be expedient to withdraw the factory.

At Maccassar, the best rice in India could be bought, and about forty thousand rials per annum of Cambaya and Coromandel cloths sold; but this place was resorted to by the Portuguese, though abandoned by the Dutch.

At Banda, about forty or fifty thousand rials, annually, of Coromandel cloths could be sold; and in return, about a thousand tons of nutmegs and mace could be purchased, and a still greater quantity, could peace be established between the Europeans trading to it.

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"Defence of Trade," stated, that from the institution of the Company, "they had employed twenty-four ships, of which four had been lost, that nineteen of them were from 150 to 600 tons burthen, that one was of 800 tons, one of 900, one of 1060, and one of 1293 tons; and that the reason for having such large ships now owing to the Navy not being sufficiently strong to protect them from the Barbary Rovers." He stated also "that 70,000l. had been saved annually to the nation in the prices of pepper, cloves, and nutmegs for home consumption: that spices had been exported in the last year to the value of 218,000l. besides indigo, calicoes, china, silks, and drugs; to which should be added the King's customs, and also the employment given to ships and mariners in the re-exportation. That besides cinnamon, the Company computed that we annually consumed at home, the following spices, viz. pepper (formerly at 8s. but now at 2s. per lb.) 450,000 lbs.; cloves 50,000 lbs. mace, 15,000 lbs. nutmegs 100,000lbs., and that the cloves, mace, and nutmegs were proportionally reduced in price since our direct trade to India."*

Mention has already been made of the jealousy with which the Dutch guarded their monopoly of the spice trade. So early as 1608, the ships of the third equipment of the English Company were greatly impeded by the intrigues of that people in the attempt to procure a cargo at the Moluccas. In the following year, however, a project of coalition between the rival Companies was offered to the English by Prince Maurice, and the Dutch renewed the same abortive proposal a few years afterwards. Open hostilities were subsequently resorted to by both parties, and with various success. The Dutch, in 1618-19, attacked and captured the English stations at Banda; and the English, having formed an alliance with the King of Bantam, made themselves masters of the castle at Jacatra (now Batavia) which the Dutch had strongly fortified; and of which they shortly after regained possession, though by what means does not

* Milburn's Orien. Com. Vol. I. p. xiv.

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not appear * In the following autumn, four of the Company's ships were attacked off Sumatra by a Dutch fleet of six sail, and after a severe combat, in which one British ship was sunk, the three others were compelled to surrender. † Meanwhile various negociations took place between the Government of England and Holland; and in July, 1619, a definitive Treaty was concluded, which, after specifying an amnesty for all excesses committed by either party in the East Indies, and a mutual restitution of goods and property, declared the trade of the two nations in the East, to be free 'to the extent of the respective funds which might be employed.' The pepper trade at Java was to be equally divided, and the English at the Moluccas and the Bandas were to enjoy one-third of the exports and imports, the Dutch retaining the remaining two-thirds. Each Company were to furnish ten ships of war for mutual defence; and finally, a superintending, or arbitrating body, composed of four members of each Company, was to sit permanently in India, under the name of a *Council of Defence.*

The *Second* Joint Stock formed by the Adventurers, and which commenced in 1617-18, was appropriated to defray the charges of three voyages; the first consisting of ten ships; the second and third of eight ships, each: the whole subscription amounted to upwards of 1,600,000l. a yet unprecedented sum, the magnitude of which proves the increasing estimation that the trade was now held in ‡. In the second of these voyages the fleet was sent out

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. I. p. 211. † Ibid p. 223.

‡ From the *List* of Subscribers to the *Second* Joint Stock, which is preserved in the Indian Register Office (marked D. P. 7—20, and 129,) it appears, that the individuals were thus classed. Dukes and Earls 15; Knights, (including two Judges, all the King's Council, and five Privy-counsellors) 82; Countesses and Ladies 13; Doctors of Divinity and Physic 26; Widows nd Virgins 18; Merchants 313; Tradesmen 214; Merchants, (Strangers) 26; without title 212; and of those whose occupations were unknown 36: Total 954.

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in two divisions, the one being destined for Surat, under Captain Sillinge, and the other for Bantam, under Captain Fitz-harding.* The former division, after proceeding from Surat to Jasques, a port in Persia, sustained two severe conflicts with a very superior Portuguese squadron, and in the last obtained a victory; but with the loss of their brave commander. This atchievement established the reputation of the English for naval bravery, and greatly facilitated the purchase of Persian silks. In the following season the Company's ships assisted the Persians in an attack on the city and castle of Ormus, an island at the entrance of the Persian gulf, which the Portuguese had fortified, and were thereby enabled to plunder all vessels that presumed to enter the gulf without their licence. The attack was chiefly conducted by the English, and the Island was surrendered to them on the 22d of April, 1622. They afterwards obtained a large proportion of the spoils, and were also rewarded by Shah Abbas, the Emperor of Persia, with a moiety of the customs at the Port of Gombroon, on the main land, and had liberty to trade to Ispaban without payment of duties.

Notwithstanding this partial success, the general affairs of the Company were by no means flourishing in India. The treaty which had been signed with the Dutch had scarcely any influence on the conduct of the treacherous individuals of that nation who had command in the eastern seas. It may be asserted, however,

* It is a curious fact, that Captain Shillinge, on his passage outwards, landed at *Saldanha Bay*, and by a formal Proclamation, dated July the 23d, 1620, took possession of the Bay, and of the adjacent country, in the name of the King of England, and on the condition expressed in the Company's first charter, that no other European nation had, 'previously *claimed a right*' to that part of the Coast of Africa. By the same Proclamation he reserved to his Majesty, the power of assuming the sovereignty of those districts under any title which he might be pleased to adopt. The right of the British Crown to the Cape of Good Hope, on the principle of pre-occupancy and actual possession, is, therefore, most incontestible; for this transaction took place many years prior to the period when the Dutch established a colony at the Cape. *MSS in Ind. Reg. Off.*

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however, and with truth, that their oppressive exactions were countenanced by the States-General itself; and although the most pointed remonstrances were made by the English members of the "Council of Defence." which had been established at Jacatra, scarcely a shadow of redress could be obtained; and the Dutch, in defence of every principle, either of justice or alliance, exerted their utmost endeavours to exclude the English from all connection with the Spice Islands, as well as from every contiguous port and country.

It was in vain that appeals were made to Europe, and that conferences were entered into between the Lords of the Privy Council, and the Dutch Commissioners who had been appointed to adjust the disputes. No satisfaction could be obtained by entreaty, and the pusilanimous spirit of the King revolted at the employment of force. At length, however, the subject was brought irresistably, home, to the feelings of the English nation, by intelligence that, in consequence of the overwhelming oppressions of the Dutch, the British factories established at Japan and Siam had been wholly withdrawn;—that a series of wanton cruelties on the part of the same people, had driven the British factors from the Bandas;—and that at Amboyna, one of the Moluccas, all the members of the British settlements, ten in number, had on charges preposterously false, been put to death by the Dutch Governor and Council, with circumstances of the most horrible atrocity *. This barbarous massacre roused even James

* The infamous series of murders perpetrated at Amboyna was commenced by the arrest, in February, 1622-3, of nine Javanese, and one Portuguese, who, by *horrible and slow torture*, were compelled to acknowledge that they had been parties in a conspiracy, which never existed, with Captain Towerson, the English agent, to seize the castle of Amboyna, and expel the Dutch from the Island. All the English (twenty-two) in Amboyna, and the adjacent isles, were immediately seized on the strength of this extorted confession, and individually subjected, like the others, to slow torture.—Against this, for a while, the firmness and probity of the English character enabled

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James to a display of something like spirit: he addressed indignant remonstrances to the States-General; and the Company and the nation might have obtained, at least, a partial satisfaction for their wrongs, had not the death of the King, which took place immediately afterwards, checked their proceedings. The new Monarch, indeed, was not disinclined to support the Company against the Dutch; but the feverish commencement, and the calamitous progress of his reign, prevented any effective fulfilment of his intention *.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable aspect of the Company's affairs abroad, five of their ships arrived in England, in the season 1623-24, with considerable quantities of pepper, cloves, mace, and nutmegs; which spices at their sales, produced 485,593l. exclusive of 97,000l. received for Persian raw-silk, and 80,000l. obtained

enabled most of the sufferers to bear up; yet this firmness, and this probity, were pretended to be considered by their diabolical tormentors, as evidence of guilt, and still more excruciating tortures were devised, to draw from the miserable victims, the acknowledgment of a project which existed only in the commercial jealousies, and infernal avarice of their ferocious enemies. At length, human nature, sinking under the extremity of pain, sought a momentary relief by confessing crimes which never had been committed. Even this, however, was insufficient to gratify the malice of the Dutch, and on the 27th of February, ten of the Englishmen, with the nine Japanese, and the Portuguese, were put to death. The dismal tale was afterwards promulgated by the English factors who were permitted to live, and six of whom made depositions in the Admiralty Court of England, as to the truth of the facts, and of the massacre. Among the East India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 69, is 'a Note of all the *Names* off those that were att the *Council* off Amboyda when the 10 Englishmen, 9 Japones, with one Portugall Marenar, were beheaded, viz. Harman van Speult, Governor; Isaac de Brown, Fiscall, or Judge; Marskalke, Chiefe merchante of the Castle; Cravanger; and Taylor, Under Merchantes off the Castle; Peter Johnson van Zeut, Chieff Merchante, off Lohoe; Raneer, alias Cosens, Chieff Merchante, off Larica; Carsborn, Merchant off the Rotterdam; Windcopp, Merchant off the Amsterdam; Cloacke, Merchant off the Flye Boat; Fisher, Merchant off the Unicorne; Captain Vogle, a land captain, there sometimes; Captaine Newport, Skipper off the Amsterdam.'

* Grant's Sketch, p. 23.

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obtained from the Dutch in compensation of damages committed previously to the treaty of 1619. These circumstances account for the large equipment fitted out in 1623-24, which consisted of seven ships, with a stock estimated at 68,720l. in Spanish rials, and 17,345l. in goods.

"While this fleet was preparing for sea, a claim was made by the King, as a right of the Crown, and by the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral, on the Company, for a proportion of the prize-money, which their ships were supposed to have obtained in the seas bordering on the countries within their limits. These demands, it would appear, had proceeded from a general impression that immense sums had been acquired by the Company and their officers, at Ormus, and had been carried to their account, by their factors at Surat. For the purpose of establishing a ground for those claims, references were made by the King and the Duke of Buckingham, to Sir Henry Martin, Judge of the Admiralty, and other civilians, to ascertain the King's and the Lord Admiral's rights; the former to a proportion of prize-money belonging to the Crown, the latter to one-tenth of the prize-money in right of his office. The first question appears to have been tacitly admitted, the Governors and Directors not feeling it to be their duty to dispute any point with his Majesty; the second question they resisted, on the plea that they had not acted under any Letters of Marque from the Lord High Admiral, but only under their Charter; and they contended that he had not any right to a tenth of the prize-money which had arisen from their having made prizes of ships, or taken plunder from their enemies.

"In order, however, to substantiate the claims, both of the King and the Lord High Admiral, examinations were taken of Captain Weddel, Captain Blith, Captain Clevenger, Captain Beversham, and Mr. Embrey, the Commanders and officers of several of the Company's ships which had made prizes in the East Indies, from the Portuguese, and particularly of those officers who had been employed at the taking of Ormus, from which it appeared

appeared that the amount of the prize-money was, in general, calculated at about 100,000l. and 240,000 rials of eight: but this amount was estimated without taking into view the charges and losses incurred by the Company in their equipments, or by their ships being called off from commercial engagements, to act as ships of war for the protection of their trade, and to assist the native powers, by whom they had been compelled either to act, or to relinquish that trade, in the acquisition of which they had expended very large sums.

"In this state of the business the ships of this season were stopped at Tilbury, the Company 'put in arrest,' and all their solicitations to the King and to the Admiral, rejected. At last they were obliged to compound by paying 10,000l. to the Duke of Buckingham, to discharge his claim; and they received an order from Sir Edward Conway, the Secretary of State, to pay also 10,000l. to the King." * The fleet was then discharged from arrest, and had liberty to proceed to India.

About this period, we find that a considerable clamour had been excited against the Company, both in and out of Parliament, chiefly, on the grounds, that 'the exportation of so much treasure as 80,000l. *per annum* (for so high was the sum estimated,) tended to impoverish the state'; that 'the building of such great ships destroyed the timber;' and that 'there is a decay of mariners by means of the East India voyages.' These charges were distinctly met and ably refuted by the Company's friends; and among other arguments to the contrary, it was stated in Parliament, that, 'His Majesty's Customs are very much augmented by the Indian trade and the other branches of trade connected with, or dependent upon it, whereby the nation at large is benefitted;' that, 'instead of paying 500,000l. annually to Holland and

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. I. p. 240—242, from MSS in the State Paper Office. When the Duke of Buckingham was impeached in 1626, the above act of extortion from the Company, was made one of the charges against him: his reply was, that 'much more was due to him, and that he had expended the whole sum, excepting 200l. upon the King's Navy.'

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and France, for linens, lawns and cambrics, half the consumption of those articles is now superseded by the use of India calicoes, and foreigners now pay us money for the cloths they formerly received in payment for those goods;' that, 'in regard to a great deal of money being thrown away for Indian spices, it should be remembered, that Indian spices were bought before we imported them, and if we cease from importing them, they will still be bought, but then they will cost the nation five times as much as they now cost, and that mostly in ready money;' that, 'timber cannot possibly be employed in any nobler service than building ships, and the larger the ships the Company build, the more capable they are of being serviceable to the state on an emergency;' that, 'the consumption of our own country requires only one quarter of the goods imported from India, and the raw silks, dye-stuffs, and other raw materials, which constitute a considerable part of that quarter, give employment to our own people;' and that, 'the remaining three quarters are exported, and more Indian goods are now carried from England to the Mediterranean than used to be brought from it to England, whereby, besides employing shipping and seamen, great benefits accrue to the Merchants and to the public in general.'*

At

* During the proceedings in Parliament the following "Abstract of the trade to the East Indies, both for exportation and importation from the 25th of March, 1620, to the 25th of March 1624," was laid before the House of Commons.

"1620. There were laden on ten ships L.62,490 in bullion, and L.28,508, goods. Total L.90,998.

1621. On four ships	12,900 ditto	6,523 ditto	19,423.
1622. On five ships	61,600 ditto	6,430 ditto	68,030.
1623. On seven ships	68,720 ditto	17,345 ditto	86,065.

Exported L.205,710 bullion L.58,806 goods Tot. L.264,516.

The imports were as follow:

1620. This year, by reason of our differences with the Dutch, our ships were kept in India for our defence, to our very great damage, and only one ship returned with indigo, calicoes, drugs, &c. value 108,887l.

1621.

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At this time the Company in addition to their regular concerns, were engaged in the manufacture of gunpowder, and had mills established in the County of Surrey; which, upon an application made by the inhabitants in the vicinity, to the King, were ordered to be demolished: the Court petitioned for permission to erect new powder-mills in the Counties of Kent and Sussex; in situations in which the like objections could not be made, and stated that this manufacture was necessary to enable them to bring to market the stock of salt-petre they had in store.*

During the early part of the reign of Charles the First, the Company's trade in India was so greatly impeded by the Dutch, and the oppressions of the Native Princes, that they began to have thoughts of entirely abandoning it. They had sustained damages, by the rancorous hostility of the Dutch alone, to the amount of about two millions sterling; and were indebted at home, in the sum of 200,000l. Through these circumstances, conjoined with

1621. This year our differences with the Dutch being newly accommodated, and our stock of money by those broils much wasted, there was returned only one ship, laden with pepper, cloves, and China raw-silks value 94,464l.

1622. There returned this year five ships, laden with pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs, indigo, gum-lac, and calicoes, value 296,500l. and Persian raw-silk, 93,000l.

1623. Returned this year five ships, laden with pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs, indigo, and calicoes, value 485,593, and Persian raw-silk, 97,000l. Total 582,593l.

Recovered from the Dutch for the value they took *from us in India*, 80,000l.

Forming a total in four years of 1,255,444l.: on an average, 313,861l. per annum."

According to a statement made by Mr. Thomas Mun, an eminent merchant and an East India *Committee*, or Director, in his 'Discourse of Trade from England to the East Indies,' the cost and sale prices of *India goods*, about 1620, were as follow: pepper 2½ per lb. sale price, 1s. 8d. cloves 9d. sale 6s. nutmegs 4d. sale 2s. 6d. mace 8d. sale 6s. indigo, 1s. 2d. sale 3s. China raw-silk 7s. sale 20s. calico-pieces, each 7s. sale, each 20s.

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. I. p. 271.

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with the insidious misrepresentations of interested persons, the Company were induced to present a petition to Parliament, wherein, after stating the various advantages, which, in their opinion, the country derived from the exclusive right they possessed of trading to India, they prayed, that the House would take the subject into consideration, and that 'if the trade should be found detrimental to the Kingdom in general, it might be abolished; but if it should appear to be advantageous, it might be encouraged and supported by a declaration of Parliament in its favour.' Unfortunately, the sudden dissolution of Parliament prevented the question from being agitated; and the Company were constrained, subsequently, both to diminish their equipments, and to give permission to such of their own members as chose to adventure, to ship cloth and tin for Persia on their own separate accounts.* Between 1628 and 1631, three particular voyages were subscribed for by individual Adventurers; but in the latter year, after several unavailing attempts, the Company succeeded in forming a new subscription, under the denomination of the *Third Joint Stock*, which amounted to 420,700l. Nearly half this sum was expended in the purchase of the outstanding concerns of the *Second* Joint Stock, and with the remainder were equipped seven ships; but whether those ships, says Mr. Bruce, "were intended to bring off the considerable investments then collected at their settlements, or for invigorating their trade, cannot be ascertained, as the amount of the money or merchandize, embarked on the ships, is not specified.'

About this period, the King, on application from the Company, issued a Proclamation, 'For restraining the excess of the Private, or Clandestine Trade, carried on to and from the East-Indies, by the Officers and Sailors in the Company's own Ships.' From that document it appears, that the exports were "Perpetuanoes and drapery, (broad-cloths, &c.) pewter, saffron, woollen-stockings,

* Macph. Euro. Com. p. 111. In May, 1638, the Company's stock was reduced so low as 80l. per cent.

stockings, silk-stockings and garters, ribbands, roses edged with gold lace, beaver hats with gold and silver bands, felt hats, strong waters, knives, Spanish leather shoes, iron, and looking-glasses:"—among the imports were, "long pepper, white pepper, white powdered sugar preserved, nutmegs and ginger preserved, myrabolums, bezoar stones, drugs of all sorts, agate heads, blood-stones, musk, aloes soccatrina, ambergrease, rich carpets of Persia and of Cambaya, quilts of sattin, taffety, calicoes, benjamin, damasks, sattins and taffeties of China, quilts of China embroidered with gold, quilts of Pitania embroidered with silk, galls, worm-seeds, sugar-candy, China dishes and porcelain of all sorts."*

The year 1633-34 is memorable in the annals of the East-India Company, from a Phirmaund having been then granted, (February the second) by the Mogul, allowing the English free liberty to trade in the province of Bengal, without any other restriction, than that the English ships were to resort only to the port of Pipley. "This event," observes Mr. Bruce, "ascertains the precise period when the English first obtained a right to enter the Ganges, and the Countries which, in subsequent times, opened to them the most productive trade of any they have enjoyed in the East."†

The growing embarrassments of Charles the First, (whose inconsiderate attachment to the ill-defined prerogatives of the crown terminated so fatally,) occasioned him, in December, 1635, to consent to the unwarrantable act of granting a Charter to Sir William Courten, Endymion Porter, Esq. one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, Captain Weddel, and others, authorizing them to establish a separate trade to the East-Indies, for five years, 'to the best advantage of themselves and all his other subjects.' The pretence under which this direct infringement was made on the Company's rights, alleged, that they "had neglected to establish fortified factories, or seats of trade, to which the King's subjects could resort with safety;—that they had

* Rym. Fœd. Vol. XIX. p. 335. † Annals, Vol. I. p. 320.

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had consulted their own interests only, without any regard to the King's revenue;—and, in general, that they had broken the condition on which their Charter and exclusive privileges had been granted to them." The new Company were permitted to send 'six ships,' under the command of Captain Weddel, 'to Goa, Malabar, China, and Japan,' to trade with the inhabitants; and the King directed, that 'one ship should be sent from the Sea of Japan, in order to search for a passage home by the northern parts of the world; in consideration of which they should have half the customs and other benefits accruing from the countries to be discovered by them.'*

When the Company remonstrated against this invasion of their chartered rights, they received in answer, from the King, "that the ships were about to be employed upon a secret design, which for the present he did not think fit to reveal; but that the Company might rest under an assurance that nothing was intended to their disadvantage." The Court of Directors, however, finding that the vessels belonging to the new Association were taking in goods for the Indian market, and that divers of the Company's naval and mercantile servants were engaged as officers and supercargoes, could not avoid being mistrustful of the Royal promise; and under that impression, and feeling alarmed at the danger which menaced their factories and trade, they presented a Petition to the King, praying, 'that they might be allowed to take their remedy at law against the person and estate of Mr. William Courten, (son to Sir William, who had died soon after the passing of the grant,) for any act which his ships or servants might commit in India, contrary to the Charter and exclusive privileges of the Company, granted by Queen Elizabeth, and confirmed by James the First.†

In a subsequent Petition, the Company prayed, that if his Majesty was, at all events, determined to permit the ships of

* Rym. Fœd. Vol. XX. p. 146.

† East-India Papers, in State-Paper Office, Nos. 158, 159.

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Courten's Association to sail, he would at least 'debar them from importing spices, indigo, calicoes, silk, &c. it being impossible for both to trade without one ruining the other, or, indeed, without both being ruined:' and 'whereas his Majesty had laid his express commands on the petitioners to do their best for the continuance of the trade, in which they had laboured by their councils and the risk of their estates,' they intreated him 'not to impute the desertion to them, they having, in that case, only to request to have three years allowed, agreeably to their Charter, for calling home their ships and other property.'

The ships fitted out by Courten's Association sailed in the spring of 1636; two of them, the Samaritan and the Roebuck, were without cargoes, but had a Commission from the King, which was not to be opened till they reached the latitude of the Canary Islands. One of these vessels having arrived on the coast of Guzzerat, seized on two Junks belonging to Surat and Diu, 'plundered them, and exposed the crew to torture.'* No sooner was this known at Surat than the Mogul Governor imprisoned the President and Council of that factory, and confiscated the Company's property to make good the losses of the owners of the Junks. The Court of Directors on receiving information of this event, immediately presented a memorial to the King, which was referred to the Privy Council, who directed that all proceedings at law should be suspended till the return of Courten's ships; but that in the mean time the King should issue letters to the Governor of Surat, disclaiming any powers having been given to English vessels to commit depredations, and desiring the release of the Company's servants and property.†

The

* Bruce's Annals, Vol. I. p. 337.

† Ibid. p. 338. The above event is "of consequence," says Mr. Bruce, "not so much from the immediate effect of it, as from its having been the first instance in which the Interlopers, or Private Traders, were permitted to carry on a kind of regulated commerce to the East-Indies, and under their licence had been charged with, or had been guilty of, depredation, which

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The President and Council at Surat were kept in confinement for two months, and were then only released on condition of paying 170,000 rupees, and under the obligation of an oath, not to molest the Mogul ships. Shortly afterwards (August the 29th,) they were surprised by the receipt of a Letter from Captain Weddel, notifying his arrival in Johanna Roads, and his intention to proceed directly to Goa, a Portuguese settlement: he also forwarded a letter from the King, addressed to the "President of the London East-India Company in the Indies," intimating that by his Royal authority, 'six ships, under charge of Captain Weddel and Mr. Mountney, had been sent on a voyage of discovery to the South Seas,' and that 'in this measure the King had a particular interest,' the President was therefore 'desired, that in case of distress, he should afford these ships every assistance.'

The particular object of Courten's Association seems to have been to take advantage of a treaty, which the Company had recently concluded with the Viceroy of Goa, and under which the English were to have free trade with all the Portuguese settlements in India, and also with their town of Macao, situated on an Island in the Gulf of Canton, where they carried on a trade with China, 'a country to which the English East-India Company do not appear to have sent any ships till nearly half a century after this time.'* The expectations of Captain Weddel,

 however,

which struck at the root of all the Phirmaunds, or Grants, which the London Company had procured, by heavy expences, from the Mogul government; and from its having been the source of those oppressions, and that injustice by the Native powers, which in the sequel often interrupted, and frequently endangered, the existence of the trade of England to the East-Indies. Nor was this the only consequence; for when those Interlopers were detected, and subsequently punished, Pirates, who could not be brought to justice, arose out of this example; the suppression of whom required, for more than half a century, the united efforts of the Crown and the London Company." *Ibid.*

* Macph. Euro. Com. p. 113. This is not entirely correct, for about

1644—5

however, with respect to the friendly assistance of the Portuguese, were completely disappointed, for that crafty people availing themselves of their prior intercourse with the Chinese, made the latter believe that the English were 'rogues, thieves, beggars, and what not.'

"The English adventurers, finding that there was no good to be done at Macao, sent a barge and a pinnace with fifty men, up the bay, towards Canton, the principal commercial city on the south coast of China. Near the entrance of the river, upon which that city is situated, they met a Chinese fleet, the commander of which desired them to anchor, and appointed one of his own vessels to carry Captain Carter, the commander of the party, and two other officers, up to Canton; yet before they reached that city, they were ordered to return to Macao, and thence to send up their petition for licence to trade. They thereupon returned to their ships, having made a chart of the river and bay; but on a consultation, held on board the Admiral's ship, it was resolved that the whole fleet should sail up to the river. On their arrival in it, they were accosted by some Chinese officers, or Mandarins, who promised to promote their solicitation for freedom of trade, and to obtain an answer for them in six days: but instead of fulfilling their promise, the Chinese employed their time in carrying cannon into a fort situated on the side of the river near the ships, from which they fired into an English barge. This insult was immediately revenged by the ships, from which were landed 100 men, who drove the Chinese garrison out of the fort, planted their own colours upon the wall, and carried the cannon on board their own ships. The English boats also seized some Chinese vessels, by one of which they sent a letter to the chief magistrates of Canton, expostulating upon their breach of faith, and again requesting liberty to trade, which was at last granted by Champin, styled by the English the Admiral-General, who threw the whole

1644—5, the Presidency of Surat dispatched a small vessel, called the Hind, on a voyage of experiment to Macao and Manilla.—*Vide* Bruce's Ann. Vol. 1. p. 408.

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whole blame of the ill-treatment they had met with upon the misrepresentations of the Portuguese. The Chinese vessels and cannon were forthwith restored; yet notwithstanding this appearance of reconciliation, the English were declared to be the 'enemies of the Empire;' and it was decreed that they should for ever be excluded from its Ports. Such was the inauspicious commencement of the intercourse of the English with China."*

2 S 3 Several

* Macph. Euro. Com. p. 114. The notice of the resolution to exclude the English from the Ports of China, is found in the account of the Dutch Embassy to the Emperor in the year 1656, published by Thevenot (*Voyages Curieuses*, Vol. II. p. 54) and the veracity of it is supported by the bad treatment our countrymen were long subject to in that Empire. Indeed, there can be little doubt, but that this unfortunate intrusion was the original cause, that 'of all foreigners frequenting the Port of Canton,' as Sir George Staunton has remarked, 'the English were certainly depicted in the most unfavourable colours to the Government of the Country, and probably treated with the greatest rigour upon the spot.'—*Ibid.*

In the original account of Captain Weddell's voyage, (from which the chief part of Macpherson's statement was abridged) it is affirmed that "the Portugals so beslandered them to the Chinese, that they became very jealous of the good meaning of the English, insomuch, that in the night time, they put forty-six of cast-iron ordnance into the fort, lying close to the brink of the river, each piece between six and seven hundred weight, and well proportioned; and after the end of four days, having as they thought sufficiently fortified themselves, they discharged divers shot, though without hurt, upon one of the barges passing by them to find out a convenient watering-place. Herewith the whole fleet being instantly incensed, did, on the sudden, display their bloody ensigns, and weighing their anchors, fell up with the flood, and berthed themselves before the castle, from whence came many shot, yet not any that touched so much as hull or rope; wherefore not being able to endure their bravadoes any longer, each ship began to play furiously upon them with their broadsides, and after two or three hours perceiving their cowardly fainting, the boats were landed with about 100 men, which sight occasioned them with great distractions instantly to abandon the castle and fly. The boats' crews in the mean time without let, entering the same, and displaying his Majesty of England's colours upon the walls, having the same night put aboard all their ordnance, fired the Council-house, and demolished what they could."

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Several of Courten's ships returned to England in the season 1637—38, and they brought home large investments which produced considerable profits to the Association. The Court of Directors were highly alarmed, and judged it requisite to petition the Crown for protection. In their petition, after stating the manifold hardships which their Company had sustained by the continued hostilities of the Dutch and Portuguese, they alledged that by 'the interference of Courten's shipping at home, their sales had been clogged, and that they had been compelled to sell their saltpetre to Government below the value; that from the payment of excessive customs from the rivalship of the Dutch, and that of the new Association, the Company's trade had been almost ruined; that although the present Joint Stock amounted only to 425,000l. the Company had, to support the trade, expended above 800,000l. and still farther sums would be requisite, which could not be raised without the King's protection, and the removal of those discouragements with which their trade had been burthened; and that they could not conceive any better means could be devised for carrying on the East-India commerce, than by a *Joint Stock*, under the management of a Governor, Deputy, and twenty-four Committees, or Directors, authoized and protected by the Crown.'*

This representation was followed by others equally strong, yet with such little effect on the minds of the King and Privy Council, that on the first of June, a new Charter was granted to Courten's Association, confirmatory of all their former privileges, and empowering them to trade for five years, 'to all places in India, where the old Company had not settled any factories or trade before the 12th of December, 1635, and with permission to export during the said term 40,000l. in gold and silver bullion, to India, and to re-export India goods free of customs.' †

The East-India Company had now to encounter a press of difficulties; and although they repeatedly solicited redress from the

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. I. p. 347. † Ibid. p. 348.

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the Privy Council, they could obtain no other settlement than the appointment of a Committee, who were instructed to form 'new regulations for the trade, &c. to consider how the differences with the Dutch might be accommodated, to his Majesty's honour and to the satisfaction of the Company; and to devise a plan for *uniting* Courten's Association with the Company without prejudice to his Adventurers.' A few months afterwards, (Anno 1639,) the King by an order of Council, dated at Oatlands, September the 2d, expressed 'his gracious intention to renew the said Company's Charter and to grant them such fit enlargement of their privilege, as may be for their encouragement, and the better government of their trade.' Shortly after an investigation of the Company's grievances was actually made by a Committee of the Privy Council; and the result was, that the King on the 10th of December, made a general decision in favour of the Company, declaring, among other points, 'that he would revoke all Patents, formerly granted, for plantations beyond the Cape of *Bona Speranza*, and grant no more of the same kind; allowing only to Mr. Courten and his adventurers, reasonable time to withdraw their settlements and to bring home their goods and shipping;' and that 'when the East-India Adventurers had completed a new subscription on an extensive joint-stock, he would renew the Company's Charter, and grant such additional privileges as might be found necessary and expedient for carrying on so great and important a trade.'

The new hopes which these promises gave birth to, were soon destroyed though the increasing distractions of the times, and the inconsiderate conduct of the Sovereign, who, being disappointed in obtaining aid from Parliament, to carry on his unfortunate war against the Scots, had recourse to the dangerous expedient of requiring the East-India Company to sell to the crown, *on credit*, the entire quantity of Pepper which remained in store in their warehouses. The business was referred to a general Court, (assembled in August or September, 1640,) at which the Lord Treasurer, and Lord Cottington, attended on the part of the King,

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and after some debate, the Court submitted to the demand, there being, indeed, no alternative. The quantity of Pepper thus obtained, was 2,310 bags, or 607,522lbs. which at 2s. 1d. per. lb. the sale price, amounted to 63,283l. 11s. 1d. For this sum, four Bonds of 14,000l. each. and one Bond of 7,283l. were given to the Company, under the signatures of Lord Cottington, Sir Paul Pindar, and nine other gentlemen, (Farmers of the Customs,) it being agreed that one Bond should be regularly discharged every six months.* Immediately afterwards the King disposed of his Pepper to different Merchants for *ready money*, at 1s. 8d. per lb. or 50,626l. 17s. 1d. About this period, the affairs of the Company were considered as so unpromising that their stock was sold at 60l. per cent; and to add to the distress, the King took the monopoly of salt-petre into his own hands.

When the concerns of the Third Joint Stock were brought to a partial close in 1640, it appeared that the profits amounted to no more than 35l. per cent, for eleven years employment of capital. On the 6th of October, 1641, the Adventurers held a meeting, at which it was resolved, "that a necessity exists of something being done to support and uphold the East-India trade, as if this year is passed over, the trade may pass off so as never to be again revived." A subscription was therefore opened for a single, or particular, voyage, and 67,500l. was subscribed: this adventure was to pay the Third Joint-Stock one per cent. for management at home, and six per cent. on the invoice cost of their goods, for service of factories, warehouses, and small shipping in India. The subscription for the *Fourth Joint-Stock*, or *First General Voyage*, as it was called, which had been long in agitation was in 1643, brought to 105,000l. the subscribers consisting of such of the proprietors of the Third Stock as chose to bring in the remainder

* Notwithstanding this agreement, none of the Bonds were ever duly paid, and the breaking out of the Civil Wars wholly impeded their discharge. After the Restoration the Company accepted a composition of 25 per cent. for the balance: by the whole transaction they sustained a loss of more than 30,000l.

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mainder of their property in that stock, which had been previously valued at 25l. per cent. together with what they chose to subscribe anew. Inadequate as this sum was to the fitting out of new equipments on an extended scale, it experienced a great diminution through the conduct of Captain Mucknel, one of the Company's officers, who carried his ship, the John, into Bristol, and delivered her up for the King's use, with a cargo of 20,000l. value. About the same time, also, the Company lost upwards of 30,000l. by ship-wreck of the Discovery.

Whilst these transactions were occurring in England, the affairs of the Company in India were carried on under great perplexity, and many losses were experienced, as well from the hostilities of the Dutch, as from the rapacity of the native Governors. Amidst this series of disasters, however, the assiduity and perseverance of the Company's agents proved the means of laying the foundation of much of the territorial aggrandizement, and present greatness of the British Empire in India. The station which had been formed at Masulipatam, on the Coromandel coast, had been found to be so highly exposed to the exactions and insults of the King of Goloondah's officers, that the factors deemed it requisite to establish a new station at Armagon, about two degrees farther to the south, where, having obtained the cession of a piece of ground from the *Naig*, or Chief of the district, they erected a factory, and strongly fortified it. The trade at the new station was not so productive as had been expected; and in 1640, the Council at Masulipatam dispatched Mr. Day, one of their members, to examine the country in the vicinity of the Portuguese station at St. Thomé, or Meliapour, with the view of fixing on some favourable spot for a new settlement, which should at once supply goods for the market at Bantam, and shelter the factors resident on it from native insolence and Dutch malignity. The enlightened judgment of Mr. Day, led him to make choice of *Madras-patam*, where the goods to be obtained were abundant and of superior quality; and the *Naig* of the district willingly ceded to him the town and port, with full liberty to erect fortifications. This new

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station was considered as of so much consequence, that without waiting for orders from the Court of Directors, the English immediately commenced the building of a fort, which was named *Fort St. George*; and about three years afterwards, they succeeded in obtaining a grant, conferring on them the privilege of exercising judicial authority over the inhabitants; also an exemption from customs, and a moiety of the customs which should be paid by other traders. The town (which had been suffered to retain its ancient appellation) although in some respects incommodiously situated, rapidly improved in commerce and opulence; and after its advance to the rank of a Presidency in 1683, it long continued to be the chief seat of the Company's Supreme Government in India.*

The reputation acquired by the Company's Surgeons in India, for their skill in curing the disorders of the Mogul Officers, occasioned them to be known at Court, and in 1644, Assalet Khan, a nobleman of high rank, applied to the Presidency of Surat to recommend a Surgeon to become resident at Agra. Mr. Gabriel Boughton, of the Company's ship Hopewell, was accordingly chosen for that duty, and he was afterwards appointed Surgeon to the Emperor. His professional skill procured him much credit at the Mogul Court; and the Company's agents acquired an enlargement of their privileges in Bengal, chiefly through his influence. This incident may be considered as the grand source of the valuable privileges which the English subsequently obtained in Bengal, and which laid the foundation of their present power over that part of India.

Courten's

*. It is deserving of remark that the erection of a Fort at Madras did not, at first, meet with the approbation of the Directors, and the agents thought it necessary to represent that 'if either the Coast or Carnatic trade was to be persevered in the erection, of this fort was absolutely necessary, it having been, by experience found, that the strengthening the houses at Surat and Bantam, by fortifying them, had been the means of acquiring or recovering the trade; and that the example of the Dutch was a case in point, who by fortifying Pullicat, had acquired a large store of the Coromandel trade.'

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Courten's Association, says Mr. Bruce, under the season 1646-47, "had hitherto, borne down the Company's factories and shipping, but the low state of the credit of these Adventurers, and the wild projects to which they resorted, now began to press hard on the trade of the Dutch and Portuguese. In the year 1645-46, they formed the plan of establishing a colony at St. Augustine's Bay, on the Island of St. Laurence, or Madagascar. From this station they hoped to embarass the trade, equally of the Dutch and of the Company. This project was beyond their means, and the colony was, in a short time, reduced to great distress; one of their ships which had gone to Mocha, would have been seized, had it not been relieved by the Company's agent, who advanced a small sum to enable her to leave that port: one of their agents, also, who had fixed a factory at Carwar, offered to sell it to the Presidency of Surat, which was refused. In these circumstances they had recourse to the desperate measure of coining counterfeit pagodas and rials at Madagascar; a plan which had it only exposed themselves, might have had a good effect on the Company's trade, but the natives of India not being able to distinguish between them and the Company, considered this proceeding as a stain to the English character, as merchants. To this project of establishing a colony on Madagascar, which brought misery on the settlers, and at the same time lowered the English character in India, may be ascribed the failure of Courten's trade, which began to be odious in the Indies, as it had been commercially dishonourable in England."

During the continuance of the Civil Wars the Company preserved a judicious silence as to the nature, extent, and profits, of the trade they then carried on; so great was their caution, indeed, that even their manuscript records are defective in respect to many important transactions. Harassed by the vexatious rivalship of Interlopers, who, though often ruined by their own imprudence, were yet followed by a numerous brood of like traders; molested by the Dutch, who incessantly endeavoured to establish their own factories on the ruin of those of the English; and

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and jealous of placing implicit confidence in their own servants, the Directors had to struggle through a long era of difficulty, with embarrassed funds and insufficient resources.

"From the period when the Monarchy was subverted, the East-India Company were compelled (not knowing in whom the sovereignty might ultimately be vested) to keep out of view, as much as was practicable, the subject of their Charter and exclusive privileges; to wave any questions respecting the intrusions of Courten, and the other Interlopers, which had arisen in England during the weakened period of the late reign; and to preserve, by temporary additions to their stock, the public opinion of the importance of the East-India trade: though their servants abroad were in the mean time exposed to depredations and imprisonment, occasioned by the irregularities of those Interlopers, and by the predominant fleets of the Dutch. At length, in 1649-50, when Courter's Association assumed a new character by establishing a Colony at Assada, [near Madagascar] the East-India Company applied to the Council of State for an Act of Parliament to encourage their own trade; but they were ultimately compelled to coalesce with the Assada Merchants, and to form, for the security of their privileges and traffic, what was termed an *United Jointer Stock*.* After this Union, they presented a series of petitions to the Council of State, and to Parliament, for redress of the grievances they had experienced from the Dutch; and as the war with Holland approached, they entered into the views of the Protector, by opening a Subscription to fit out an armament to be sent to the East-Indies, in order to obtain by force, that reparation for the

* On the 31st of January, 1649-50, the House of Commons resolved, that "the trade to the East Indies should be carried on by *one Company*, and with one Joint-Stock, and the management thereof to be under such regulations as the Parliament should think fit; and that the East-India Company should proceed upon the articles of Agreement made between them and the Assada Merchants, on the 21st of November, 1649, till farther orders from the Parliament."

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the Massacre at Amboyna; [and other injuries] which had in vain been sought by negociation."*

In 1651, the King of Golcondah, made the singular proposal to the Agent and Council at Madras, (which then composed a part of his dominions) "of forming a Joint Stock with the Company, on which a coasting trade might be carried on, between the ports of his dominions, and those of the other Indian powers."‡

The war with the Dutch commenced in August 1652, and Cromwell in the Manifesto issued on that occasion, alledged the refusal to grant redress for depredations committed on the East-India Company, as one of the grounds of hostilities. The Dutch were quickly constrained to sue for Peace, and in the treaty which was concluded on the 5th of April, 1654, articles were introduced expressly to redress the grievances of the English in the East-Indies, and to ascertain the respective rights of the rival Companies. It was now, for the first time, particularly stipulated, "that the Lords, the States General of the United Provinces, shall take care, that justice be done upon those who were

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. I. p. 568.

‡ Bruce's Ann. vol. I. p. 455. When Fort St. George was first established the Portuguese at St. Thomé had afforded assistance to the English Agents, and the two settlements had continued on the best terms, though the Portuguese had not always, by their improvident zeal to make converts, remained in amity with the natives; and in this season, an incident occurred, which had nearly endangered the permanency of their establishment at St. Thomé: one of their Padres had refused to allow a procession of the Hindoo religious ceremonies to pass his church; in this dispute the English, most wisely, avoided interfering, and, after relating the transaction, gave the following opinion to the Court, of the impracticability of overcoming the religious prejudices of the natives:—"by this, you may judge of the lion by his paw, "and plainely discerne, what small hopes, and how much danger we have "of converting these people, yt are not lyke ye naked and brut Americans, "but a most subtle and pollitique nation, who are so zealous in their religi-"ons, or rather superstitions, yt even amongst their owne differing casts, is "grounded an irreconcilable hatred, wch often produceth very *bloodie* "effects." Ibid.

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were partakers or accomplices in the *massacre* of the English at Amboyna, as the Republic of England is pleased to term that fact, provided any of them be living." It was agreed also, that four Commissioners should be named on each side, to meet in London, with full powers to adjust all claims of either party for injuries and damages suffered in the East-Indies, Greenland, Muscovy, Brazil, and elsewhere; and that any difference that might arise should be referred to the "arbitration and judgment of the Protestant Swiss Cantons."

On the 30th of August, following, the Commissioners assembled in pursuance of the treaty, to decide on the respective claims of the English and Dutch East-India Companies, for compensation for the damages which each asserted they had sustained. The English Company stated the amount of their damages, as established by a series of accounts, from the year 1611 to the year 1652, at 2,695,999l. 15s. to counterbalance this statement the Dutch brought forward accounts, in which they estimated their damages at an amount still greater, or 2,919,861l. 3s. 6d. After long deliberation the Commissioners pronounced their award; which was, in substance, 'that there should be an oblivion, by both parties, of past injuries and losses; that the Island of Polaroon should be restored to the English; that the Dutch Company should pay to the London Company, by two instalments, the sum of 85,000l. and farther, that the sum of 3,615l. should be paid to the heirs, or executors of the sufferers at Amboyna in 1522-23.'—The above sums were duly paid by the Dutch East-India Company, conformably to the award, but their agents, previously to the surrendering Polaroon, grubbed up every one of the spice trees that was on the Island; and being still apprehensive that the English might effect a new plantation of those valuable plants, they again seized it in the year 1664.

The decision of the Commissioners on the adverse claims of the Dutch and English Companies had hardly been pronounced, before a new and formidable opposition sprung up against the exclusive privileges of the London Company; and from its taking the broad

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ground of 'extending the trade of the realm,' and 'increasing the affluence and riches of the country,' was seen powerfully to attract the attention of the Protector and the Council of State.

"This opposition;" says Mr. Bruce, "did not arise either from disconnected Private Traders, or lesser Associations of them, but from that class of Adventurers of the United Joint Stock which had been parties in the union between the East India Company, and the Assada Merchants, and who by petitions to the Council of State, dated 21st September, and 14th November, 1654, prayed 'that the East-India trade might in future be carried on by a Company, but with liberty for the members of such Company, individually, to employ their own stock, servants, and shipping, in such way as they might conceive most to their own advantage.'

"The East-India Company were necessarily alarmed at an application which they foresaw must bring their Charter and privileges into discussion, and therefore presented a petition to the Protector, stating, 'that as the time of their present Joint Stock was nearly expired, it had been found necessary to call a general meeting of the Proprietors, who gave it as their unanimous opinion, founded on the experience of forty years, and on the reasons which had been offered to the late Parliament, *viz.* the competitions with the Portuguese and Dutch; the experience of the failure of distinct voyages, which had proved the necessity of a Joint Stock; the expences of the equipment, which Courten's experiment had shewn could only be supported by a Joint Stock; the Company's factories being situated in the dominions of not less than fourteen different sovereigns; and, above all, the engagements which the Company were under to the Native Powers to make good any losses which their subjects might sustain from the depredations of Englishmen not under the control of the Company; that the only method of carrying on the trade for the benefit and honour of the Country, would be by a *Joint Stock*, and therefore they prayed the Protector that as they had been discouraged from entering into a subscription sufficiently large to accomplish

accomplish so desirable an object for want of his Highnesses support, he would be pleased to renew their Charter with such additional privileges as had been found necessary to enable them to carry on the trade; that private persons should be prohibited from sending out shipping to India; and that they might be assisted in recovering and re-settling the Spice Islands, when they did not doubt they should be able not only to procure a large subscription at present, but establish the East-India Trade on a permanent and secure basis for the future."*

The Merchant-Adventurers replied to this petition at length; and the Council of State referred the business to a Select Committee, which reported, that they had attentively considered the petition and allegations of both parties, and found that the trade to the East-Indies was of much consequence to the Country; that every thing depended on the proper management thereof; and that the reasons alleged by each party were so strong that they

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. I. p. 493. "The apprehensions of the Company, that the issue of their applications to the Protector and the Council of State would be ineffectual, may be judged of from the terms of their instructions to their foreign Presidencies and Factories, to reduce the charges to the lowest scale, and rather to wind up than extend their concerns;—in particular, they ordered the President and Council of Fort St. George to reduce their civil establishment to two factors, and the garrison, to a guard of ten soldiers only; and the factory at Masulipatam to have one factory only; and so strong was the impression of the Company of the urgency of such reductions, that they dispatched a vessel on purpose, on which were embarked two Commissioners, with authority to carry these orders into immediate execution.

"The expectations of the Merchant-Adventurers, on the contrary, were so general that the Protector and Council of State would enter into their views, that they presented a petition, stating, that the time for the United Stock being expired, the East-India Trade would be lost to the nation; to prevent which they had fitted out several ships, with cargoes of the manufactures and produce of the country, but had experienced much difficulty in procuring foreign bullion; and therefore prayed, that they might be allowed to export what they had already collected, free of customs, and that the same liberties and privileges might be allowed to them, as had, in times past, been granted to others." Ibid. p. 495.

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they deserved the most serious consideration, and the Committee did not think fit to offer a decided opinion on a subject of so much importance; they therefore remitted the whole matter to the consideration and judgment of the Council of State.

The decision of the Council was procrastinated for a considerable time, not only through the magnitude of the question itself, but likewise by the presenting of different petitions from the Proprietors of the several Stocks of the East India Company, (viz. the *Third Joint Stock*, the *Fourth Joint Stock*, and the *United Stock*), stating their distinct rights, as well in regard to the Island of Polaroon, which the Dutch had agreed to restore, as to the 85,000l. which they were to pay as a compensation for injuries. In May, 1655, the Council of State ordered that the matters in dispute between the different classes of the Stock-holders, should be submitted to arbitration; in the mean time, they directed that the 85,000l. (which the Dutch had now paid) should be deposited in the hands of Sir Thomas Vyner and Alderman Riccard. Soon afterwards, Cromwell, having occasion for money for state exigencies, prevailed on the Company to lend him 50,000l. of the above sum, on giving an agreement, under the Great Seal, that it should be repaid in eighteen months, by equal instalments. To the honour of the Protector, it must be stated, that the money was punctually returned.*

Although the respective claims of the East-India Company and of the Merchant-Adventurers remained un-adjusted, both parties proceeded with their equipments; and the Adventurers, having obtained a Commission authorizing them to fit out ships, and open a trade within the limits of the Company's Charter, raised a subscription to the amount of 46,400l. and dispatched a small fleet of three ships to India, under the direction of Mr. Henry Borneford, as chief supercargo. Besides these vessels, it appears also, that "many ships," had been sent out by individuals,

* The Warrant for re-payment, says Macpherson, is 'noted by Russel,' in his 'Collection of Statutes, concerning the East-India Company.'

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"under licenses." This direct interference was the means of raising the price of Indian produce, from 40l. to 50l. per cent. and of lowering the value of English merchandize in an equal proportion *. These effects of indiscreet rivalship, induced the East-India Company again to petition (in October, 1656,) the Protector to renew their Charter, and that it might be confirmed by Act of Parliament. This petition, by a reference, under the sign-manuel

* From the documents in the Indian Register Office, says Mr. Grant, we learn 'that a warm competition subsisted among the traders concerned, and that both the exports to India, and the imports from it, became unusually large. It stands to reason that these effects must have mutually promoted and re-acted on each other; and one consequence of their joint operation was the depreciation of our exports in the Indian market, where the lead, broad cloth, and other articles, silver included, fell with astonishing rapidity. In 1656, they sank, in several instances, as low as prime cost; in some, yet lower; and in the following year the depression still increased. The same struggle which so lowered these commodities, advanced those of India on the European buyer. The coarse saltpetre, of the year 1656-7, was dearer than the refined the preceding year by 60l. per cent. and other goods rose in proportions, not much smaller. The sequel may be guessed: when the cargo arrived in Europe, where a third contest was to beat down the value of goods brought to market at so great a charge. Towards the end of 1658, when the career of the private trade finally closed; calicoes (which, in general, were exceedingly debased, both in goodness and dimension) were so much reduced in England that they would not yield prime cost, and at that time it was computed that the stock of calicoes and indigo on hand was sufficient for two or three years. It is observable that, owing to a re-exportation of a part of the superfluous imports to the Continent, possibly, in some measure to a direct exportation thither from India, the depreciation of India goods, extended itself to the Continental markets, and among others to those of Holland—*Sketch*, &c. p. 50, 51.

In the Instructions which the *Merchant Adventurers* sent out to their Commanders in India, anno 1657, after a notice of the low state of the market, for India produce, in England, it was stated, 'that the number of disconnected, or private merchants, had much increased; and that they had brought home great quantities of India commodities, of inferior quality, particularly cottons, drugs, and spices, which had overstocked the market.' *Bruce's Ann.* Vol. I. p. 521.

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manuel of Cromwell, was, on the 20th of the same month, submitted to the consideration of the Council of State.

'The Council of State, by an Order dated the 3d of November, referred the petition of the Company to a select Committee of their number, consisting of Colonel Jones, Lord Lisle, Lord Commissioner Fyennes, the Earl of Mulgrave, Sir Charles Wolseley, Lord Strickland, Colonel Sydenham, and the Lord Deputy of Ireland, who were directed to 'take the subject into their consideration, to peruse the Charters of the East-India Company, and to report their opinion to the Council, in what manner the East-India trade might be best managed for the public good, and its own encouragement.' *

On the 18th of December, the Committee reported that they had 'carefully considered the petition of the East-India Com-

 pany;

* That the attention of the Committee might not be distracted by minor objects, the Court of Committees of the East-India Company held frequent meetings for the purpose of adjusting the claims of their contending Stockholders; and the better to facilitate a complete settlement, the following account was circulated among the Proprietors.

Account General of the United Joint Stock, September 1, 1655.

Debit.

	L.	s.	d.
Salaries of the Merchants remaining in India from the 30th November, 1650, to the 30th Nov. 1656, at 2,066l. 2s. 8d. per annum, to be paid in India	9,641	19	4
Mariners wages for the like terms, per estimate	4,000	0	0
Two years general expences in Suratt, from November 30, 1654, to November, 1656	7,600	0	0
——— Coast of Coromandell	5,000	0	0
——— Bantam, &c.	2,800	0	0
Salary of the Merchants gone upon the Three Brothers	230	0	0
Gratuitys to the Committees, none having been paid since this Stock began			
Rests	156,317	7	8
	185,589	7	0

Credit.

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pany; and that they might have the fullest information on this important subject, had directed notices to be affixed on the Exchange, appointing a day for all persons concerned in the East-India trade to attend them: in consequence of which several Merchants attended, and a full hearing was given to the arguments of both parties; on the one side for carrying on the trade under an *United* Joint Stock, and on the other, for a free trade under a Company, on *distinct* Capitals. The Committee, after examining the respective arguments, and perusing the written propositions of both parties, reported to the Council of State, that, though it was their private opinion that the trade ought to be conducted on an *United Joint Stock*, yet they considered the business of so much importance, that they would not come to any positive determination on the subject, but referred the whole case, with the papers, to the Council of State, for their final decision." This report was

Credit.

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
Balance of estate in England, made up to the 1st Sept. 1655,	32,053	12	2
Remains at Suratt, and subordinate factories	32,829	5	0
——— at Madraspatnam and factories on that coast	22,671	11	3
——— at Bantam and subordinates	26,451	10	7
Voyage to Poolaroone	1,051	8	0
Fort St. George value, with all privileges of saving of customs	6,000	0	0
Customs of Gombroon	9,000	0	0
Three Houses in Agra, Ahmedavad, and Lucknow, with the Garden at Suratt	1,932	0	0
Five Houses at Bantam, Japarra, Macassar, Jambee, and Banjar-Masseen	3,600	0	0
Ship Expedition, 500l.; ship Seahorse, 250l.; Sloop Maryne 200l.; Pynnace Hope, 50l.	1,000	0	0
	185,589	7	0*

* The above sums are accurately copied from Bruce's Annals, Vol. I. p. 507, but it will be seen that in the last total, there is an error of 1,000l. *minus* the true sum.

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was signed by Colonel Sydenham, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Colonel Jones.

On the 27th of January 1656-7, the Council of State appointed the 'Governor and Committees' of the East-India Company, and the principal 'Merchant-Adventurers to the East-Indies,' to attend them on the following day; when, after a full hearing of the claims of both parties, the Council gave it as their advice to the Protector, that "the trade of East-Indya be mannaged by a United Joynt Stock, exclusive of all others." On the 10th of February, the Protector signified his approbation of such advice, and a Committee of the Council of State was appointed to consider of the Charter to be granted to the East-India Company.*

* Vide, Books of the Council of State, in the State Paper Office, under the dates 27th of January, and the 5th, 6th, and 10th of February, 1656-57; and East-India Papers, in the same office, No. 210. *Bruce's Ann.* Vol. I. p. 514—517. Macpherson states, (Eur. Com. p. 124,) that "the Company in a General Court, held in October 1656, had actually proposed to offer their privilege and fixed property to sale, if they should not succeed in their application for an effectual confirmation of their charter;"—and that "having been put off from day to day for a definitive answer, and apprehensive, after all, that nothing would be done, they determined on the 14th of January 1656-57, to put up Bills in the Royal Exchange, offering their privilege and dead stock in India to sale." It would seem that there is no sufficient evidence to warrant the above assertions; and that the whole rests on the unstable basis of vague tradition, and unauthenticated report. The total silence on the subject, of Mr. Bruce, the Historiographer to the Company, whose 'Annals' are almost entirely compiled from original Papers and Manuscripts yet remaining, affords a most strong presumptive proof to the contrary.

It has been said, also, that the objections to the exclusive right of the Company to trade to the East-Indies were "pressed upon the Protector with so much force and effect, that by way of experiment, he declared the navigation and commerce to India, open and free for three years." Not the least vestige of such a declaration is to be met with in the pages of Bruce; and indeed the whole course of the proceedings, during the Protectorate, in respect to the Company, demonstrates that the Company's privileges were never so abrogated, and that such an unlimited licence to Interlopers was never given.

nor

The immediate effect of this decision was to relieve the Company from that domestic competition which had, during many years, proved as disadvantageous to their own members, as generally speaking, it had been ruinous to the private merchants who had engaged in it. In the October following *, a new Charter was

nor ever intended. That the period in which *individual* merchants, were permitted to trade to India in opposition to the Charters of the Company was about three years, (viz. from 1654 to 1658,) in duration, is true; yet they could not trade thither without *licence* from the existing Government; and as to any abrogating statute of the Company's rights, it may be safely affirmed that such is nowhere to be found.

* Macph. Eur. Com. p. 124. About the time when the Protector's Council had come to the resolution of restoring and confirming to the Company, the enjoyment of their exclusive privileges, Thomas Skinner, a Merchant of London, fitted out a ship, in which he arrived in India in 1658, and purchased a small Island, called Barella, from the King of Jambee, in Sumatra, where he established himself. The Company's agents, in virtue of their Charter, seized his ship, his island, and his goods; and he was obliged to find his way, mostly overland, to England. On his arrival, he presented petitions for redress to the King, and to the House of Peers. The Peers listened to his complaint, and desired the Company to put in their answer. The Company demurred to the legality of their Lordships' proceeding, as the cause had not come before them by appeal from an inferior court; and urged their privilege as a sufficient warrant for what had been done by their agents in India. The Lords, however, in the year 1666, ordered that the cause should be tried before them; but the trial was put off till the year following, and then the Company complained to the House of Commons of what they conceived to be illegal proceedings in the House of Lords. Their Lordships, highly offended at the attempt to evade their jurisdiction, immediately passed a decree in favour of Skinner, and ordered the Company to pay him damages to the amount of 5000l. The Commons, not less tenacious of their privileges, which, they said, the Lords had infringed in assuming the cognisance of a question of property in the first instance, passed a vote, declaring such conduct unprecedented and dangerous, and at the same time, ordered Skinner into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, The contest was now not so much between the Company and Skinner as between the two Houses of Parliament. The Lords resented the interference of the Commons; and the Commons

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was granted to them by the Protector, confirmatory of their original privileges;* and on this basis, the principal Merchant-Adventurers, (who were now convinced that they could not succeed in establishing an independent association) were content to form a coalition with the old Company, and the sum of 786,000l. was immediately subscribed as a new Joint-Stock, for seven years; yet of this total only 369,891l. 5s. was actually taken up. It was soon afterwards agreed, on equitable principles, that all the rights of the United Joint-Stock should be made over to the proprietors of the new stock; and under this agreement, the settlement at Fort St. George, and the several factories on the Coromandel coast, and in the Bay of Bengal, with the factories at Surat, Gombroon, and Bantam, and their respective dependencies, were regularly transferred. The Company recommenced their operations with vigour; yet their endeavours were much thwarted by a destructive civil war, which, on the illness of the Emperor Shah Jehan, had broken out among his four sons, all of whom claimed succession to the Mogul Empire. Surat itself was pillaged by one of the competitors, though the English factors had prudently avoided taking any part in the contention; for as it was impossible to foresee who might ultimately, be the Mogul, it was considered as equally dangerous "to solicit, or to accept of, protection." The further aggressions of the Dutch, also, proved very injurious; and the Company were again in-

 duced

Commons resolved, that whoever should presume to carry their Lordships' decree against the Company, into execution, should be deemed a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the Commons of England, and guilty of a breach of privilege. The contest was kept up with unremitting animosity till the year 1670, when the King persuaded both Houses to erase the whole of the proceedings, upon the affair, from their Journals. It is believed that Skinner never obtained any redress. *Ibid*, p. 127, 128.

* The circumstance of Cromwell's granting a Charter to the East-India Company, is unquestionable; yet it may be stated as a singular fact, on the authority of Mr. Bruce, that "no copy of it can be discovered either among the records of the State, or of the Company." *Ann.* Vol. I. p. 529.

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duced to petition both Cromwell and the Council of State for redress. Whilst those petitions were under consideration, the decease of the Protector, and the unsettled state of public affairs, threw the Company into fresh embarrassments, and for two years rendered it dangerous to give decisive instructions to their Presidencies, and Factories. Their servants in India, therefore, were obliged to act under so much uncertainty, that instead of dispatching the homeward fleets, direct to England, they judged it necessary to order them to proceed to successive ports, and await intelligence at each station, whether they could return to their own country with the requisite security to the property entrusted to them. * In the three years 1658, 1659, and 1660, the total amount of the Company's exports was 251,583l and consisted of bullion, 227,820l. and goods to the amount of 23,763l. †

On the Restoration of Charles the Second, the Company presented a congratulatory address to the King, accompanying it with a service of Plate, valued at 3,000l. another service of 1,000l. value, was given to the Duke of York.

In 1661 (April the 3d.) the King granted to the Company, a new Charter, the preamble to which states that they "had been for a long time, a Corporation, (to the honour and profit of the nation) that they had enjoyed certain liberties and privileges granted by Queen Elizabeth and King James, and 'that divers disorders had been committed to the prejudice of the Company, and interruption of their trade, as well by the King's own subjects, as by Foreigners;' for redress of which, the Governor and Company were by this charter, again declared, and confirmed to be, a Body corporate and politic, in deed and in name, with perpetual succession, power to purchase and to alienate lands, &c. that they should, "for ever hereafter, have, use, and enjoy, the whole, entire, and only trade and traffic, to and from the East-Indies;" that they might re-export foreign silver to the amount of

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. I. p. 571. † Milb. Ori. Com. Vol. I. p. xxxi.

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of 50,000l. yearly; that no English subject should trade to the East-Indies without the Company's licence, under the penalty of the seizure of their shipping, and imprisonment during the King's pleasure; that the Adventurers should have votes in proportion to their stock, 500l. stock to constitute one vote; that all plantations, forts, fortifications, factories, or colonies, acquired by the Company in the East-Indies should be under their own command, with full power to appoint all Governors and other officers; that they might send "ships of war, men, or ammunition;" for defence of their factories and other places of trade in the East-Indies, and have authority "to make Peace or War, with any Prince or People, that are not Christians;" that they might erect fortifications "at St. Helena*, or elsewhere, within the limits

* The Island of St. Helena, (which is reputed to have been raised in remote ages, from the depths of the ocean by a volcano) was originally taken possession of by the Dutch, who formed a settlement there; but having subsequently abandoned it, and conveyed their colonists to the Cape of Good Hope, the English East-India Company assumed the sovereignty of the Island in the year 1651. Jealous of this occupation by the English, of a station which might facilitate the navigation to and from the Indies, the Dutch in 1665, retook St. Helena, but were expelled from it in the same year. From that period, having a salubrious air, with abundance of good water, tropical fruits, and vegetables, it became a useful resting-place for the homeward-bound India ships; and the Company's settlements were ordered to send thither, 'live stock, seeds for cultivation, and slaves.' The Company also, extended and improved the fortifications, and have from that period continued in possession of the island, excepting for some months in the years 1672 and 1673, when it was captured by the Dutch, but was retaken in May, 1673, by a division of the King's fleet, under Captain (afterwards Sir Richard) Mundane. In consequence of this event, the right to St. Helena was considered as vested in the Crown; and the Company thought it expedient to petition that it should be re-granted to them, on the ground of its being so "commodious, for the refreshing of their servants and people in their returns homeward." His Majesty, therefore, by a charter, dated December the 16th, 1673, gave the Island, with all stores, royalties, &c. (and in the fullest manner,) to the Company, for *evermore*, "to be held as of the manor of East-Greenwich,

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limits and bounds of trade which had been granted to them;" and export, duty-free, whatever provision, ammunition, &c. might be requisite for the same, as well as carry out any number of men, "being willing thereunto," as they should think fit; that they should seize unlicensed persons, and send them to England, and for the better discovery of abuses, have power to examine witnesses upon oath. They were restricted, however, from trading with the subjects of any Christian Prince or People, in amity with England, without their express consent, and their exclusive privileges were, as before, declared to be abrogated after three years' notice, if it should appear that the trade was not "profitable to the realm." *

The new Joint Stock having been limited, as already mentioned, to seven years, that term expired in 1664, when, by a statement of accounts it appeared that the Company possessed in *India*, 'quick and dead stock,' to the value of 435,713l. and in *England*, 'cash and bullion, 37,663l. drugs 3,885l. pepper, &c. 822l. piece goods, 11, 375l. saltpetre, &c. 12,393l. cash advanced on account of exports, 9227l. household furniture 112l. and lease of house in Leadenhall Street, 1,000l.—all which, with the sum of 127,935l. owing to them for goods sold, and other debts amounting to 21,316l. formed a total of 661,441l. The debts of the Company were 165,807l. leaving a balance in their favour of 495,634l. or about

Greenwich, in free and common soccage; and reserving only the allegiance of the inhabitants. They were also empowered to make laws for the Government of the Island, and to punish offenders, by fines, amerciaments, and imprisonment; and when "the quality of the offence should require, by taking away life or member." The Governors of St. Helena appointed by the Company, were also authorized to hold sessions, repel invaders and unlicensed persons, and exercise martial law. A competent civil and military establishment has been ever since kept up at St. Helena; the breeding of cattle, &c. has been encouraged, and every means exerted to make the increase of refreshments adequate to to the wants of the augmented shipping of the Company, all their commanders having regular orders to touch there on their homeward voyage.

* Prin. Charters, p. 54—79.

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about 30l. per cent. above their original capital. In 1666, a considerable loss was sustained, through the destruction of the Company's saltpetre warehouses, and of the pepper in the vaults under the Royal Exchange, during the Fire of London: their other warehouses escaped the conflagration.

About this period, and for many years afterwards, the Company's affairs in India were carried on under great difficulties; partly, through the continued aggressions of the Dutch, and partly, in consequence of the long protracted war between the Emperor Aurungzebe (third son to Shah Jehan, who had now obtained uncontrolled possession of his father's dominions) and Sevagee, the enterprizing founder of the Mahratta Kingdom.

At the time of the Restoration of Charles the Second, the Dutch were engaged in war with the Portuguese; and whilst Charles was afterwards mediating in Europe, between the belligerents, the Dutch, in the East, attempted to expel the Portuguese from Malabar; and availing themselves of their naval power, they proceeded to search and to pillage English vessels bound for Bantam with Malabar cloths, under pretext that such vessels secreted Portuguese property. They likewise compelled the British to give up the Island of Damm, near Banda, which the Company's agents had recently acquired by treaty with the native chiefs, who agreed to hold the Island of the King of England, and to deliver to his Majesty, 'a nutmeg tree with the earth adhering to it, as a pledge of their homage.'* In the war which broke out between England and Holland in 1665, the Island of Polaroon, which had been surrendered under Cromwell's treaty, was again seized by the Dutch; and no mention being made of it in the pacification of 1667, the British claim to the Island was understood as withdrawn.†

Though thus harassed, the English Company strenuously directed their exertions to new sources of trade; and by their orders, the factors at Bantam made laborious and unremitting efforts to plant establishments on the shores and islands of the China

* Grant's Sketch, p. 74. † Bruce's Ann. Vol. II. p. 162.

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China and Japan seas. Experiments to this effect took place in Siam, in Cambodia, in Tonquin, at Tywan in Formosa, at Nagassica, in Japan, and at Macao, in China; but with little prospect of success, as they could only settle small factories at Tywan, and in Tonquin. In the kingdoms of Siam and Cambodia, the Dutch asserted an exclusive right of trade; and in Japan, where they were barely tolerated, they effectually prejudiced the minds of the government by describing the English as a nation in close connection with the Portuguese, whom the Japanese held in dislike. The recent marriage of Charles the Second with the Infanta of Portugal, gave weight to this representation; but still more, in the opinion of the natives, was derived from the St. George's Cross on the the Britannic flag, which was considered by them as the symbol of the Portuguese faith. At Macao, the Portuguese themselves were strongly established; and the Company's agents could not obtain permission to form a settlement there.

The British residents at Surat were in a state of the greatest insecurity during the whole of the protracted contest between Aurungzebe and Sevagee; and they were by turns, obliged to temporize with both parties. In January, 1663-4, Sevagee surprised the town, and plundered it to the amount of a million sterling: but the English factory was preserved by the good conduct of its President, Sir George Oxenden, who ordering up the ship's crews to aid in its defence, bravely repelled the attack of Sevagee, and gained time for the arrival of the Mogul army. Through this action, Aurungzebe was induced to grant to the English an extension of their privileges. In October, 1670, Surat was again plundered by Sevagee, of immense treasures; but the same successful resistance as before, was made by the English Factory; though some men and goods in their detached warehouses were lost. The trade, however, which had been been carried on with the inland parts of the country was almost wholly impeded by these successive irruptions.

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The treaty of Breda, which had been made in 1667, on the principal of the *uti possidetis*, had left the Dutch in quiet possession of the Islands of Polaroon and Damm; and it was probably, through the discontent thus excited among the East-India Adventures, that the Island of Bombay which had been bestowed on King Charles, as a marriage portion with Catharine of Portugal, was granted with all its stores and appurtenances to the Company, *in perpetuity*, on the 27th of March, 1668; "to be held as of the manor of East Greenwich, in free and common soccage," on payment, "at the Custom House, London," of the annual rent of 10l." "in gold." on the "30th of September, yearly, for ever." New and extraordinary privileges were annexed to the grant; but the Company were not to sell or alienate the Island, to any persons whatever excepting such as were subjects of the British crown. They were allowed to legislate for their new possession; and to exercise through the medium of their

* "This acquisition," says Mr. Grant, "was precisely such a one as the Company and their servants at Surat, had long required. It was not only an independent but an insular possession; and within a sail of 200 miles from Surat, a very practicable distance, considered with respect to the vast range occupied by the British establishments. At the same time, the Company were both encouraged and enabled to improve the grant by the full powers with which it was accompanied. The fortifications of the station were diligently enlarged and strengthened. Every encouragement was held out both to English and native settlers; and among the latter, particularly to those of the manufacturing class. More especially, a remission of customs was proclaimed for five years, looms were provided, houses were built, a perfect toleration was established, and an exact system of justice framed. The settlement grew rapidly in strength, in wealth, and in a population formed from a motley assemblage of the most various races and sects. When the cession took place, the ordnance of the garrison amounted to twenty-one pieces of cannon, but in 1673-4, that is about six years afterwards, that number had been augmented to one hundred. At the time of the cession, the annual revenues of the Island, comprising customs, were estimated at 6,490l. sterling. In 1675-6, although the customs then levied were remarkably moderate, the revenues were computed at 12,037l. sterling." *Grant's Sketch*, p. 81.

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their local officers, both civil and criminal jurisdiction: even to the deprivation of 'life or member,' where 'the quality of the offence should require;' but it was enjoined that the law and proceedings should be consonant with reason, and 'as near as may be,' agreeably to the laws and polity of England. They were also privileged to maintain their authority by force of arms, against all foes, domestic or foreign; and for this purpose, the local governor was empowered, in all cases of invasion, rebellion, or mutiny, to exercise martial law. The natives of Bombay were declared to have the same liberties as national-born subjects; and all the "powers, privileges, and authorities," granted by this Charter, were declared to be vested in the Company, in regard to all other territories and places whatever, which they might at any future time, "purchase, or lawfully acquire," within the limits of their exclusive trade in the East-Indies *.

The settlement at Madras, with its dependencies on the coast, participated in the difficulties which had so greatly injured the Company's trade in other parts of India; and contributions, under the denomination of *presents*, were obliged to be frequently given to the subordinate officers of the native Princes, in order to secure a continuance of privileges. These exactions, it is true were not so often levied at Madras itself, as on its dependent factories; yet, in one instance, (anno 1669-70) the refusal of a present to the Naig of the district, led to the besieging of Fort St. George, till on application to the Nabob, the rapacious chieftain was ordered to withdraw his troops. † In January, 1671-2, the Company obtained a grant of the remaining moiety of the customs of Madras, on agreeing to pay the Nabob an annual rent of 1,200 pagodas.

The year 1672 is memorable in the annals of the English Company, from being the era in which the French first appeared on the coast of Coromandel as commercial rivals. Having landed

* Prin. Charters, p. 90—95. † Bruce's Ann. Vol. II. p. 273.

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landed near St. Thomé, which then belonged to the King of Golcondah, they carried it by assault, and formed a settlement there; but in 1674, after a gallant defence, they were obliged to surrender through famine to a powerful Dutch armament, aided by the army of Golcondah. With the wreck of their forces, however, they contrived to form an establishment at Pondicherry; which village, with a small adjacent district, they purchased from the King of Visiapour, and subsequently rendered it one of the most flourishing European cities in India.

The following statement of the Company's affairs was drawn up for the information of Government, and in answer to the injurious representations of their enemies, who asserted that the quantity of bullion exported by the Company was both prejudicial to the interests of the Kingdom, and detrimental to commercial credit.

"A Particular of all bullion (gold, silver, and pieces of eight) shipt out by the Company, since the year 1667-68, to this present year, 1674.

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
"In the year 1667-68.....	128,605	17	5
1668-69.....	162,394	9	10
1669-70.....	187,458	3	8
1670-71.....	186,149	10	11
1671-72.....	186,420	8	3
1672-73.....	131,300	5	11
1673-74.....	182,983	0	6

"In lieu whereof, and of several sorts of manufactures sent out by the Company, there hath been paid unto his Majesty for custom, yearly *(communibus annis)* the sum of about 35,000l.

"And for increasing the navigation and strength of this Kingdom, there hath been built, within that time, and are now in building, twenty-four sail of ships from 350, to 600 tons burden, and they have paid for freight and wages yearly, to the amount of 100,000l. per annum.

"And have furnished his Majesty's Kingdoms of England,

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Scotland, and Ireland, with all sorts of East-India commodities, (excepting cinnamon, cloves, nutts, and mace) which, had they not done, would have cost the Kingdom far greater rates to have been supplied from other nations.

"And besides which, there is exported East-India goods to other countries (by moderate estimate) double the value of what they have so exported in bullion, which is a very great increase to the stock of this Kingdom; and the proceed of a greater part thereof is, from time to time, returned in gold and silver.

"And as for the permissions granted to others to send on their ships, the Company not finding it convenient for themselves to trade in diamonds, bezoar stones, ambergrease, musk, pearles, and other fine goods, they have given leave to others to trade therein, paying onely a small acknowledgment to the Company for freight, to the end that trade might not onely be preserved, but increased, to the Kingdom's advantage; by which also this Kingdom is not onely furnished with those commodities, but there is also sent out from hence, of those fine goods, to great value, unto other countries, for increasing the stock of this Kingdom."

The first instance of the Company's servants resorting to martial law for the maintenance of their authority occurred in 1674, when, on the suppression of a mutiny at Bombay, three persons were condemned to death by a court-martial; and, one of them, a Corporal Fake, was shot, on the 21st of October *. The Company were at that period, endeavouring to make the Island of Bombay their principal emporium for Eastern commerce.

Notwithstanding the numerous difficulties under which the Company's trade had been carried on in India, since the renewal of their charter, the unremitting industry and enterprize of their agents had rendered it so generally beneficial, that in the year 1676, the adventurers agreed to double their capital by means of their accumulated profits. Through this resolution, the capital was increased to 739,782l. 10s. and the price of India stock which in 1664, was so low as 70l. per cent. immediately rose to 245l.

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. II. p. 368.

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245l. per cent.* The quantity of tonnage annually taken up by the Company about this period, varied from 4000 to 6000 tons, and upwards; the ships employed in each season were from twelve to sixteen in number.

A very general clamour having been excited against the exclusive rights of the Company, and assertions made that their Charters had been forfeited as well by the 'misuse' as 'nonuse,' of the privileges conferred upon them, the Directors in 1677, judged it necessary to petition for a confirmatory charter: this was readily granted by the King, and besides containing an indemnity for past offences, it empowered the Company to establish a mint at Bombay, and invested them with a right to all penalties arising from breach of contract, by their factors, agents, commanders, &c.† The value of the Indian commodities used at this time for home consumption, was thus stated in a pamphlet attributed to Sir Josiah Child, and generally considered as a demi-official one: "pepper, 180,000lbs. at eight-pence, 6000l.; saltpetre, 30,000l.; raw-silk, and wrought-silks, 30,000l.; calicoes, 160,000l.; indigo and drugs, 15,000l.; total 241,000l." The value of all the goods imported by the Company, and (in private trade) by their officers, in the season 1674-75, was computed at 1,050,000l.

During the ensuing eighteen or twenty years, the affairs of the Company were by no means so successful as they had been in the preceding period. The contentions between the native powers still continued, and it was only with great difficulty that investments could be procured whilst the inland country was suffering under the predatory incursions of the hostile parties. Even the Phirmaunds for liberty of trade, which had been obtained at considerable expense and trouble, were of little avail; nor could they at all be depended on, without making frequent presents to subordinate Rajahs and Governors in the districts to which they referred. The policy of the Dutch and Portuguese, who main-

* Macph. Eur. Com. p. 133. † Prin. Charters, p. 108—117.

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tained their own privileges by force of arms, and secured the respect of the natives by successful opposition, augmented the evils which the English laboured under; for as the Company's servants had hitherto endeavoured to procure a redress of grievances by remonstrances alone, their influence was found rapidly to decrease, and their protests were, in general, treated with contemptuous disregard. Their agents and factors were sometimes shut up in their own settlements, and sometimes yet more degraded by actual imprisonment. The insidious arts, and in many instances, piratical conduct of the 'Interlopers,' who were again exercising a powerful rivalry in the Indian seas, aggravated their difficulties and losses; and, at length, the state of affairs became so serious and complicated, that the Court of Committees gave orders for the abandonment of several minor stations, and for the reduction of their establishments at all the superior ones *.

In August 1682, in consequence of a civil war between the King of Bantam and his son, in which the latter was assisted by the Dutch, the Company were totally expelled from their factory, and divested of all their privileges at Bantam; and had they not immediately afterwards established a settlement at Bencoolen, in Sumatra, and fortified it at a vast expense, the pepper trade would have been wholly monopolized by their treacherous enemies.

* In the season 1676-77, the Company's trade at Surat was greatly depressed through the following circumstances:—The Mogul Emperor, Aurungzebe had exhausted his treasury by his wars in the Decan, and against the Patans; and all expedients had failed to obtain money for the payment of his troops. He was therefore obliged to have recourse to the secret treasures of the great Akbar, who had swayed the Mogul Empire from 1555 to 1605, and whose coffers had been hitherto deemed sacred. The quantity of gold and silver found in this deposit, and distributed through the emergencies of the Emperor, lowered the price of the precious metals so considerably, that the bullion received from Europe could not be disposed of, but at a great loss; nor could any price be obtained for European articles, which therefore were sold under prime cost. *Bruce's Ann. Vol. II. p 598.*

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mies. This event occasioned the Court to declare, that they should in future "consider Bombay as an independent English settlement, and the seat of the power and trade of the English nation in the East-Indies." * For some time, however, this declaration could be but little acted on, as in the following year, the garrison of Bombay, under Captain Richard Keigwin, revolted from the Company's authority, and kept possession of the Island during eleven months before they were prevailed on to submit. The principal avowed motives for this revolt, were 'the selfish schemes,' of the Company's servants, and the 'necessity' of preventing the Island being seized by Sambagee, (son and successor to Sevagee, the Mahratta Rajah) who was in possession of Caranjah; or by the Siddee, or Admiral of the Mogul, who, with a numerous naval force lay near it, and each of whom had in view to expel the English from a station of which they had both been jealous for a number of years: † the real causes are said to have arisen from the strong disgust which the recent retrenchments had excited among the soldiery; and from the instigations of Messrs. Boucher and Petit, who having been dismissed from the council at Surat for aiding the projects of the Interlopers, had in revenge, reported to the native Governors and Princes, "that the King of England had withdrawn his protection from the Company, and transferred it to them as a new commercial association;" they had also made application to the Mogul, for liberty to establish a factory at Surat, with privileges similar to those of the Company.

On the arrival from India of intelligence of the revolt at Bombay, and that Captain Keigwin had addressed letters to the King and the Duke of York, in justification of his own conduct, the Court appointed a Committee of Secresy with due authority to pursue whatever measures they should think requisite in this critical conjuncture. The Committee, having laid an able exposition of facts before his Majesty, succeeded in obtaining an

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. II. p. 498. † Ibid. p. 514.

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order under the sign-manual, for the re-delivery of Bombay to the Company's agents: a Royal commission also, was issued, nominating Dr. St. John, Judge Advocate; with full powers to proceed to India, and act against offenders agreeably to the provisions of the Company's charters. That gentleman reached Surat in September, 1684, and after making the necessary inquiries, he addressed a masterly Report to the King and Council on the general state of the Company's affairs; in which, after stating that the revolt at Bombay "had arisen from the depredations and crimes of the Interlopers, with whom Captain Keigwin was intimately connected, and who, though he used the King's name and authority in his proceedings, had been influenced solely by predatory and rebellious motives;" he gave it as his advice, that "President Child should be appointed the King's Lord-Admiral in India, with full powers to seize and bring to justice the Interlopers of every description;" and he concluded by repeating that "unless the Portuguese and Dutch should be prevented from carrying into execution their fixed project of expelling the English from their trade and factories, and unless the Interlopers in England, as well as in India, should be suppressed, the trade between England and the East-Indies could not continue for three years." *

The affairs of the Company at this period were administered principally by the brothers Sir Josiah, and Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Child; the former of whom was the leading member of the Court of Committees, and latter, chief officer of the Presidency at Surat. The influence of these gentlemen led to the adoption, by the English, of a different system of policy in India than had hitherto been pursued: its outlines were first, "the employment, and the strenuous assertion of, the authority of the Company over British subjects within the limits of their charters: secondly, retaliation by force of arms, on the Indian Princes who had oppressed their settlements, and, a daring attempt

* East-India Papers in State Paper Office, Nos. 272, 273.

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tempt at the attainment of political strength and dominion in the East." * To give effect to this system, which was studiously modelled from the proceedings of '*the wise Dutch*,' as they are repeatedly styled in the official papers, Sir John Child, was under the Royal Patent nominated 'Captain General and Admiral of all the Company's forces by sea and land, in the northern parts of India, from Cape Comorin to the Gulf of Persia;' and a Secret Committee was appointed for, 're-asserting the Company's rights of trade in Bengal, and for preventing, in future, the oppressions of their agents, either by the Nabob or Dutch, in the exercise of those rights, which they had acquired by Phirmaunds.' †

The plan which was now formed by the Company for the assumption of a political and military character in India, was sanctioned by the English government; and, with the approbation of James the Second, who had recently succeeded to the throne, an armament, consisting of ten ships, with 600 soldiers on board, was fitted out for Bengal, for the purpose of commencing hostilities against 'the Nabob of Dacca, and the Mogul his superior.' It was not, however, against these princes alone, that the Company's efforts were to be directed, but generally, against all the powers in India with whom they had cause of dispute. The instructions from the Secret Committee were on this head abundantly explicit; though a temporizing policy was to be maintained, till the Company's agents, either by treaty or by force, had acquired the means of establishing a sufficient number of fortified stations to enable them to unmask their designs with more safety. On the arrival of the armament in India, it was to be united with nine other ships belonging to the Company; and the troops were to be increased so as to form an effective regiment of 1000 men. Chittagong, a strong town belonging to the Nabob, on the east side of the Bay of Bengal, was to be taken possession of, and fortified in the best manner with 200 pieces of cannon; treaties of friendship being entered into with the King of Aracan,

* Grant's Sketch, p. 98. † Bruce's Ann. Vol. II. p. 557.

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and other Hindoo Chiefs, whose assistance might forward the enterprize. The Mogul's ships of every description, were to be seized, and a Court of Admiralty appointed at Bengal, to condemn the prizes. After the surrender of Chittagong, the troops were to proceed against Dacca; and as it was presumed the Nabob would fly from that city, peace was then to be offered to him, on condition that he should cede the city and territory of Chittagong to the Company, allow the rupees coined there, to pass current in his district, and restore all privileges according to ancient Phirmaunds. Besides this principal object, the armament was to retaliate on the King of Siam, by seizing his vessels, for the losses which the Company had sustained in his dominions; and should the Portuguese continue to exact customs at Tannah and Caranjah, to attempt the recovery of Salsette, and the other dependencies of Bombay, which had been ceded with that Island to Charles the Second; but had never yet been surrendered. The fleet was then to sail round to Fort St. George, and assist in extending the trade from the Coromandel Coast to the Southern Seas; and in supporting a new factory at Priaman, in Sumatra, which was to be strongly fortified and garrisoned. The goods and vessels of the Kings of Bantam and Jambee, were to be seized as a reparation for injuries: and the King of Golcondah was to be aided in the war he was then carrying on against the Dutch, in return for which a Phirmaund for coining rupees was to be solicited, as well as a grant of St. Thomé, as an English possession *. To further this variety of important objects, it was judged expedient to vest the sole direction of the Company's affairs in India, in Sir John Child, who was appointed 'Governor-General,' as the office has been termed in modern times, and empowered to bring the whole of the Company's settlements under a regulated administration. He had also a discretionary authority to continue the war, or to make peace, according to circumstances; and was directed to declare Bombay a Regency,

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. II. p. 558—567.

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a Regency, like those of the Dutch at Batavia and Columbo, in order that it might become the seat of the Company's government, and that they might assume the rank of an Indian power.

On the 12th of April, 1686, the King, as a means of forwarding the above designs, granted the Company a new Charter, which, besides confirming all their former privileges, invested them with power to erect Courts of Judicature, for determining all causes arising from the seizure of vessels trading in India unauthorized, &c.; to exercise the 'law-martial,' during the time of war in India, as well on board their ships at sea, as in their settlements on shore; and to 'coin any species of money in their forts, usually coined by the Princes of the country,' such money to be current in all places within the Company's limits. *

In the extensive field on which the Company had projected to carry on their warfare, it was not to be expected but that some failures would happen; yet it was by no means conceived that their comprehensive scheme for attaining territorial independency would altogether fail in the then distracted state of the native Powers. Such, however, with a few immaterial exceptions, was the actual fact; the Company had over-rated their strength; and in addition to the numerous difficulties which arose out of the attempt itself, the want of energy and skilful combination among some of their officers, and the misconduct and wavering policy of others, proved insurmountable obstacles to success.

The expedition from England reached India, only in detached portions; and the ships were in need of considerable repairs. Whilst the first division, also, was lying in the Bay of Bengal, awaiting the remainder of the fleet, which had the greater part of the troops on board, an accidental quarrel between three English soldiers and some of the Nabob's Peons, in the Bazar at Hooghley, or Hughley, led to a premature commencement of hostilities; and

* Printed Coll. of Charters, p. 125—140.

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the intended surprise of Chittagong was thereby prevented. After the defeat of the Nabob's troops, the destruction of a battery of eleven guns, the cannonading of the town, and the burning of 500 houses, the Phousdar solicited a cessation of arms; and he engaged, subsequently, to issue Perwannahs, for restoring the privileges of trade to the English, till a Phirmaand could be procured from the Mogul. The agent and Council, however, supposing that he acted thus to gain time, and having themselves received positive orders to obtain possession of Chittagong, and to insist on a compensation for the Company's losses (which were estimated at 6,625,000 rupees) retired for greater security, from Hughley to Chutanuttee, a town immediately contiguous to Calcutta: this was on the 20th of December, 1686.

During the three following years a sort of desultory warfare was carried on, and much important time was lost, in protracted negociations, through the artful policy of the Nabob, and of Muchtar Khan, the Governor of Surat. The successes of Aurungzebe over the Mahrattas, and his conquest of the kingdoms of Visiapour and Golcondah, entirely dissipated the hopes which the Company had formed of obtaining assistance from Sambagee Rajah; and it was not unlikely that even Fort St. George would be attacked by the Emperor's forces. The Council which Sir John Child had left at Surat, when he finally quitted it for Bombay, in May 1687, was imprisoned; and though a provisional Convention was afterwards signed by Muchtar Khan, its provisions were so little adhered to, that the same officer, in December, 1688, gave orders for all the Company's goods at Surat to be sold, and offered a large reward for seizing Sir John Child, either alive or dead*. In the following year, Bombay itself was invaded

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. II. p. 633. It is not improbable but that this violation of the provisional Convention was occasioned by the conduct of Captain Heath, who had been sent with reinforcements from England, and having united the Company's fleet to the amount of 15 sail, proceeded to Ballasore Roads, where, contrary to the wishes of the Agent and Council, and notwith-

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invaded by a Mogul fleet, under the Siddee, or Admiral; and though his troops were several times repulsed by the English soldiers they got possession of Mazim, Mazagon, and Sion, and ultimately laid siege to the town and castle.

Previously to the invasion of Bombay, a new Governor, (Ettimand Khan) was appointed for Surat, and with him, Sir John Child, induced by the urgency of affairs, made fresh efforts to negociate, though under circumstances most unfavourable; for at this period, Aurungzebe having seized the family and treasures of Sambagee, and over-run almost every part of his dominions, seemed determined to render the European powers trading to India entirely dependent on his own authority. Before any agreement could be made Sir John Child died; (Feb. the 4th, 1688-89) and the office of President devolving on Mr. Harris, who was then confined in irons at Surat, that gentleman found himself constrained to accept a new Phirmaund from the Mogul on whatever terms it could possibly be obtained. Had the Governor-General himself, indeed, still have survived, it does not appear but that he would have been equally obliged to submission, in the then extremity of the Company's affairs; the Phirmaund having been negociated by his own Commissioners. This curious instrument bears date on the 27th of February, 1688-89, and has been thus translated:—

"All the English having made a most humble submissive petition, that the crimes they have done may be pardoned, and requested another Phirmaund to make their being forgiven manifest, and sent their Vakkeels to the Heavenly palace, the most illustrious in the world, to get the Royal favour; and Ettimand Caun,

notwithstanding a Perwannah for peace had been received by the Governor from the Nabob, he caused the troops and seamen to be landed, and attacked and took a battery of 30 guns, and plundered the town of Ballaspre. On this occasion, the English factory was burned by the Governor, and the Company's servants, who had been previously detained as prisoners, were carried up the country, and all subsequent efforts for their release proved unavailing. Ibid, p. 648.

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Caun, the Governor of Suratt's petition to the famous Court, equal to the skie, being arrived, [stating] that they would present the great King with a fine of 150,000 rupees to his most noble Treasury, resembling the Sun, and would restore the Merchants' goods they had taken away, to the owners of them, and would walk by the ancient customs of the Port, and behave themselves for the future, no more in such a shameful manner:—therefore his Majesty, according to his duly favour to all the people of the world, hath pardoned their faults, and mercifully forgiven them; and out of his princely condescension agrees, that the Present be put into the treasury of the Port, that the Merchants' goods be returned, the town flourish, and they [the English] follow their trade, as in former times, and that Mr. Child who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled." The Phirmaund concludes with the words, "This order is irreversible;" and so fully indeed, were its conditions acted on, that the Governor of Surat refused to recall the Siddee from Bombay, till the goods taken by the English should be restored, and the fine paid to the Mogul: "with these demands the Agent and Council at Surat were at last obliged most reluctantly to comply;" * yet it was not till the 22d of June that they could obtain the entire re-possession of the Island.

A great number of vessels, richly freighted, and chiefly belonging to the Mahomedan Inhabitants of Surat, was captured during the war; yet as the Company were obliged by the treaty to 'restore the Merchants' goods,' it seems probable that they obtained

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. II. p. 642. The lofty style of the Imperial Phirmaund, or Treaty, although the terms "were certainly humiliating," remarks Mr. Grant, "ought to be construed with much abatement, considering the characteristic pomposity and assumption of Eastern Courts;" more especially "when we recollect, that, in our own day, the King of Ava, in forming relations of amity with the British nation, intimated his sentiments to the Governor-General of Bengal, by declaring that, as the British Ambassador 'had arrived under the golden soles of the Royal feet, his Majesty, who was Lord of the present life,' and 'possessed of the eight prerogatives of an Angel,'

obtained very little advantage from these prizes.* The prosecution of hostilities against the Siamese was, after the taking of several trading vessels, diverted by a revolution in which the King of Siam was put to death; together with a Mr. Phaulkon, often called Lord Phaulkon, who by his address, "having raised himself from a pedestrian condition in the service of the Company to the highest offices of the Court of Siam," had effectually exerted his influence to destroy the commerce of his former employers. The vacant throne was usurped by the Siamese General who led the revolt, and who soon afterwards permitted the Company's agents to renew their intercourse with his Kingdom.

Almost immediately after the conclusion of the Mogul war, the Presidency of Fort St. George purchased a new settlement of importance on the Coromandel coast, viz. Tignapatam, or Fort St. David, as it has since been denominated, which was granted in full right to the English under the seal of the Ram-Rajah, or Hindoo King, and by a cowl from the Subah of the Carnatic. The Rajah was at that time besieged in the strong fortress of Gingee by the armies of Aurungzebe; yet on his final discomfiture, the grant was confirmed by the Mogul General.

The ill success of the war in India, and the want of a direct support from Government about the immediate era of the Revolution

gel,' was pleased to "take into his protection the English nation both of Bengal and Europe, in the same manner as he extended that protection to the countries of Assam, China, Ceylon, and Kio Cossè." Grant's Sketch. p. 103; from a Letter of the four chief Ministers of Ava to Lord Wellesley. MS.

* The annual voyage of the Pilgrims, from Surat to Judda, and thence to Mecca, formed an important part of the Mahomedan religion, in India, but had been frequently rendered impracticable during the war with the Company. It is not unlikely that the preservation of the British power in the peninsula of India was owing to this circumstance; as Mr. Harris, who had succeeded to the Presidency of Bombay, gave it as his opinion, that "the real cause of the Mogul having granted peace to the English was to allow a free passage to and from Judda, to the Pilgrims." *Bruce's Annals*, Vol. III. p. 124.

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lution of 1688, had greatly emboldened the Private Traders, whose numbers were much increased, and who now, acting in the more decided character of mercantile Associations, and taking advantage of the current opinion of the times, denied the validity of the Company's rights to an exclusive trade; such rights having proceeded only from the grants of Sovereigns, and not being founded on the consent of the nation expressly given by an Act of the Legislature. These objections became the subject of investigation before a Committee of the House of Commons, which having fully heard both the propositions of the Traders and the defence of the Company, came to the resolution (January the 16th 1689-90) "that it is the opinion of this Committee that the best way to manage the East-India trade, is to have it in a new Company, and a new Joint Stock, and this to be established by Act of Parliament, but the present Company to continue the trade exclusive of all others, either of Interlopers or Permission ships till it be established." The Private Traders immediately subscribed 180,000l. for a new Joint Stock; but further proceedings were then put a stop to through the dissolution of Parliament.

When the subject was again brought forward in the following year, the whole business was referred by the House of Commons to the King, and by him, to the Privy Council; who, valuing the Company's capital at only 740,000l. proposed that it should be increased to at least 1,500,000l. but not to exceed 2,000,000l. and that the new Subscribers of the additional capital should be incorporated with the old members for a period of twenty-one years. They also, drew up a scheme, containing thirty-two propositions, for the management of the intended new Company.

In their answer to this proposal, the Company averred that their present stock was worth much more than 1,500,000l. which the Privy Council had proposed it should be made up to; that their forts and territories in India, which had cost them more than a million sterling were their own for ever; and that the purposed regulations were better provided for by the present Charters

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Charters, and their own practice, than by all the new propositions.

On the 14th of November 1692, Sir Edward Seymour, by command of the King, laid before the House of Commons the propositions of the Privy Council, and the Company's answers to them, together with the opinion of the Judges, which was, that 'the Company could not be legally dissolved without three years' notice, and that no other Company could begin their operations till the expiration of three years.' The Commons, after many vehement debates on the subject, at length presented an Address to the King (February the 25th, 1692-93) praying 'that he would dissolve the Company upon three years' notice:' and his Majesty answered that he would 'consider the Address.'

In a few days afterwards the Parliament was prorogued; but previously to this, an Act had been passed for levying a duty of 5l. per cent. on the Joint-Stock Capitals of the East-India, the Royal African, and the Hudson's Bay, Companies; to be paid in four quarterly instalments, commencing on the 25th of March, 1693, on pain of forfeiting their Charters. Through some inexplicable neglect the East-India Company delayed the payment of the first instalment of the new tax till some days had elapsed after the fixed period; this circumstance was eagerly denounced by their enemies, as a violation of the law, and that their exclusive privileges of trade were thereby rendered void and nugatory. Notwithstanding, however, such an untoward event, the Company found means to obtain a renewal of their Charters from the King, by his Letters Patent, dated October the 23rd, 1693, which, besides re-investing them with all former privileges and rights, ratified all the acts done by the Company since the 24th of March: this new grant was to be revoked if the Company did not comply with all the alterations and regulations which the Sovereign, with the advice of the Privy Council, should 'think fit to make,' in regard to the government of the Company and management of their trade, &c. previous to September the 29th, 1694; and unless they should make good their last quarterly pay-

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ment of 9,300l. charged on their Joint Stock, by the 25th of December, 1693.* Besides these public conditions, "the Company came under an obligation to export, on the ships of the season, English manufactures to the value of 150,000l."†

The regulations of the King for the future conduct of the East-India Company were contained in two separate Letters Patent, the first bearing date November the 14th, 1693, and the last, September the 28th, 1694. By these instruments, it was 'directed,' and 'ordained,' that the Joint Stock of the Company should be augmented 744,000l. "by the new subscription of such Persons who shall be minded to adventure any share;" that no individual should be allowed to subscribe more than 10,000l. and should make oath that the money was their own, and subscribed for their own use; that no member was to vote in the General Courts unless he possessed 1000l. stock; that the Governor, and Deputy Governor, possess at least 4000l. stock, and each of the twenty-four Committees, 1000l. stock; that no private contract be made for the sale of goods, excepting of salt-petre (of which 500 tons were annually to be delivered, if demanded) to the crown, but that all goods and merchandize should be publicly sold 'by inch of candle,' in lots not exceeding the value of 500l. excepting of jewels, that all dividends should be paid in *money* only; that the Joint Stock should be continued for 21 years; that goods of English manufacture should be annually exported to the value of 100,000l.; that 'the commanders, officers, and seamen,' in the Company might be licensed to trade in such commodities and goods, and in such proportions, as might be determined on in the General Courts;' and that these and all other Charters granted to the Company should cease and determine after 'three years' warning'

* Prin. Charters, p. 141-151. Mr. Bruce has, mistakenly, asserted that this charter subjected the Company to the payment of the 9,300l. as "their proportion of the duty," imposed by the Act; yet that sum was the instalment only for one quarter: the entire capital was stated to be 744,000l. and consequently the whole amount to be paid by the Company was 37,000l.

† Bruce's Ann. Vol. III. p. 133.

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warning' if it should appear that they were 'not profitable' to the Crown and to the Realm.* Books were immediately opened at the East-India House to receive subscriptions, and before the 10th of January, 1694, the day appointed by the King, the full sum above specified was subscribed for: a part of it, however, to the amount of 400,000l. was composed of a subscription that had been opened in the preceding May, for the purpose of 'bearing down the Interlopers,' in the home and foreign markets,' and of bribing the 'native Governors' in India, in order to induce them to refuse access to their audacious competitors.

In the heat of the dispute between the Private Traders and the Company, the latter were accused of having procured the countenance to their measures of the late monarchs Charles and James, by making them large presents in gold; nor did the Company scruple to avow the fact; though in their reply (anno 1693) to what were denominated the 'Thirteen Articles,' they vindicated it, principally, on the ground that the presents in question had been paid 'into the Exchequer for the Public Service.' This defence could not avail them against a subsequent charge that was preferred, viz. that of having 'purchased, by large bribes, the interest of many distinguished State-officers, and members of Parliament,' during the late proceedings in regard to their Charters and Privileges. These practices, in the beginning of 1694-95, became the subject of Parliamentary investigation, and the House of Commons discovered that the money expended for 'secret services,' which in the reign of James the Second had been stated at about 1,200l. per annum, had gradually increased since the Revolution, and that it amounted to nearly 90,000l. in the year 1693. Sir Thomas Cooke, M. P. the Governor of the Company, and some other leading members of the House, were examined as to the particular application of this large sum, but they refused to make the disclosures required; Sir Thomas was therefore committed prisoner to the Tower, and an act was passed to compel him to make a discovery. The inquiry proceeded

* Prin. Charters. p. 152—188.

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ceeded far enough to implicate several persons of exalted rank; and amongst others the Duke of Leeds, (who was President of the Privy Council, and had strenuously defended Cooke) against whom Articles of Impeachment were actually preferred by the House of Commons. "All parties," says a writer in the Universal History, (Vol. XX.) "the patriot, the courtier, the whig and the tory, equally affected a concern for the prosecution of the inquiry; nor is it to be doubted that they were equally concerned in it: each had friends to screen, and enemies to expose; and the point of contest probably was, which of the parties should be made answerable to the public." This conflict appears to have been terminated by a sort of tacit compromise: the proceedings languished, and the 'absence' of a principal witness, and a speedy prorogation of the Parliament, put an end to them altogether.*

In the year 1697, the silk-weavers of London, in the belief that the importation of India silks and calicoes was the cause of their business proving less beneficial than it would otherwise be, assaulted the East-India House, and were near getting possession of the Company's treasure, before they were dispersed by the civil power.†

The vast losses which the Company had experienced in various ways, but chiefly through the great disbursements they had made for protection both in England and in India, and the capture by the French of their homeward-bound fleet, consisting of four ships, on the coast of Galway, in 1695-96, had during several years prevented the payment of any dividend. This increased the general clamours that had been excited against them, and enabled the Private Merchants to prefer their application to Parliament for establishing a New East-India Company, with every probability of success; particularly so, as the application was accompanied by the offer of a loan of two millions for the public service, at eight per cent. and had also the approval of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other leading members of administration.

* Macph. Eur. Com. p. 139; and Grant's Sketch, p. 110.

† Macph. Eur. Com. p. 153.

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tration. A Bill, therefore, for incorporating the subscribers to the proposed loan was soon afterwards brought into the House of Commons.*

The established Company prayed to be heard against the Bill, and in their pleadings, set forth, that they had, at a vast expense, acquired many privileges and settlements in India, to which by law they had an exclusive title, and that they maintained them at an annual charge of about 44,000l. under the full confidence that their rights would be protected by Parliament; that they were the absolute proprietors of Bombay and St. Helena, and were unquestionably entitled to a continuance of their exclusive privilege of trade for three years after notice given to dissolve them; that many families would be ruined by such dissolution, and that the most extreme confusion must ensue from two rival Companies trading in competition. They also requested the House to 'consider the severe losses they had lately sustained by war and shipwreck; to the amount of 1,500,000l. notwithstanding which they had paid to the revenue since the year 1693, the sum of 295,000l. in customs, besides 85,000l. in other taxes; and that they had supplied the King with 6000 barrels of gunpowder on a pressing occasion, and subscribed 80,000l. for circulating Exchequer Bills.'

These arguments proved unavailing; the influence of their opponents prevailed, and on the 5th of July, 1698, the Royal Assent was given to an Act whereby it was declared lawful for his Majesty to incorporate the subscribers to the loan as a body politic, by the name of '*The General Society*, entitled to the advantages given by an Act of Parliament for advancing a sum not exceeding two millions, for the service of the Crown of England,'

* The old Company had previously agreed to advance 700,000l. at an interest of 4 per cent. provided their Charter should be fully confirmed by Parliament; yet the emergency of public affairs, at a time when the art of raising supplies was not so well understood as at present, determined the Government to accept the larger sum of 2,000,000l. from the New Company, though at a double interest.

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with perpetual succession, &c. and that in case of one-half the said sum being subscribed before the 29th of September, by any persons, natives or foreigners, or by bodies corporate, (excepting the Bank of England,) the persons so subscribing are empowered '*for ever* to trade, in all parts of Asia, Africa, and America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope eastward to the Straits of Magellan,' each on his own separate account, and to an amount not exceeding in any one year, the total of the stock held by him; but any members were allowed to unite their capital in a Joint Stock, for the purpose of mutual trade, and such persons might be incorporated by his Majesty as a 'Joint Stock Company,' with perpetual succession, &c. Among the other provisions it was enacted that, all vessels trading to the Indies, not being in the service of any of the members of this Society, shall be seized and confiscated, together with their cargoes; excepting the vessels belonging to "the Merchants of London trading into the East Indies,' who were declared to have a right to trade thither till the 29th of September, 1701, and excepting all ships cleared out from England before the 1st of July, 1698.

So great were the advantages expected to be derived from a new East-India Company, sanctioned by Parliamentary authority, that the Subscription for the two millions was filled up in three days after the Books were opened; the King himself, the Lord Chancellor Somers, the principal officers of state, and various Noblemen, being among the subscribers.* The old Company also, taking advantage of the clause which permitted Corporations to become members, and with intention to continue their trade after the expiration of their exclusive term, directed their Treasurer, Mr. Dubois, to subscribe 315,000*l.* in the new stock; by which means they acquired a larger interest in it than any other body-corporate, or individual.

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* It has been stated that the greatest part of the money was subscribed by *foreigners*, but, with evident inaccuracy, as may be seen by the names recorded in the English Company's Charter. See Prin. Char. p. 197—206.

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On the 5th of September, 1698, (which was some weeks before the time limited for completing the half subscription had expired) his Majesty, on the authority of the above Act, affixed his signature to the Charter of the new Association; who were thereby incorporated by the name of '*The English Company trading to the East Indies*' with perpetual succession, common seal, power to purchase lands, &c. All persons and corporations entitled to any share of the stock, or persons deriving right from them, to be esteemed members of the Company; which was authorized to trade 'for ever,' to India, within the limits assigned, (which were exactly the same as those of the original Company) so that their exports in goods and bullion did not in any one year exceed the amount of their capital; and that one-tenth of the value was in English merchandize:—all the Company's goods to be landed in England or Wales, and openly and publicly sold by inch of candle, in lots not exceeding 1000l. in value, excepting of jewels:—saltpetre to be furnished to the Ordnance Board in proportion to the capital employed at the rate of 500 tons for the sum of two millions:—every member to make oath that he would not trade to India on his own private account; and to have liberty of voting if possessed of 500l. stock; but no person or corporation to have more than one vote:—the Company to maintain a minister and schoolmaster at St. Helena, and a minister at every garrison and superior factory within the limits of their trade; every such minister being approved of by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or Bishop of London, for the time being, and obliged to learn the Portuguese language, 'and the language of the country where they shall reside,' the better to enable them 'to instruct the Gentoos in the Protestant religion:'—every ship of the burthen of 500 tons and upwards, to have a chaplain; and schoolmasters to be provided for all the garrisons and factories where they should be necessary:—the Company to be governed by twenty-four Directors, each possessed of 2000l. stock, to be chosen yearly by the General Courts; and also, occasionally, on the requisition of nine proprietors qualified to vote:—the General

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Courts to make bye-laws and ordinances for regulating the Company's affairs, declaring dividends, &c.: the Company to trade to India exclusive of all other persons, saving the right of the London Company till the 29th of September, 1701; and to seize all persons who should presume to invade their privileges, with their vessels and goods: they were also empowered to establish Courts of Justice, raise forces, appoint Governors and other officers; and generally, to exert the same authority as the prior Company had been empowered to exercise.*

Whilst these transactions were going forward in England, the affairs of the Company in India, were exposed to many vicissitudes, and their property subjected to great loss. This state of things arose from a combination of circumstances, against which no human foresight could provide, and to encounter which, with success, the most zealous exertions of their servants were manifestly

* Prin. Charters, p. 188—242. The commercial spirit of the old, or London Company, instead of being depressed by the success of their opponents, appears to have been reinvigorated; for on the passing of the Act they informed their servants in Bengal that though they formerly had hesitated to have a large stock in India to make purchases, because they had not fortresses in which their stores could be secured, that now, when their fortifications were equal to the defence of their property, the shipping and stock should be increased in proportion to the difficulties they had to surmount; that they were satisfied of the impracticability of two Companies subsisting in England, at the same time, with the same objects, and trading within the same limits, or in their own language, that "two East-India Companies in England could no more subsist, without destroying one the other, than two Kings, at the same time regnant in the same Kingdom; that now a civil battle was to be fought between the Old and the New Company, and that two or three years must end this war, as the Old, or the New, must give way; that being veterans, if their servants abroad would do their duty, they did not doubt of the victory; that if the world laughed at the pains the two Companies took to ruin each other, they could not help it, as they were on good ground, and had a Charter; that when the three years were expired, still they had revenues and possessions, and had a share in the New Company's Stock to the amount of 315,000l. and were therefore entitled to trade, annually, to India, to that amount." Bruce's Ann. Vol. III. p. 256.

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festly inadequate. The great age and infirmity of the Emperor Aurungzebe, the relaxed state of his government, and the intrigues among his sons, for the succession, announced an approaching civil war; and threw the peninsula into such a perplexed state, that no trading protection could be obtained without the sacrifice of large sums. The war with France, which originating in the Revolution, commenced in 1689, and lasted till the peace of Ryswick in 1698, was another fruitful source of evil, for among the immense naval captures made by the French navy during the above period, were seven of the Company's ships, richly laden; and two more were destroyed in action, the one being blown up near Bombay, and the other sunk in the Channel. The insidious conduct of the Dutch, (who although now in alliance with England, still acted in India, with their original malevolence) and the piratical proceedings of certain Interlopers, who being disappointed in their efforts to trade "had made prizes of ships belonging to the Native Powers," still further increased the difficulties under which the Company laboured. It was impossible for the Natives to distinguish between authorized and unlicensed traders bearing the same flag; and hence a general obloquy was thrown upon the character of the English; and they were also accused of being parties in the piracies committed on Surat vessels in the Red Sea. The friendly conduct of Ettimaud Khan, the Governor of Surat, for a while averted the extremity to which these reports tended; but at length, the intelligence that was received in September, 1695, that a large pirate ship under English colours, had plundered a vessel belonging to Abdul Gophir, one of the principal merchants of Surat, occasioned the Governor to place "a guard on the Company's house to prevent its being plundered, and their servants massacred by the enraged inhabitants."

"In this state of irritation," says Mr. Bruce, "news arrived that the same pirate had attacked a ship belong to the Mogul, the Gunswah, between Bombay and Daman, and plundered the vessel, and the Pilgrims on board, of all their valuable effects. If

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the first injury to an individual merchant was resented, this, which was deemed a sacrilege, raised resentment to fury, and obliged the Governor to put the President, and all the English (fifty-three in number) in irons, to prevent their being torn to pieces by the inhabitants. The same ferment was extended to the factors at Broach, who were also confined; and no trade was permitted either to Natives or to Foreigners."*

The danger of complete ruin to the Company's trade was now most imminent; and Sir John Gayer, as General of their affairs at Bombay, thought it expedient immediately to address both the Governor of Surat and the Mogul himself, on the hardships which the English were subjected to for the crimes of an unlicensed rover, "who had acted in direct violation of the laws of his country, and who if taken, would be liable to capital punishment. He likewise offered to employ two of the Company's ships, completely armed, to convey the Pilgrims to Judda, provided the Emperor would grant them his Phirmaund for an exclusive trade. The answer which came from the Mogul was, "that the English, French, and Dutch, should put to sea in search of the thieves, but the embargo on all trade must continue, till the innocence or guilt of the English Company should be proved." Fortunately, the French and Dutch hesitated to comply; and the readiness

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. III. p. 189. "On this occasion the true republican spirit and commercial jealousy of the Dutch were fully manifested, for instead of endeavouring to allay the popular fury against their European ally, but rival, in the Indies, they stimulated the inhabitants to extirpate the English, offering to clear the Indian seas of pirates, and to be responsible for the safety of Pilgrims proceeding to Judda; on condition that a Phirmaund should be granted to them, for an exclusive trade, free of customs, at Surat, and in the Mogul dominions: this offer, however, was refused, and affords a memorable example of malice defeating its own purposes, because to this offer of the Dutch may be traced (though the event was not accomplished till after the lapse of half a century) the first idea of the English being the conductors of the Pilgrims to Judda, and acquiring the Tanka, or being Admirals of the Mogul "between Surat and the Red Sea." *Ibid.*

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readiness of the English to go on this service, first seemed to abate the animosity against them.

Issa Cooly, the person employed at the Mogul Court, as Vakeel, or Envoy, to solicit the release of the Company's servants, and the opening of their trade, found, that the prejudices against the English, which had arisen from the captures made in the two Gulfs during the late war, had been rekindled by the seizure of the Mogul's ship, and that orders had been given for an attack on Bombay by the Siddee, and for the march of the army against Fort St. George and the Company's other settlements. These orders, however, were recalled through the representations of the Vakeel, but he could not prevent 'the issuing of a mandate prohibiting all the European ships from carrying flags, and the Europeans from wearing arms and using palankeens.'*—At length, on the 27th of June, 1696, after repeated applications, and the intercession of the Governor, the English were released, and the Company's property was restored, both at Surat and its subordinate factories. The restraint on trade was also relaxed, though not entirely removed.

Amidst this accumulated gloom a few partial indications of prosperity appeared to enliven the British interests. New Phirmaunds, with additional privileges, were obtained from the Court of Persia; and in Bengal, in consequence of the revolt of some petty native Rajahs, led on by Subah Sing, the Company pro-

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* Bruce's Ann. Vol. III. p. 192. When the Court of Committees was informed of the difficulties and dangers to which their settlements and trade had been exposed, by the depredations of the Pirates, they presented a memorial to the Lords Justices, (the King being in Flanders,) who offered a reward of 500l, to which the Company added 4000 rupees, for the apprehension of Captain Avery, the principal pirate; and on investigation found that his vessel, the Fanny, which plundered the Mogul's ship, had been fitted out in the West Indies, and mounted 46 guns, with a crew of 130 men, composed of sixty-two French, and the remainder of Danes, English, Scotch, and Irish. This pirate after enriching himself and his crew in the Indian Seas, had gone to the Island of Providence, in the Bahamas, where the ship was sold, and the crew dispersed. *Ibid.* p. 204.

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cured a grant of the three connected villages of Chutanuttee, Govindpore, and Calcutta, together with a justiciary power over the inhabitants. The rebellion commenced in 1696, and before the Nabob, who resided at Dacca, could oppose the insurgents, they had made themselves masters of Hughley, Moorshedabad, and Rajahmahl. The Mogul cause, on this occasion, was openly espoused by the French and Dutch, and at least, favoured, though under the profession of neutrality, by the English; and the local authorities of each Company, having received a general permission from the Nabob to place their respective factories, on the Hooghley river, in a state of defence, proceeded diligently to surround them with walls provided with bastions:—the Dutch at Chinsura, the French at Chandernagore, and the English at Calcutta. Intelligence, meanwhile, of the rebellion, having reached Delhi, Aurungzebe dispatched an army to suppress it, under the command of Prince Azem, one of his grandsons, who was likewise commissioned to superintend the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The Prince soon evinced a disposition to acquire wealth; and the English agency in 1698, by some profuse presents, prevailed on him to confer on the Company, the grant above-mentioned, which included a tract of about three miles in length and one in breadth, on the eastern bank of the Hooghley river. Shortly afterwards, the fortification at Calcutta being completed, it assumed the name of Fort William, in compliment to the King of England.

The increasing number of Pirates in the west of India, from whom, says Mr. Bruce, under the years 1697-98, "the Interlopers could scarcely be distinguished," since "both had plunder only, for their object, and both made prizes of whatever ships were unable to resist them," soon terminated the temporary calm which had been produced by the friendly interference of Ettimaud Khan, and whose successor Dianat Khan, was a man of a very different character. Many Surat vessels were taken and plundered, as well as those of other parts of India; and though the expedient of offering convoys to the Mogul ships going with pilgrims

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grims to Mocha was again resorted to, it proved of little avail; for the Emperor being grievously incensed at the capture of the 'Quedah Merchant' with a cargo estimated at four lacks of rupees, (by the notorious Captain Kidd,*) directed the Governor of Surat to lay an embargo on all trade at the Port till the three European nations should become responsible for all piracies: this was, accordingly done, on January the 1st, 1698-99, and on the following day, guards were placed on the English, French, and Dutch factories, and the inhabitants of Surat prohibited from holding any intercourse with them. The Dutch and French endeavoured to evade these orders, by throwing the whole odium upon the English, as the Pirates were of that nation; but the Governor refused to listen to their excuses, and required from the three Powers, a compensation of fourteen lacks of rupees for the damages sustained by the Emperor's vessels. The creditors of the respective factories were also commanded to give in an account to the Governor of all debts owing to them by Europeans.

Sir John Gayer, on receiving intelligence of the perilous circumstances in which the English were placed, sailed from Bombay with the Company's ships, Mary and Thomas, Josia ketch, and Benjamin yatch, and arrived off Swally on the 11th of January. On the following day he gave instructions to the President to inform the Governor of Surat, 'that he was resolved neither to pay the English proportion of the fourteen lacks of rupees, nor give security against the Pirates; but, at the same time, he intimated that he was ready to furnish convoy to the Mogul ships intended

* During several years this Freebooter was uncommonly successful, and made many valuable captures: his ship, the Adventure galley, mounted thirty guns, and rowed thirty oars, with a crew of 200 men. His principal rendezvous was at the Island of Madagascar, where the Pirates had three fortified stations, viz. St. Mary's, Tullea, and St. Augustine's Bay, and were supplied with stores sent from New York and the West Indies. He at length underwent the punishment of his villany, being hanged at Execution Dock, on the 23d of May, 1701, with three other pirates. His effects were afterwards granted to Greenwich Hospital by Queen Anne.

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intended for Mocha, and that the King of England had sent a fleet of men of war, to extirpate the pirates from the Indian seas.* This spirited refusal, and the appearance of the fleet, induced the Governor to offer to overlook what was passed, if the English would give security to make good all future robberies by the Pirates. Sir John Gayer, in reply, proposed to dispatch two of the Company's ships down the Malabar coast, on this service, provided the factory had permission to send the Indigo (which was in store,) on board the ships; but it was soon discovered that a temporizing negociation could not produce any abatement in the rigour of the Mogul's order. The English Presidency, therefore, together with the French and Dutch, were at last compelled to sign an Obligation, or Security Bond, for payment of the loss which might be sustained by any depredations that the Pirates should, in future, commit: and it 'was fortunate,' Mr. Bruce remarks, "that this demand, however hard, was complied with; for when information of it reached the Mogul, he reversed an order which he had just issued for putting a *final embargo on the trade of all the Europeans in his dominions.*"† It now became expedient for the three European powers to assign distinct stations for the squadrons appointed to cruise against the Pirates, yet even this measure could not be acted on till they had contracted to pay upwards of 125,000 rupees to the Governor of Surat.‡

Such then was the critical state of affairs at the time when the establishment of the English Company was first announced at Surat by an interloping galley; and it was quickly and scandalously reported by the crew, that the Old, or London Company had been dissolved for committing piracies in India. On the *following* day, the Governor, after some inquiry into facts, ordered the Company's broker, on pain of corporal punishment, to give security that the President

* The fleet appointed for the above purpose quitted Portsmouth in January 1698-99, under the orders of Commodore Warren: *it consisted of* two ships of 48 guns each, one of 32 guns, and one of 22 guns.

† Bruce's Ann. Vol. III. p. 274. ‡ Ibid. 275.

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President and Council should not leave the town; and he confined them to the factory till the security was given.

"At no period in the history of Indian affairs," says Mr. Bruce, "could the appearance of opposition and animosity between the subjects of the English nation have been more ill-timed or absurd than at this era; both because the distinction of Companies, proceeding on grants of the Crown, or on grants derived from an Act of the Legislature, could not be understood in a distant country, under a Government, arbitrary in its character, and dependent for its permanentcy on the issue of civil wars for the succession; and because, whoever might be the victor, the Hindoo Chiefs would sieze every opportunity to throw off their dependence on an Empire founded on conquest, and resting only on the uncertain result of battles. Every means of extortion was resorted to by the Native Governors, whose situations being precarious, impelled them, by any means, to amass that wealth which would enable them to purchase their continuance in office, or conciliate a new Sovereign and new ministers, for protection; and on every occasion the Europeans having factories in India, were obliged to have recourse to expedients and to bribes."*

Although the capital of the English Company had been so rapidly subscribed for, yet as the instalments became due, the difficulty of supplying money became apparent, and their stock was in the course of a few months, at a discount amounting to 25l. per cent. This led to an overture for forming a coalition with the London Company, as early as March 1699; but their terms having been declared inadmissible, they again determined to proceed on their own means. Soon afterwards they obtained permission from the King to send Sir William Norris, a Member of the House of Commons, on an embassy to the Great Mogul, with a view of procuring new and more extensive Phirmaunds for the English Nation, and of causing the English Company to be acknowledged as the representatives

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. III. p. 368, 369.

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tives of that nation in India. They also dispatched three agents with the rank of Consuls-General, to the principal places where the London Company had settlements; with intention, as it should seem, to destroy the trade of their rivals root and branch. The general system which they adopted for the management of their Indian affairs was modelled from that of the old Company; and the nature of the rivalship which they purposed to establish was clearly indicated by their choice of superior officers, several of them being persons who had been dismissed from the service of the London Company for mal-practices.

On the arrival of Sir William Norris and the three Consular-Presidents in India, in the course of the year 1699, a most desperate competition took place at all the seats of British trade; and various acts, both of intrigue and violence, were committed on the part of the English Company, for the purpose of wresting from their commercial predecessors, the possession of those immunities and privileges which had been obtained at such an immense expense. This attempt, however, was effectually disappointed through the good sense, and firmness, of the London Company's servants; and more particularly so, by the spirited exertions of Mr. Thomas Pitt, (grandfather of the late Lord Chatham, and proprietor of the celebrated Pitt diamond,) who having a general controul over the Presidencies of Madras and Calcutta, transacted the Company's business with great ability and faithfulness under the most embarrassing circumstances. The line of conduct pursued by their agents, had indeed been pointed out by the Court itself, which described the course of passing events as "a blustering storm which was so far from tearing them up, that it only a little shook the roots, and made them thereby take the better hold, and grow the firmer, and flourish the faster." The Court determined, also, "in order to bring the rivalship of the two Companies to a speedy issue," to increase their stock and equipments; and in the seasons 1698-99, and 1699-1700, they sent out twenty-six ships, laden with merchandize and bullion to the amount of 1,135,467l. with instructions to their servants "not

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only to buy up large quantities of Indian goods, but to dispatch the homeward-bound ships with the greatest expedition, which would have the effect of raising the public opinion in favour of their own trade, and would compel their opponents, for such investments as they might procure, to pay a high price in the different eastern markets, and to sell, not only without profit, but probably with a loss."*

Among the unwarrantable assumptions of power attempted by the agents of the English Company, was that of ordering the London Company's flag to be struck at all their Presidencies in India, and on this affront being indignantly resisted, Sir Nicholas Waite, the Consul at Surat, caused the flag at 'that station, to be struck by force.' The intemperance of this proceeding was the means of defeating its own object, for the Governor and his principal officers, on being made acquainted with the outrage, gave orders that the flag should be re-hoisted; and Sir Nicholas was informed, that the 'Commission,' or 'Phirmaund' of the King of England, which he professed to enforce "was of no authority at Surat, unless admitted by the Mogul, and that the London Company had the Emperor's authority for using their flag."

This disunion between men who were subjects to the same Sovereign, and arrayed under the same colours, exposed both parties to the arrogance and tyranny of the natives, and endangered the very existence of the English power in India. Some degree of blame, perhaps, may be attached to the servants of the London Company, yet by far inferior to what might have been expected from persons, who in the honourable discharge of their duty found themselves subjected to unjust and aggravated insults. No palliation, however, can be allowed for the behaviour of Consul Waite and Sir William Norris; the former of whom, in a letter to the Mogul, basely accused the London Company "of being thieves and confederates with the Pirates;" and the latter, besides abetting accusations which he knew to be false, caused the Secretary

* Bruce's Ann. Vol. III. p. 262.

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Secretary and two of the Council at Surat, to be seized and delivered to the Governor 'with their hands tied,' for disputing the validity of some orders which he had thought proper to issue in his character of Ambassador.

The charges against the London Company, enforced as they were by the giving by Sir Nicholas Waite of large bribes to Dianat Khan, and aggravated by new information of piracies, occasioned fresh embargoes on the Company's trade; and eventually led to the long and unmerited imprisonment of the President and Council of Surat, as well as of Sir John Gayer, who had sailed thither from Bombay for the purpose of negociating some arrangement of the existing difficulties. Meanwhile, the English Company's Ambassador proceeded to the camp of the Great Mogul, at Parnella, which he reached on April the 7th, 1701; and after some perplexing delays, and a very lavish expenditure, he received a promise that separate Phirmaunds should be made out for liberty of trade in the three Presidencies. These grants, however, he could never obtain: partly through the exertions of Sir John Gayer, who had sent Cojah Avenneas, an Armenian Vakeel, to counteract his mission, with a credit of two lacks of rupees; and partly, through his refusal to give security for the safe navigation of the southern Seas, or in other words, to answer for all the depredations committed by Pirates. * Sir William Norris qualified his dissent by the offer of a lack of rupees to be exempted from the security demanded, but this reply not being deemed satisfactory,

* Another source of delay arose from the strong doubts that the solicitations of the Ambassador, for one Company, and of Armenian Vakeels, for another, (each offering bribes and lavishing money for the same object) had excited in the minds of the Mogul and his ministers, as to which of the two was the "real English Company;" and "Seid Sedula, a Holy Priest at Surat," was written to, by order of the Mogul, to ascertain the actual fact, by examination. Here again, the competitions between the Agents of the rival Companies to obtain the favourable report of the Priest, produced delay; for "in the whole of these proceedings, bribery was the only means that could be employed." Bruce's Ann. Vol. III. p. 466.

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tisfactory, it was intimated to him by order of the Mogal, that "the English best knew if it was their interest to trade; and if the Ambassador refused to give an Obligation, he knew the same way back to England that he came." Considering this as a dismission, Sir William required passports for Surat; but from having been detained nearly a month at Brampore, by command of the Emperor, he did not arrive at that place till the 12th of April, 1702. Shortly afterwards, having obtained permission for Sir Nicholas Waite to go out of the city, to which he had been confined since his own departure for the Court, he embarked for England on board the Scipio, but died of a dysentary on his passage home, on the 10th of October. Such was the termination of an Embassy through which the English Company had conceived hopes of reaping immense advantages, and the aggregate expenses of which had amounted to the large sum of 676,800 rupees.

When the events which distinguished the progress of the competitions between the two East-India Companies, became known in Britain, it was distinctly perceived that their ill-judged rivalship must inevitably terminate in the bankruptcy of the one, or of the other; and that a wide-spreading ruin would be the consequence. Even in England itself, the evils of the competition were most severely felt; for the prodigious glut of Indian goods, as wrought silks, Bengals, mixed stuffs, figured calicoes, &c. accompanied as it was, by the unreasonable cheapness of those articles, had nearly superseded the manufactures of the country, and occasioned a very extensive and alarming distress. "It is most evident," says the preamble to an Act of Parliament, passed in the Spring of 1699-1700, "that the continuance of the trade to the East-Indies, in the same manner and proportions as it hath been for two years last past, must inevitably be to the great detriment of this Kingdom; by exhausting the treasure thereof, and melting down the coin, and taking away the labour of the people, whereby very many of the manufacturers of this Nation are become excessively burdensome and chargeable to their respective parishes,

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parishes, and others are thereby compelled to seek for employment in Foreign parts." The Act then interdicts the consumption in Great Britain, of all wrought silks, Bengals, and stuffs mixed with silk, or herba, of the manufacture of Persia, China, or the East-Indies, and all calicoes, painted, dyed, printed, or stained, in those countries, that should not be used, or made up into apparel or furniture," before Michaelmas day, 1701. By another Act passed in the following year, it was ordained that all goods of the above kinds brought into England subsequently to that period, "shall be re-exported;"* and that a duty of 15 per cent. should be paid for all muslins imported from India.

These regulations, combining with the general unfavourable aspect of the London Company's affairs, had the effect of reducing their stock to so low a price as 37l. per cent. Before the conclusion of the Session, however, of 1699-1700, the Company succeeded in obtaining an Act of Parliament for continuing them a "Corporation," till, "the two millions advanced by the English Company were redeemed." Previously to the Royal Assent being given to the Bill, the King himself publicly recommended a Union between the two Companies, as it was 'his opinion,' that 'it would be most for the interest of the India trade.'†

This high recommendation was not immediately attended to; for the animosity between the Companies was so great, that it divided the whole Kingdom into parties, "who are supposed to have coalesced with the two political factions which then distracted the nation, the old Company being supported by the Tories, and the new by the Whigs;"* and on the calling a fresh Parliament, great exertions were made by both Companies to procure the return of their respective friends. At length, the necessity of a coalition becoming daily more apparent, the London Company, in September, 1701, appointed a Committee of Seven to negociate the business; and after divers conferences, in which Sir Basil Firebrace took a most active part, the general terms of union

* 11th and 12th of Gul. III. 6. 10. † Bruce's Ann. Vol. III. p. 293.

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union were agreed to, and were confirmed by the General Courts of both Companies on the 27th of April, 1702.

To give solemnity and effect to this Agreement, by which it was resolved that "the Companies should be fully and perfectly united at the termination of the ensuing seven years," (the intermediate time being allotted for the various arrangements requisite to that end,) an "*Indenture Tripartite*," described as the 'CHARTER OF UNION,' between the Queen, who had recently succeeded to the throne, and the two East-India Companies, passed under the Great Seal, on the 22d of July, 1702: on the same day, also, the conveyance of the 'dead stock' of the two Companies, was provided for by what was termed a '*Quinque-Partite* Indenture.'

By the 'Indenture Tripartite,' it was covenanted that the London Company should purchase as much of the stock of the English Company, at par, as would vest in each, an equal proportion of the 2,000,000*l.* for the advance of which to Government, the Charter had been originally granted to the English Company. The interests of the two Companies and of the Separate Traders were, in consequence, fixed thus:

Purchase of stock by the London Company, 673,500*l.* in addition to their former stock of 315,000*l.* making together	988,500
English Company's proportion	988,500
Separate Traders' proportion	23,000
	*L.*2,000,000

The mutual interests of the two Companies, as far as regarded their respective stocks, being thus settled, it was in explanation decided, that the trade, in future, should be carried on for seven years, on the *United Stock*, in the name of the *English Company;* as thereby, the privileges granted by the Charters of both Companies, and by the Act of Parliament, would be best preserved; but the London Company were to have an equal management of the trade.

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The principal difficulty of adjusting the home interests of the two Companies being thus removed, estimates were made of the 'dead stock' of both Companies, that is, forts, factories, buildings, &c. as distinguished from money, ships, and merchandize: the dead stock of the London Company was valued at 330,000l. and that of the English Company at 70,000l. The English Company were, therefore, to pay 130,000l. so as to make up 200,000l. as their moiety of the whole dead stock, estimated at 400,000l. and intended to become an additional stock on the Joint-Stock Account. The London Company were to retain for seven years the use of their house and warehouses at home, but after that term they were to go to the United Company: during the same period either Company might hold distinct Courts, and raise money for their separate affairs; but both Companies were forthwith to bring home their separate estates, and make dividends to their respective proprietors, after which, neither ships, bullion, nor goods were to be sent out, excepting on the United Account. The intermediate carrying on of the trade was to be regulated by a Court of twenty-four Managers, (twelve to be chosen from each Company) under the orders of the General Courts of both Companies, who were empowered to make bye-laws, &c. and each Company were to export one-tenth of their cargoes, in goods, of the product or manufacture of England; but no transaction on the joint trade was to be adopted without the concurrence of both Companies. Saltpetre to the amount of 494$\frac{1}{2}$ tons, was to be furnished, annually, to the officers of Ordnance, at 45l. per ton, in time of peace, and 53l. in time of war. A Protestant minister and schoolmaster was to be maintained in the Island of St. Helena, and in every garrison and superior factory which the United Company had, or should have, within the limits of their Charter; and a Chaplain appointed for every ship of 500 tons burthen. The bonds of the Company were to be taken for all customs excepting that of the 15l. per cent. recently laid on muslins; and the Managers to have the power of seizing all vessels 'unlawfully trading or trafficking,' or

† otherwise

otherwise violating the Act. They were also privileged to coin all kinds of Indian money: to build castles, forts, &c. to furnish the same with military stores, and to raise, train, and muster, a sufficient military force for the defence of the said fortifications. The Islands of Bombay and St. Helena, were, with the Queen's license, to be conveyed to the English Company, and the London Company, were, within two months after the expiration of the seven years, to resign their Charters to the Queen; and thenceforward, the Charter granted to the English Company in 1698, was to be considered as that of both Companies, and the associated members were in future, to take the name of THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO THE EAST-INDIES.*

* Printed Charters, p. 243-315. By the '*Quinque Partite* Indenture,' which is an interesting document, from its enumerating the various settlements to which the two Companies had distinct rights, and which were eventually transferred to the UNITED COMPANY, the *London Company* agreed to surrender the Islands of Bombay and St. Helena to the English Company, in consideration of 200,000l. credit, in the united trade, and 130,000l. paid to them, in money; together with their rights to all the several forts and factories within the limits of their Charter, in the East-Indies; as well as their interest in the House in Leadenhall Street, and their freehold and leasehold premises at Great St. Helen's, London. The Factories, dependent on the Presidency of *Bombay*, were Surat, Swally, Broach, Ahmadabad, Agra, and Lucknow; on the Malabar Coast, the forts and factories of Carwar, Tellicherry, Anjengo, and Calicut; in Persia the factories of Gombroon, Shiraz, and Ispahan, with a yearly rent of 1000 tomands, or 3,333l. 6s. 8d. paid by the Sophy of Persia at Gombroon. On the Coromandel coast, the Presidency of *Fort St. George*, and City of Madras, with its dependencies, Gingee and Orixa, Fort St. David, Cuddalore, Porto Novo, Pettipolee, Masulipatam, Madapollam, and Vizagapatam; and connected with them the settlements on the Islands of Sumatra, or York Fort, Bencoolen, Indrapore, Tryamong, Sillabar, and the stations dependent on Bencoolen; and also the factory of Tonquin, in Cochin China. In Bengal, the Presidency of *Fort William*, and its dependent factories Chutanuttee, or Calcutta, Ballasore, Cossimbuzar, Dacca, Hughley, Malda, Rajahmahl, and Patna; with all their claims and title to Bantam, or any other settlements they might have had in the Southern Seas.

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On the union of the two Companies, proper instructions were sent out to reconcile the jarring interests of their settlements in India, and to regulate the future conduct of their respective servants. These judicious measures were not immediately followed by success; for such was the rooted hostility of Sir Nicholas Waite, that under different pretexts, supported, on one occasion, by a bribe of 27,000 rupees, he induced the Governor of Surat to retain Sir John Gayer and his Council, in close confinement: meanwhile, by taking a treacherous advantage of a conditional proviso, he became Governor of Bombay; but was subsequently dismissed the service for his reprehensible conduct, as well in this instance as in many other branches of his perverse administration. Sir John Gayer, however, was not enabled to obtain a release from captivity, till after the decease of the Emperor Aurungzebe, which long-expected event took place on the 20th of February, 1706-7. During the intermediate years, the Indian trade was carried on under many restraints; the London Company's goods were seized, and their servants imprisoned at several of the lesser factories; Calcutta itself was preserved only through the resolution of President Beard, who by mounting additional guns, and stopping the Mogul ships going to Surat and Persia, obliged the Phousdar of Hughley to recal an order which he had issued for the seizure of all the Company's effects at the above station. At Surat, several partial remissions of the embargo were allowed, sometimes in favour of one European Nation, and sometimes of another; the Governor appearing to exercise a discretionary power which gave way to the Company that furnished the largest presents, or seemed most able to oppose his mandates. The agents of the English Company were peculiarly unfortunate. In 1704,

The Factories of the *English Company* were declared to be, at Surat, in the Bay at Bengal, at Masulipatam, Madapollam, on the Island of Borneo, and on the Island of Pulo Condore; and for these they were to be allowed 70,000*l.* in the United Stock. All stores, ammunition, guns, cattle, rents, ships, &c. at the above places were to belong to the United Company.

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1704, their factors were compelled with great loss of goods and stores, to quit Chusan, an Island on the coast of China, where they had commenced a settlement: in March, 1704-5, they were expelled from Pulo Condore, an Island subject to the Cochin Chinese, having had most of their servants barbarously massacred by the Malay soldiers; and in June, 1707, their settlement at Banjar Massin, in the Island of Borneo, which had been pretty strongly fortified, was suddenly attacked by the Natives, and though they were at first, beat off, the loss of the English in killed, was so great, that it was with difficulty the survivors escaped on board the ships. Both this calamity, and the massacre at Pulo Condore were ascribed to the instigations of the Chinese; who had become jealous of the interference of the English in the pepper trade, and were apprehensive that their fortifications would ultimately give them a commanding superiority.

Towards the end of the year 1707, an Act of Parliament was passed for 'better securing the duties payable on East-India Goods,' which among other requisite provisions, ordained, that the Company should give bond to the amount of 2,500l. for every 100 tons of shipping employed in their service; that all their homeward-bound vessels should land their merchandize at some port in England, without previously breaking bulk, with the sole exception of necessary stores, for the garrison and inhabitants of St. Helena, and saving the danger of the seas, restraint of Princes, enemies, &c. and under forfeiture, also, of all goods, otherwise delivered, or their full value.

About the same period, the public service requiring aid, an overture for a loan of 1,200,000l. was made to the East-India Companies by the Earl of Godolphin, who was then Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, and Chief Minister of Finance; on this occasion, and in conformity with the 'Deed of Union' made in 1702, an Act of Parliament was passed for consolidating the two Companies, who agreed to advance the sum required, 'as a loan for carrying on the war,' without interest. On the payment into the Exchequer of the 1,200,000l. which was to be deemed

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additional stock of the United Company, and exempted from all taxes, the exclusive privilege of trade was to be continued to the Company, till three years' notice after the 25th of March, 1726: it was likewise enacted, that all matters, still in dispute between the Companies, should be referred to the arbitration of the Lord Treasurer; whose Award should be binding and conclusive on both Companies, and to be completed on or before the 29th of September, 1708. Accordingly, on that day, the above Nobleman signed the famous Award, which finally adjusted the differences between the rival Companies, and has been characterized as "one of the most wise and solid legal decisions to be found in the political or commercial history of the Realm."*

The

* The following is one of the documents, on which the Award was founded: it shews the state of the London Company's affairs at the time of the completion of the union between the Companies.

"The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East-Indies, their Account Current.

Dr.

	L.	s.	d.
To Money at interest, owing to sundry on the Company's seal	1,035,448	9	3
To 6 months interest thereon, due this day	31,063	9	1
To interest for several bonds yt. have 12 or 18 months due	3,000	0	0
To interest on bonds owing, more than 70 per cent. will pay, from this day to the 1st March next	6,425	16	7
To Almshouse at Poplar, owing to them	2,700	0	0
To customs, and to freights, and to several persons for goods sold in private trade	9,728	10	9
To customs and freight due to the United Company	16,312	5	3
To money owing several for interest on their stock not demanded	6,918	18	5
To a moiety of Factors' sallarys payable here, and money paid into the Company's cash in India, to be repaid here	25,000	0	0
To charges from this day to the 25th March	10,000	0	0
To balance of the Indian accompt, as by the Lord Treasurer's award	96,615	4	9

To

The substance of the Award was as follows:—That all debts, or money, due to either Company in India, China, Persia, and other places within the limits of their Charters, and all the separate goods, wares, and merchandize of both Companies, loaded on ships in India, and which might not arrive in the river Thames before the 1st of September 1708, should become the stock or property of the United Company;—that all the foreign debts due to the London Company should be transferred, before October the 31st, 1708, to the Queen; to the end that she might re-grant the

 same

	L.	s.	d.
To difference on 28,000l. stock, in contra with the present market price, 85 per cent.	6,429	3	5
To difference on the 1,100l. 10s. in contra	165	10	0
	L.1,249,807	7	6

Cr.

By 70 per cent. on 988,500l. due from United Company	691,950	0	0
By interest thereon, due this day	20,758	10	0
By six months interest on the fund, due at Christmas	39,540	0	0
By the 8 and 12 quarterly payments on 315,000l. subscribed to the fund	12,600	0	0
By a moiety of 5 per cent. paid by the separate Traders to the United Company	8,328	15	8
By disbursements for the United Company	17,000	0	0
By 28,000l. stock, in the names of Charles Du Bois, and T. W. in trust, and interest thereon to the 1st March next	30,229	3	5
By 1,100l. 10s. stock in the name of Robert Blackborn, in trust	1,100	10	0
By goods remaining in the warehouses	1,000	0	0
By good debts in England	3,000	0	0
By cash remaining this day	24,504	19	4
	L.850,011	18	5
By Ballance	399,795	9	1
	L.1,249,807	7	6

London, 29th September, 1708.

Sam. Waters, *Accountant Generall.*

(Signed) J. Fletcher, *Deputy.*"

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same to the United Company, which should thenceforward become liable to the foreign debts of both Companies; that the London Company not having assets sufficient to discharge their debts in India, should pay the sum of 96,615l. 4s. 2d. by instalments, to the United Company, after the latter had become bound to discharge the said debts: that as the estate and effects of the English Company in India, exceeded the amount of their separate debts, the United Company should pay 66,995l. 5s. 2d. to the Directors of the English Company, for the use of their respective members: that, as the London Company were indebted to a large amount in Great Britain, they should be empowered to call on their Adventurers, for 200,000l. previous to the 1st of February, and such farther sum before the 1st of March, 1708-9, as would be sufficient, when added to 'the 70l. per cent. additional stock,' as it was termed, which had been advanced by the London Company at the Union, to defray all their home debts; such 70l. per cent. additional stock, being re-paid to them by the United Company, in three instalments, excepting the sum of 70,000l. which was to be reserved as a security that the London Company should surrender all their Charters to the Queen, on or before the 25th of March, 1709, in default of which, the said sum was to be forfeited to the United Company, but on the surrender being duly made, the 70,000l. was to be vested in trustees for the discharge of all debts of the London Company that might remain unpaid, the surplus, if any, to be distributed among the members of the London Company:—lastly, that the London Company should transfer to their separate members before the 19th of March, 1708-9, all such stock in the proportion of their respective shares, as the said Company might have in the stock of the United Company, and that the members having right to it, should be admitted to all the privileges of members of the United Company.* This Award in all its parts, was subsequently confirmed by a decree of the High Court of Chancery;

* Prin. Charters, p. 345—358.

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Chancery; as was, also, the surrender, on the 22d of March, 1708-9, of the London Company's Charters, to the Queen, whose Deed of Acceptance of the same bears date the 7th of May, following.*

Though the United Company, after this signal adjustment of their separate affairs,† studiously pursued their commercial interests with activity and intelligence, it was not till the expiration of several years, that they were able to extend their trade in any considerable degree; the situation of the Mogul Empire at this era, being such as peculiarly to impede their efforts.

On the death of Aurungzebe at the great age of ninety-three, in February, 1707, the succession to his extensive dominions was disputed between Mahomed Mauzim, the eldest, and Azem Dara, the second, of his surviving sons; the latter of whom assumed the title of Sultan, and marched with a vast army towards Delhi to oppose his elder brother. The armies of the rival Princes met near Agra, and after one of the most tremendous conflicts recorded in history, in which nearly 100,000 men were slain on both sides, victory declared for Mauzim, the Sultan Azem and his two sons being killed in the battle. The victor ascended the imperial throne with the title of Bahader Shah, and his sovereignty was acknowledged in all the central provinces of the Empire; but in the western provinces, a sort of independent authority was maintained by the Native Governors; and in the Decan, Khan Bukah, the younger son of Aurungzebe, continued at the head of the army which his father had commanded at the time of his death, with the apparent design of founding a kingdom for himself. These circumstances, combining with the preparations for war which the Mahrattas were making under the 'Sow-Rajah,' Sahogee, greatly depressed the general commerce of Hindostan; and

* Prin. Charters, p. 365—367.

† After the union of the Companies, the name of *Committees*, which had hitherto been given to the managing members of the old Company, gave way to that of *Directors*, which had been introduced by the new association.

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and in a considerable degree threw the trade and privileges of the Company under the oppressive controul of the Provincial Governors. The evil was increased on the decease of Bahadur Shah, in 1712, when the sovereignty of the Mogul Empire, was again contended for by various members of the Imperial family.

The acquisition of some villages, by the London Company, upon the ground of which the chief part of the populous town of Calcutta now stands, has already been related;* and although the growing prosperity of that settlement was interrupted by the rivalship of the new Company, yet after the union, it became an object of particular care; the fortifications were improved, and the garrison augmented.

Mahomed Jaffier Khan, the Nabob of Bengal, though possessed of talents, was a tyrant and a robber; and his jealousy of the Europeans led him to oppress them indiscriminately; yet the English suffered most from his extortions, their property being more within reach of his controul than that of other nations. He is said, even, to have removed his residence from Dacca, which is situated between the Ganges and the Burrampooter, to Muxadabad, on the Hooghley river, for the express purpose of fleecing and harassing the Company's servants.†

Wearied, at length, by the insults and extortions of the Nabob, the Presidency of Calcutta, in the year 1713, proposed to the Company, that an Embassy of complaint should be dispatched to the Court of Delhi, and their petition for redress supported by a splendid present. The project of the Calcutta Government was entirely approved of by the Directors, and their other Presidencies were desired to co-operate in the proposed mission. The choice of the Ambassadors was left to the Governor of Calcutta, who appointed Messrs. Surman and Stephenson, two of the ablest civil officers on the Bengal establishment,

* See before, p. 679, 680. † Macph. Eur. Com. p. 168, 169.

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ment, together with Serhaud, an Armenian Merchant of eminence, who was resident at the Presidency.

The Ambassadors, accompanied by a suitable retinue, and charged with presents to the amount of 30,000l. arrived at Delhi in July, 1715; the reigning Emperor being Furrukshir, a degenerate descendant of Aurungzebe, and grandson to Bahader Shah. The Mogul Court was then sunk into a state of the grossest sensuality and corruption; and the Embassy would have failed altogether but for the concurrence of two propitious circumstances. The one of these, was a cure effected on the person of the Emperor, by Mr. Hamilton, the surgeon of the Embassy, which so highly propitiated the monarch that he professed a readiness to bestow on the Ambassadors any bounty which might be consistent with the dignity of his own Government;* the other, was the removal of the Company's establishment from Surat to Bombay, it having become impossible for the English residents on that station any longer to support the 'enormous extortions' to which they were subjected by the native officers.† This latter event led to such strong representations at the Imperial court, from the Nabob of Guzzerat, within whose principality Surat was comprised, (and who was apprehensive lest the sufferings of the English should be avenged on the commerce of his subjects, by a British fleet,) that the wavering policy of the Mogul ministers was at last terminated; in despite of the jarring interests of the courtiers, and the intrigues of Jaffier Khan. All the requests of the Embassy were in consequence, agreed to, in the year 1717; and no less than thirty-four grants, or mandates, addressed to the Nabobs

* That 'Great Events spring from Small Causes,' has long been a trite remark; yet if its truth were in need of illustration, it might be interestingly effected, by combining the above circumstance with the first enlargement of the Company's privileges in Bengal, through the instrumentality of Mr. Surgeon Boughton, about the year 1645. See before, p. 634; and Macph. Eur. Com. p. 140.

† Grant's Sketch, p. 125—127.

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Nabobs of Bengal and Guzzerat, and the Subahdar of the Decan, were issued under the Emperor's seal, in favour of the English.

The substance of the privileges conferred by these instruments was, 'that the cargoes of English vessels wrecked on the coasts of the Mogul Empire should be exempted from plunder; that the annual payment of a stipulated sum to the Mogul Government at Surat should free the Company's trade at that port from all duties and exactions; that the rupees coined at Bombay and Madras should be received in payment of the Mogul's revenues; that three villages, contiguous to Madras, formerly granted and afterwards resumed by the government of Arcot, should be restored to the Company: that the Island of Diu, or Divi, near the port of Masulipatam, should be made over to the Company for an annual rent of 7000 pagodas; that, in Bengal, all persons, whether European or Native, indebted or accountable to the Company, should be delivered up to the Presidency on demand; that the *dustuck*, or passport, of the President of Calcutta, should exempt all goods of export or import specified in it, and belonging to the English, from being searched by the Mogul officers; and that the said goods should pass, duty-free, through the Bengal provinces.' The Company were authorised, also, to purchase the lordship of thirty-seven towns, contiguous to Calcutta, and situated on both the banks of the Hooghley river for ten miles south of that town, on similar terms to those on which they had before obtained Calcutta itself, and the two adjacent villages.

These extensive concessions were regarded as constituting the great 'Charter of the English in India' as long as they continued subordinate to the Mogul Empire. The orders addressed to the Nabob of Guzzerat and the Subahdar of the Decan, were duly respected by those officers, but Jaffier Khan, who perceived that the possession of the thirty-seven towns on the Hooghley river, would enable the Company to command the navigation by erecting batteries on both sides, completely frustrated

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trated the Emperor's grant, by privately threatening the proprietors with his vengeance, if they dared to accept any proposal for purchase which should be made by the Company's servants. In another respect his opposition to the claims made by the English, under the new grants, was more open, and candid; for the Calcutta government having contended that the Imperial mandate was intended to protect, "not merely articles of export or import, but all English property *in transitu*, even that circulating within the Provinces," he indignantly disallowed it, using strong arguments in his own justification, and the claimants, at that period, judged it necessary to content themselves with the studious cultivation of their less equivocal privileges.*

In the year 1711, an Act of Parliament was passed, (9th of Queen Anne, chap. 7,) which, in order to prevent an improper interference, ordained, that no person whatever should be a Director of the East-India Company, and of the Bank, at one and the same time; and the like regulation was enacted in regard to the South-Sea Company. In the following year, on the petition of the Company, another Act (10th of Queen Anne, chap. 28,) was passed, empowering them to enjoy all their privileges, agreeably to former Acts and Charters, till three years' notice after the 25th of March, 1733, and repayment of their capital of 3,200,000l.

From the time of the union in 1708, till the year 1731, the Company's

* Grant's Sketch, p. 129; and Orme's Hist. Vol. II. p. 25. The Company, although they debarred their servants in India, from all trade to Europe, excepting with respect to some specified articles, had altogether relinquished to them the *Country trade*, or that which passed between one Indian port and another. The exemption from payment of customs in Bengal covering this trade as well as that of the Company; it increased with great rapidity; and what with their superior skill in navigation, and their privilege, the English became the principal carriers from the ports of the Ganges; and the shipping possessed by private individuals, amounted, in ten years after the period of the Embassy to 10,000 tons.

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Company's affairs in Sumatra underwent a variety of fortune, and their servants first ventured the experiment of deposing a Native sovereign. This was the Sultan Guilemot, who possessed the country of Anaksoongay, (in which some of the factories subordinate to Bencoolen were situated) and at whose court the English acquired an influence which trenched upon his own authority, and after various intrigues produced, in 1708, an open rupture. In the ten or twelve following years, amidst quick interchanges of desultory war and uneasy peace, 'during which all parties seem successively to have appeared on all sides,' the Sultan repeatedly lost his kingdom, and was, at length, finally deposed by the concurrence of the English, and the Malay rajahs and mandarins of Anaksoongay; the vacant sultanship being conferred on Rajah Cutcheel. The active interference of the English in the cabals and commotions which led to this event, deeply offended the native Grandees, and extensive combinations were excited for the utter destruction of the British settlements on the Island; the growing discontent being continually fermented by the agency of Dutch emissaries. The result was calamitous: in 1718, the ex-sultan, Guilemot, and a Rajah Mansore, once his rival for the sovereignty, uniting their forces against the British and Sultan Cutcheel, destroyed the town of Ippoe, with the British resident and all his people. In the March following a numerous and combined army of the natives, headed by the two Pangrens of Bencoolen, who had hitherto been friendly to the Company, *compelled* the English to evacuate Fort Marlborough (which had been constructed in 1714,) and seek refuge on board their ships. All intercourse was now at an end; yet within two years afterwards, the Natives, dreading that the Dutch would, with their accustomed activity, take advantage of the absence of the British to establish their own power, permitted their late enemies to resettle the factories, from which they had *so recently* been expelled.*

The

* Grant's Sketch, p. 132—135.

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The increasing importance of the British settlements in India, and particularly of those which are at this day the chief Presidencies, is marked by the Letters Patent granted to the Company by George the First in 1726. Hitherto, the judicial powers possessed by the constituted authorities acting under the Company in India, had been defined with little exactness. By the Letters Patent in question, regular Courts of Record, for the discharge of both civil and criminal justice, were established at the three settlements of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. The Courts were, respectively, to consist of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, seven of whom, at least, with the Mayor, were to be natural born subjects; the other two might be subjects of some friendly state. The Mayor was to be elected by the Aldermen, and remain in office for a year; the Aldermen to continue such, unless misconducting themselves, for life; the vacancies to be filled up from the principal inhabitants of the settlement. An appeal was allowed to the Governor in Council, and where the matter in dispute exceeded a certain sum, to the King in council. By the same Letters Patent, the Governor and senior Members of Council, at each Presidency, were created Justices of Peace, and empowered to hold quarter sessions.*

After the long and sanguinary war for the succession to the Crown of Spain, the Emperor Charles the Fifth, whose cause had been supported by Great Britain at a vast expense of blood and treasure, and who had obtained the sovereignty of the Austrian Netherlands in consequence of the general Peace concluded in 1713, suffered a New East-India trade to be opened under the sanction of his passports, by an association of merchants, at *Ostend;* and two forty-gun ships, fitted out from that port,

* Grant's Sketch, p. 142; and Printed Charters, p. 368—399. The powers conferred by the above grant were enlarged, and more accurately defined, by a subsequent Charter granted by George the Second, in 1753: but many alterations in the government and polity of Calcutta, have been since made under authority of different Acts of Parliament.

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port, appeared in the Indian seas under the Imperial colours in the year 1716. The success of these vessels stimulated other merchants to similar enterprize; and many individuals, both in the English and Dutch nations, engaged in the scheme of trading to the East under the Emperor's flag. The associations thus formed soon excited the idea of establishing a regular Company, which was accordingly done under an Imperial Charter, bearing date on the 19th of December, 1722, but not made public till August 1723, when it was published at Brussels, in five different languages. These proceedings were viewed with a jealous eye by the European Governments, who had already established East-India Companies in their respective states; and the subjects of the three great maritime powers, England, France, and Holland, were strictly prohibited under severe penalties, from entering into the service of the new Company, or taking any share in the stock with which their trade was to be carried on. Strong memorials were also presented to the Imperial court against the right of interfering with the commerce of India, contrary to various treaties, and particularly to that of Munster. Still, however, the Emperor persevered, and the Ostend Company, connecting the arts of smuggling with the privileges of fair trade, seemed to frown defiance on their enemies, and, apparently, had a certain prospect of attaining prosperity and permanence. In this state of things, an unexpected event, by which their stability appeared to be ensured, led to their almost immediate downfall. The Court of Vienna, in 1725, formed an alliance with Philip of Spain, who among other concessions, virtually guaranteed the existence of the new Company: that alliance was immediately counterbalanced by the treaty of Hanover, agreeably to which, the contracting powers, viz. England, France, Holland, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, agreed to guarantee each other's territories, both "in and out of Europe," and also, "all the rights, immunities, and advantages, particularly *those relating to trade*, which the said allies enjoy, or ought to enjoy, respectively;" a stipulation, obviously

viously levelled against the Ostend Company. The Emperor Charles, after some delay, and having obtained a promise from the allies to support the pragmatic sanction, (by which the succession to his dominions was secured to his daughter, Maria Theresa,) renounced his alliance with King Philip, and by the Treaty of Paris, signed in May, 1727, agreed to suspend the privileges of the new Company, for seven years; and previously to the expiration of that term, in a more particular treaty with the British Crown, he pledged himself to rescind them entirely. Thus was the English Company relieved from the efforts of an aspiring rival, whose success concurring with other adverse circumstances, had already obliged them to reduce their annual dividends from ten to eight per cent.

In the year 1730, the Company obtained a renewal of their Charter from the Parliament, in defiance to the strenuous opposition of a considerable body of Merchants and others, of London, Bristol, and Liverpool; who had associated for the purpose of overthrowing the old Joint-Stock trade, and of establishing a new regulated Company upon its ruins. In their petition and proposals to the House of Commons, the new Adventurers undertook to advance 3,200,000l. to redeem the fund of the United Company, in five several payments, the last to be at Lady Day, 1733, on an interest of 4l. per cent. till that term, and only 2l. per cent. after it, provided; first, 'that they might be incorporated,' and in every respect vested, with *all the exclusive privileges and trade* of the old Company, yet so as not to trade in one Joint-Stock, or in their Corporate capacity, but that the trade should be free and open to all his Majesty's subjects, who should pay 1l. per cent. on the value of their exports to India, in consideration of a license from the proposed corporation: secondly, that this trade be solely carried on from the port of London: thirdly, that the proposed Company's term be thirty-one years, with three years' notice of expiration; and fourthly, that they should be empowered to levy a duty of 5l. per cent. on the gross value of all merchandize imported from India, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of

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forts and settlements, and of securing the preservation and enlargement of the trade.'

The established Company, in their counter-statement to their proposals, represented, 'that their annual sales yielded to the Government, a revenue of 300,000l. clear of all deductions; that the support of their forts and factories required the annual expenditure of 300,000l. and that it was by no means probable that a trade which every man might take up, or lie down, at his pleasure, would be able to produce so much revenue, and at the same time support the requisite expenses of forts and settlements; and that the uncontrouled separate traders would infallibly renew the distress, which had nearly effected the ruin of the trade, when the two rival Companies and the independent Adventurers were all trading in competition.'

Though the Company succeeded in getting a renewal of their privileges, it was not without a considerable premium; for they agreed to pay 200,000l. into the Exchequer on the 24th of December, 1730, without interest or re-imbursement, and to receive four per cent. only, instead of five per cent. on their whole capital of 3,200,000l. after the ensuing 20th of September, which was an additional sacrifice of 32,000l. yearly. For these concessions, the Parliament enacted (3d George II. chap. 14,) that the Company should continue in the full possession of all their former powers and privileges till after three years' notice from March the 25th, 1766, although the state should in the meantime liquidate the whole of their borrowed capital; and that they should enjoy the East-India trade in common with all other subjects, as a body corporate and politic, *for ever*, notwithstanding the repayment of their capital, and the legal expiration of their exclusive privileges. By the same Act, the Company were debarred from possessing any lands, tenements, &c. in Great Britain, of more than the annual rent of 10,000l. Through the above payments and the defalcation of interest, the Company found it necessary to reduce their yearly dividend from eight to seven per cent. at which it continued for exactly ten years from Midsummer, 1732.

From

From the period of the final union of the two Companies, in 1708-9, till the season 1716-17, there was no particular extension of the Company's trade; the total annual average value of their exports being, 567,280l. 12s. 6d. viz. merchandize, 227,567l. 17s. 6d. and bullion 339,712l. 15s. and the average produce of their yearly sales, 998,885l. 2s. 6d.: eight of their ships were lost, taken, or destroyed, in the course of the same term. From 1716-17 to 1733-34, there was a slow, yet fluctuating, increase; the yearly average of their exports amounting to 639,759l. 15s. 6d. viz. goods, 113,568l. 7s. 3d. and bullion, 526,191l. 7s. 9d. and the produce of their annual sales to 1,421,146l. the Company's loss of shipping in the same period was twelve sail.

During all the above years the British establishments in India subsisted without any particular change of fortune, excepting what has already been detailed in respect to the events at Sumatra. In Bengal, and at Surat, the privileges granted by the Mogul were either observed or regarded, as best suited the interest of the immediate Governors, the distracted state of the Mogul empire, admitting of no further appeal to the Imperial Court; whilst, at the same time, the increase of Pirates on the Malabar Coast, and the spirit and activity with which they pursued their depredations, had a very considerable effect on the advancement of the English trade. In Persia, also, the Company's factories were greatly depressed, and thrown into the utmost confusion and alarm, by a Turkish war. On the other hand, the Company's agents extended their influence by forming commercial relations with the Rajahs of Cherical and Cartinad; and the Rannee, or Queen, of Atinga, a princess, whose dominions stretched along the Malabar coast, south of Goa, to Cape Cormorin; and above all, they gradually confirmed their connection with China, in despite of innumerable difficulties and obstructions interposed by the jealous policy of the Chinese Government.*

The invasion and pillage of Hindostan, between the years 1736

 and

* Company's Records, from 1708 to 1734.

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and 1739, by the infamous usurper of the Persian throne, Thamas Kouli Khan, who had assumed the appellation of Nadir Shah, a no immediate effect on the Company's interests, though pregnant with the most important events that could possibly befall the The Mogul Empire, which for two centuries after the commencement of the European intercourse with India, had been universally considered as the most powerful and opulent in the world was at that period in a very relaxed and distracted state; several of the Subahdars and Nabobs, to whom the administration of distant provinces had been delegated, having assumed independent authority over their respective governments, though they still acknowledged the nominal supremacy of the Great Mogul.* Under such circumstances, the tyrant Kouli Khan found an easy conquest; and after ravaging Delhi, and desolating many of the provinces, he compelled the unfortunate Emperor to cede to him all his territories westward of the river Indus. He then returned into Persia, carrying with him, according to the lowest estimate, treasure, and effects, to the amount of 70 millions, sterling.† After this event, the power of the Mogul rapidly declined; the Rohillas formed themselves into a state on the east of the Ganges; the Mahrattas consolidated their power, on the west; and in 1740 the celebrated Allaverdy Khan, who had been *Hookah*, or Pipe-bearer to a late Subahdar of Bengal, finally succeeded in overthrowing his master's son, and usurping his principality.‡

In the year 1744, the East-India Company agreed to advance

* Mr. Orme, in his 'Hist. of the Military Transactions of the British in Indostan,' Vol. I. p. 24, estimates the Mahomedan population at nearly ten millions; whilst that of the original Natives, whom they had so long retained in subjection, amounted to ten times as many, or 100,000 millions.

† Such is the statement of Mr. Orme; other historians have computed the value of the plunder at 125 millions; and the computation has been extended to the most enormous amount of 231 millions, sterling.

‡ See "An Account of the Revolutions in India *from 1725 to 1756*," by Luke Scrafton, Esq. for a very curious history of Allyverde Cam, and Hadjee Hamet, his ill-fated brother.

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to Government, which was then much in want of money for the war projected against France, the sum of one million, sterling, at 3l. per cent. interest, in consideration of having their exclusive privileges prolonged for 14 years, beyond the term prescribed by the Act of Parliament passed in 1730. By the new Act (17 Geo. II. chap. 17,) made to legalize this agreement, the Company were authorized to borrow any sum, not exceeding the million wanted, on bonds under their common seal, at similar interest to what they had covenanted to receive from the state. The average annual value of the Company's exports in the ten years preceding 1744-45, was 669,957l. 4s. viz. merchandize 172,123l. 10s. and bullion 497,833l. 14s. the average amount of their yearly sales was 1,715,262l. 18s.: the number of Company's ships lost, destroyed, or taken, in the ten years, was fourteen.

The war which broke out between England and France in the year 1744, and the reciprocal hostilities which that event generated in the most distant possessions, wherever they chanced to be contiguous, of the two nations, produced a most important change in the state of Indian affairs; and though not immediately followed by such rapid strides to Empire, as have distinguished the progress of the Company's arms in modern times, may be regarded as the distinct precursors of all their territorial aggrandizement. At first, however, the superior force of the French, both on sea and land, and the artful policy which they pursued in forming alliances with the Native Powers, gave to that nation a decided advantage.

In 1745, an English squadron appeared in the Indian seas, and prepared to attack Pondicherry; but Monsieur Dupleix, the Governor of that settlement, prevailed on the Nabob, (Au'war-odean Khan) to insist with the Government of Madras that no hostilities should be committed against the French settlements in the territories of Arcot, or, in the Carnatic. Thus was Pondicherry saved; yet in the following year, on the arrival of a French squadron of superior force to that of England, under the command of M. De la Bourdonnais, the French were permitted to besiege

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Madras, without opposition on the part of the Nabob, notwithstanding his previous assurances that he would oblige them to observe the same law of neutrality which he had enjoined to the English. The siege commenced on the 4th of September, 1746. Europeans, 400 Caffres, and 400 Indians, disciplined in the European manner, having been landed on the preceding day: the entire strength of the English did not exceed 300 men, and not any of them, excepting a few officers, had seen any other service than that of the parade. On the 10th, the town was surrendered: M. De la Bourdonnais, having engaged his word that he would agree to its being ransomed on moderate terms. This agreement was strongly protested against by Mons. Dupleix, and the Council of Pondicherry; who argued that it was highly detrimental to the interests of France, which, they affirmed, would be sacrificed to private advantages, if Madras was '*not razed to the ground.*'*

'Happily for the English, the disputes that ensued, and the destruction of a part of the French fleet by storms, prevented M. De la Bourdonnais from proceeding to the immediate reduction of all the British settlements in Hindostan, as he had previously intended. He persisted, however, in despite of Dupleix, to settle the terms of the ransom of Madras; and it was agreed that the town should be evacuated before the end of January, 1747, on the President and Council covenanting to pay 1,100,000 pagodas, or 440,000*l.* sterling; and giving hostages for the due performance of their engagements. The bullion and merchandize belonging to the Company, with all the naval stores, and a moiety of the military stores, the value of the whole being estimated at 185,000*l.* were considered as the right of the captors, and put on board the French

* Orme's Hist. Vol. I. p. 69. Madras had at that period, attained to a degree of opulence and reputation, which rendered it inferior to none of the European establishments in India, excepting Goa and Batavia; and the inhabitants within the Company's territory immediately contiguous, amounted to 250,000, most of whom were natives of India, of various casts and religions. Ibid. p. 66.

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French ships; but all other merchandize and effects were relinquished to their respective proprietors. Soon afterwards M. De la Bourdonnais quitted India for France; where the influence of Dupleix occasioned his undeserved confinement for three years, in the Bastile.

The consent of the Nabob to the capture of Madras had been obtained by the finesse of promising that the town, if taken, should be delivered up to him; and by representing that the English would certainly be willing to pay him a large sum for the restitution of so valuable a settlement. On discovering the fraud, he sent 10,000 men, under the command of Maphuze Khan, his eldest son, to seize the place; but this army was twice defeated in the course of three days, by a greatly inferior number of French troops, and soon returned to Arcot. The treaty of ransom was then annulled, and all the English property, with the exception of clothes, and a few other articles, was declared to belong to the French East-India Company; and every European who refused to take an oath of allegiance to the French King was expelled from the settlement.

During the following months, several attempts were made by the French troops to obtain possession of Cuddalore and Fort St. David, but without success; and on one occasion they were surprised by Maphuzee Khan, and suffered considerably. Shortly afterwards, Mons. Dupleix, by means of false representations, and bribes to the amount of 150,000 rupees, prevailed on the Nabob to make peace with his nation, and abandon the English. In the intermediate time, one of the Company's ships, having 60,000l. in bullion, besides merchandize, on board, was decoyed into the port of Madras and seized by the French.

In July 1748, the greatest marine force belonging to any one European power, that had ever been seen in India, was collected on the coast of Coromandel under the command of Admiral Boscawen: it consisted of upwards of thirty ships, none of which were of less than 500 tons burthen, and thirteen of them were ships of the line. It was now thought that the capture of Ma-

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dras would be avenged by that of Pondicherry; yet the lateness of the season, combining with other unfortunate circumstances, prevented the expected success, and after a loss of 1065 Europeans, the English were obliged to raise the siege, which had been carried on during the entire month of September.* In November, intelligence reached India, of the signing of preliminaries of peace between France and England; and in August 1749, Madras was restored to the English under the articles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.†

"The sword was now sheathed," says Mr. Orme, "and it depended on the agents of the two Companies, to re-assume in tranquillity their mercantile operations: but the late war had brought to Pondicherry and Fort St. David, a number of troops greatly superior to any which had yet been assembled in India; and as if it were impossible that a military force that feels itself capable of enterprizes, should refrain from attempting them, the two settlements, no longer authorized to fight against each other, took the resolution of employing their arms in the contests of the Native

* The courage and splendid military talents of the celebrated Robert Clive, afterwards (March the 15th, 1762) created Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey, in Ireland, were first displayed at the siege of Pondicherry; and particularly in an attack made by the French on the English trenches, when Clive, who had left England in the mercantile service of the Company, but was then an ensign, defended the advanced trench with great gallantry and judgment.

† On the reduction of the interest on the National Debt, after the conclusion of the war, under the Acts passed in the years 1749 and 1750, (23rd Geo. II. chap. 1 and 22,) the East-India Company found it expedient to agree that the interest on their whole capital of 4,200,000l. should be reduced to 3l. per cent. after the 25th of December, 1755: but they were permitted to borrow any sum not exceeding the amount of their capital, at the same rate of interest they were to receive, in order to discharge their bond debts: under this permission they obtained a loan of 2,992,440l. 5s. by 'the sale of annuities.'

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Native Princes of the Country; the English with great indiscretion, the French with the utmost ambition."*

The first act of interference on the part of the English was in favour of Saujogee, a deposed King of Tanjore, who in the beginning of 1749, made application to the Presidency at Fort St. David, for assistance to re-instate him on the throne; promising, that if he should regain his territories by their aid, he would pay all the expenses of the war, and cede the fort and district of Devi Cotah to the Company. These advantageous offers, combined with the little difficulty, which, it was represented, would attend the enterprize, determined the Presidency to engage in restoring the ejected sovereign; and a strong expedition, accompanied by Saujogee, was sent into the Tanjore Country in the month of April. It was soon discovered, that the dethroned king had but few supporters in his own nation, and the English troops being opposed by a very superior force, were obliged to return to Fort St. David. The Presidency, nevertheless, determined to continue the war, as well with the view of obtaining some compensation for the past expenses, as with intent to retrieve the disgrace of having retreated before the arms of an Indian Prince. All the Company's troops on that station, viz. 800 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys, were therefore dispatched to Devi Cotah by sea, under the command of the celebrated Major Lawrence; and after considerable resistance, the fort of Devi Cotah was taken by storm, the forlorn hope being led by the gallant Clive, who was then a Lieutenant. Shortly afterwards, Pratop-Sing, the reigning King of Tanjore, who was alarmed at the state of affairs in the *Carnatic*, agreed to make peace with the English on the following terms:—that he should reimburse the charges of the war; allow a pension of 4000 rupees to Saujogee; and cede to the Company for ever, the fort of Devi Cotah, and as much land adjacent to it as would produce an annual income of 9000 pagodas.

The territory of the Carnatic, or of Arcot, as it was now indifferently

* Orme's Hist. Vol. I. p. 107. † Ibid. p. 108—118.

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differently called, was one of the subordinate principalities, immediately governed by Nabobs, but subject to the provincial Viceroy, or Subahdar, of the Decan, who was himself, the immediate feudatory of the Great Mogul. In the appointment to these offices, all nobility being merely official in the constitution of Hindostan (excepting as to the members of the Imperial family) not any regard was given to hereditary descent, unless accompanied by splendid talents, or aided by intrigue and riches. In the decay of the Empire, however, such departures from the customary principles of polity became more frequent, the Native Princes taking advantage of the enfeebled state of the government to vindicate their own independence, and fix the succession to their respective states in their own descendants. Hence originated the wars which so greatly tended to the establishment of the British power in India.

On the death of Nizam-al-Muluk, Subahdar of the Decan, in 1748, at the great age of 104 years, the vacant province was disputed between his second son, Nazir-Jing, (who had seized the treasures of his deceased father) and his grandson, Murzafa-Jing; and regular instruments of investiture, as if from the Mogul Court, were produced by the adverse competitors, though it is not improbable that those instruments were, on both sides, forged; for, in the now declining and distracted state of the Empire, such kind of frauds had become of frequent practice.* About the same time, An'war-odean Khan, who after the assassination of the infant Seid Mahomed,† in 1744, had been duly appointed to the Nabobship of Arcot by Nizam-al-Muluk, was openly opposed by an enterprizing rival named Chunda-Saheb, a chieftain of considerable talents, and distantly related to the Nabob Dost-Ally, who had been slain in battle against the Mahrattas, in May 1740.

* Orme's Hist. Vol. I. p. 124.

† Seid Mahomed was the regular descendant of a succession of three Nabobs of the same family; who, by availing themselves of the general confusion of the Empire, had acquired a greater stability in their office than had been customary in Hindostan.

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1740. Chunda-Saheb, in order to forward his own purposes, made a common cause with Murzafa-Jing, the pretender to the Subahdarship, and to their alliance acceded, as a third party, Monsieur Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry; who in forming this connection, deliberately, and avowedly, aimed at the acquisition, on behalf of his Country, of extensive territorial and political power: "for such was the stipulated price at which he promised to support the pretensions of the two Native chiefs."*

An'war-odean Khan awaited the attack of the confederates at Amboor, on the frontiers of the Carnatic; and on the 23rd of July, 1749, was there defeated and killed, in a pitched battle, the superior discipline and gallantry of the French auxiliaries having been the principal causes of his defeat. On the following day, the victors took possession of the fort and city of Arcot; and Murzafa-Jing assuming all the state and ceremonial of a Subahdar, invested his colleague Chunda-Saheb with the Nabobship of the Carnatic. Soon afterwards, both Princes made a visit to Pondicherry, and were received by Mons. Dupleix "with all the ostentatious ceremonies and oriental marks of respect due to the high rank they assumed." Here, in return for the services of the French battalion, and as a stimulus to future exertion, Chunda-Saheb presented Dupleix with the sovereignty of eighty-one villages in the immediate neighbourhood of Pondicherry.

Maphuze Khan, the eldest son of the late Nabob An'war-odean, had been taken prisoner in the battle at Amboor; but his second son, Mahomed-Ally, escaped to Trichinopoly, and from thence sent to request the assistance of the English; affirming, 'that both Murzafa-Jing and Chunda-Saheb were rebels to the Empire; that Nazir-Jing was the real Subahdar appointed by the Mogul; and that he himself was the real Nabob of the Carnatic, having obtained the reversion from Nizam-

* Grant's Sketch, p. 149; and Orme's Hist. B. II.

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zam-al-Muluk :'—a few days afterwards, he asserted, by a second messenger, 'that he had received the patents of his appointment to the Nabobship from Nazir-Jing, the true Subahdar of the Decan.'

The English Presidency, though fully aware of the ambitious designs with which the French had united their arms to those of Murzafa-Jing, were by no means forward in furnishing Mahomed-Ally with the required aid. They appear, indeed, to have been fearful, as well of engaging the Company in a new war, contrary to the sentiments of their employers at home, as of incurring the resentment of the Mogul Emperor, should they unwarily embark in a cause which might occasion them to act in contravention of the appointments of the Imperial Court. All the assistance, therefore, which they at first supplied to Mahomed-Ally, was a force of 120 Europeans; and twenty of those troops were afterwards detached to assist the King of Tanjore, who was besieged in his capital by the combined forces of Murzafa-Jing, and the French under Mons. D'Auteuil.

In this state of affairs, the King of Tanjore, being in correspondence with Mahomed-Ally, joined with him in exhorting Nazir-Jing, at Golcondah, to come and settle the differences in the Carnatic in person, after the example of his father, Nizam-al-Muluk. The Subahdar acceded to their wishes, and having summoned the immediate feudatories of his province, to furnish their due quotas of troops, gave orders for the whole to rendezvous under the forts of Gingee, about 35 miles north-west from Pondicherry; and, when he himself came up with the main body, it was found that his entire army amounted to 300,000 fighting men, of whom more than one half were cavalry, with 800 pieces of cannon, and 1300 elephants. The assemblage of this immense force, and the number of great lords that followed the standard of Nazir-Jing, convinced the English that he was the rightful Subahdar; and they therefore, in accordance with his request, dispatched Major Lawrence, with a body of 600 Europeans from Fort St. David, to his camp at Valdore, where he had been previously

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viously joined by Mahomed-Ally, and the English detachment from Trichinopoly. The army of Murzafa-Jing, which had retreated from Tanjore, was now posted at Villanore, within sight of Valdore, together with a French battalion of 2000 men. The vast force of his uncle, however, had filled the bosom of Murzafa-Jing with gloomy apprehensions; and his European auxiliaries being in a state of complete mutiny, he judged it expedient to surrender himself to Nazir-Jing, and though the latter is said to have sworn on the Koran, 'that he would neither make him a prisoner, nor deprive him of the governments which he enjoyed during his grandfather's life,' yet he immediately ordered him to be put into fetters. His camp was then attacked, and numbers of his followers slaughtered; the Subahdar's troops giving no quarter: the French battalion with Chunda-Saheb, and a body of horse having retreated at midnight towards Pondicherry, sustained but little loss.*

The disgrace of the French arms was in this instance converted by the address of Mons. Dupleix into the means of future annoyance; for having ascertained that the Nabobs of Cudapah, Canoul,

* Whilst the armies were in view of each other, and during the sedition in the French camp, Mons. D'Auteuil, having no reliance on his troops, and dreading the consequences of being attacked by the English, sent a messenger to acquaint Major Lawrence, 'that although the troops of the two nations were engaged in different causes, yet it was not his intention that any European blood should be spilt; and as he did not know in what part of Nazir-Jing's army the English took post, he could not be blamed if any of the French shot came that way.' Major Lawrence returned answer, 'that the English colours were carried on the flag gun of their artillery, which if Mons. D'Auteuil would look out for, he might thence discover where the English were posted; and that, although he was as unwilling as himself to spill European blood, yet if any shots came that way he should certainly return them.' Soon after, a shot from the French entrenchment flew over the English battalion; and Major Lawrence, imagining it was fired by Mons. D'Auteuil's order, to try whether the English would venture to come into action with the French, directed it to be answered from three guns; but nothing farther ensued from this defiance. Orme's Hist. Vol. II. p. 140.

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Canoul, and Savanore, (who were all three Pitans by birth, and possessed of the daring spirit which charcterizes that nation,) were highly discontented at the conduct of Nazir-Jing, he estblished with them a secret correspondence, and eventually engaged them in a conspiracy against the authority of the Subahdar, who, on the return of Major Lawrence, with the English battalion, to Fort St. David, about the latter end of April, 1750, had broke up his camp at Valdore, and marched to Arcot.

Having reformed their army, and completed their preparations for continuing the war, the French, in the following July, surprised the city of Masulipatnam; and soon after, took the town and pagoda of Trivadi, situated about fifteen miles to the west of Fort St. David. In August, they stormed the camp of Mahomed-Ally, near Trivadi, and with a far inferior force, discomfited his whole army, consisting of 15,000 horse and 5000 foot: their own loss being only a few men who were wounded by the explosion of a tumbril. Immediately afterwards they marched to Gingee, which had been always regarded by the Indians as the strongest fortress in the Carnatic, and in the course of one night, and with the loss of no more than twenty men, they assaulted and carried all its complicated and mountainous defences, sword in hand,*

The Subahdar, Nazir-Jing, who had hitherto remained at Arcot, devoting his whole time to the pleasures of women and hunting, was at last, by the fame of the French prowess, and the loss of the important fortress of Gingee, awakened from his inactivity, and he again issued orders for assembling his army. Very few of the chiefs whom he had permitted to return to their own countries rejoined his standard, and the troops which he had sent home to Golcondah, were at too great a distance to march back into

* The fortifications of Gingee consist of a strong wall, flanked with towers, and extending almost three miles, which encloses three steep and craggy mountains, forming nearly an equilateral triangle, and having on the top of each, large and strong forts: the declivities are also fortified by numerous works; and on the plain between the three mountains is a large town. Orme's Hist. Vol. I p. 151.

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into the province of Arcot before the rainy season. Notwithstanding these deductions, his camp by the latter end of September, consisted of 60,000 foot, 45,000 horse, 700 elephants, and 360 pieces of cannon, and with the attendants, who in an Indian army, always out-number the regular troops, contained a multitude of little less than 300,000 men. The same dilatory spirit that had procrastinated the first movements of the Subahdar, operated to impede the march of his immense army (which employed fifteen days in advancing thirty miles) and was still at the distance of sixteen miles from Gingee, when by the violent setting-in of the rains, the whole was inclosed between two rivers which had been rendered almost impassible by the inundation. The difficulty of obtaining provisions increased daily, the entire country being overflowed, and sickness began to spread through the camp from the inclemency of the season; nor were these distresses likely to cease till the return of fair weather in December. Under these circumstances, the wavering and impatient temper of Nazir-Jing determined him to negociate for peace; and to avoid the disgrace of seeing the French maintain their pretensions in hostile defiance of his authority, he at length consented to give his patents for all the cessions they demanded, on the single condition that they should hold the lands so granted as his vassals.

At the same time Mons. Dupleix (who, at whatever expense of good faith and honour, resolved to pursue his plans of aggrandizement,) never slackened his machinations with the discontented Nabobs, by whom upwards of twenty other officers in Nazir-Jing's army were now engaged in the conspiracy; so that altogether the confederates commanded one-half of the Subahdar's whole force. Whilst the negociations were pending, therefore, and even after deputies from Nazir-Jing had arrived at Pondicherry with information that he would immediately sign the treaty and quit the Carnatic, Dupleix gave orders for the French troops at Gingee to march and attack the Subahdar in his camp, at the very instant that the Pitan Nabobs should intimate that

every thing was prepared to carry their long-meditated scheme into execution. The summons from the confederates arrived on the fourth of December, and Mons. de la Touche, who commanded the French troops, immediately began his march with 800 Europeans, 3000 Sepoys, and ten field-pieces. At four o'clock on the following morning this officer came in sight of the Indian camp, (which extended eighteen miles, every Nabob and Rajah having a separate quarter,) and directly commenced the assault against the troops most devoted to Nazir-Jing; their resistance, however, was so determined, and their numbers so great, that he was three hours in advancing sufficiently into the camp to communicate with the Pitan confederates, whose forces were now descried drawn up in order, with an elephant in the centre bearing a large white flag, which was the signal agreed upon by which they were to be known to the French. Mons. de la Touche, who had already dispersed one half of the army of Nazir-Jing, now halted for intelligence; and in a few minutes the elevation of numerous small white banners announced to him that the conspirators had been successful.

Nazir-Jing, who, having on the preceding day ratified his treaty with Mons. Dupleix, and sent it to Pondicherry, would, at first, give no credit to the reports that were brought to him of the assault made on his camp by the French troops; but, when convinced of it, he designated their attack, as 'the mad attempt of a parcel of drunken Europeans,' and apprehending no danger from such a disproportionate body of men, ordered the officers who were near him 'to go and cut them to pieces:' he then commanded the head of Murzafa-Jing, whom he had still kept in irons, to be struck off, and brought to him. Being now informed that the troops of the discontented chiefs, though drawn up in order of battle, had not yet advanced to repulse the French, he was greatly enraged at their inaction, and mounting his elephant, he advanced towards them, accompanied by his body-guard. The first of the traitors he descried was the Nabob of Cudapah, whom he called 'a dastardly coward, who dared not defend

defend the standard of the Mogul against the weakest of his enemies. The answer of the Pitan, was that he knew no enemy but Nazir Jing; and at that instant gave a signal to a Fusileer, who rode upon the same elephant with him, to fire: he did so, but the shot missed, upon which the Nabob discharging a carbine, he lodged two balls in the heart of the Subahdar, who dropped dead on the spot. His guards being panic struck were soon killed, or dispersed. The head of Nazir Jing being separated from his body, was carried to the tent of Murzafa-Jing, when the conqueror hailing the Prince, "Subahdar of the Decan," in confirmation of that title, presented him with the head of his uncle. No sooner was the death of Nazir Jing generally known, than his troops presented themselves in crowds, to enlist under his successor. Mahomed-Ally, the avowed rival of Chunda Saheb, having every thing to fear from this sudden revolution, with two or three attendants, fled on horseback to the fortress of Trichinopoly. The new Subahdar received homage from most of the native chieftains of his army, and soon after, Monsieur De la Touche, with all his officers, came to congratulate him on his accession to power, and were most graciously received. About the middle of December, Murzafa-Jing entered Pondicherry in great state, and after having been solemnly installed on the throne of Decan, he did not forget the services of Monsieur Dupleix, but invested him with the superintendance of all the territory south of the Kirshna; and, besides making him commander of 7000 horse, gave him many valuable jewels, and a large sum of money. He also rewarded the French troops who fought at Gingee, besides confirming to the French possession of territories adjacent to Pondicherry, Karical, and Madraspatam.

In January 1750, Murzafa-Jing left Golcondah, accompanied by a detachment of French under M. Bussy; but about the end of the month on entering a defile in Cudapah, he found the three Pitan Nabobs determined to dispute his passage. His cavalry first attacked the rebels, but were driven back; however, the fire of the French artillery occasioned a dreadful slaughter, and compelled

pelled the Pitans to retire. The Nabob of Cudaipah was badly wounded, but contrived to escape, the Nabob of Savanore was killed, and Murzafa-Jing, rallying his troops, came up in person with the Nabob of Canoul, who turning suddenly upon him, thrust his javelin into the brain of his pursuer, who fell dead; at the same moment, however, the Nabob was mortally wounded, and the troops attending him all cut in pieces. General confusion and the most dreadful consequences would have inevitably followed, had not M. Bussy immediately assembled the native Generals, and proposed that the vacant dignity should be conferred upon Salabat-Jing, the eldest surviving brother of Nazir, but then a prisoner in the camp. This being agreed to, the French obtained fresh favours of the new Subahdar, and the army pursued its march to Golcondah.

It seems that too much caution had hitherto prevented the English Presidency from engaging in open hostilities with the French, notwithstanding Mahommed-Ally had repeated his intreaties for effectual assistance in the defence of Trichinopoly; but when the French and their allies had the insolence to set up small white flags in almost every field to which they laid claim; and some of them within the English Company's bounds at Fort St. David, the insult was no longer to be borne; they therefore resolved upon accepting the terms offered them by Mahammed-Ally, and to support his cause to the utmost of their power.

The soundest policy had dictated this measure, as nothing short of it at this time could have prevented the English from being driven out of the Peninsula, either by the force or the frauds used by their restless enemies. Several severe battles followed this resolution, in which the English with inferior numbers, and under various disadvantages bravely maintained their own cause, and that of their ally. The name of Lord Clive it has been justly observed would have been rendered for ever memorable, only by his defence of Arcot for fifty days against the power of Chunda Saheb and his French auxilliaries. Here his

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his great genius, and his superior military tactics, were first developed, and a foundation laid for future honours. The long continued protection given to the Nabob, in Trichinopoly by Major Lawrence, and the battles of the Golden and Sugar Loaf rocks, were equally glorious to the British arms. Relative to Arcot Mr. Orme has observed, its defence "was maintained under every disadvantage of situation and forces, by a handful of men in their first campaign, with a spirit worthy the most veteran troops, and conducted by their young commander with indefatigable activity, unshaken constancy, and undaunted courage; and notwithstanding that he had at this time neither read books, nor conversed with men capable of giving him much instruction in the military art, all the resources which he employed in the defence of Arcot, were such as are dictated by the best masters in the science of war." *

In 1762, the Directors of the English East India Company were compelled to solicit assistance of the British government, their resources being inadequate to contend with the French Company, suppported by their country. The English government first tried negociation, but it ended only in superseding Dupleix in the government of Pondicherry, and in guaranteeing Madras, Fort St. David, and Davy Cotah, with their districts, to the English. It was also agreed that the French Company should retain Pondicherry and Karical, with their districts; but that no new fort should be built by either. During the interval of peace both the French and English exerted themselves to destroy the numerous and formidable communities of pirates that had long infested the coasts of Malabar. Next to these were the Muscat Arabs, whose cruisers had long infested the seas surrounding the peninsula. The Mahrattas also had equipped a number of vessels to oppose the Arab fleet, the command of which was entrusted to Conagee Angria, who had raised himself from a private. He was then governor of Severndroog, one of the most formidable of the Mahratta forts; but revolting against

* Ormes' Hist. Vol. I. p. 196.

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his lawful sovereign, he became a pirate himself, and seized upon all the sea coast between Tamanah and Bancoote, an extent of about 120 miles, with the inland country as far back as the mountains. Thus being in possession of various fortified positions twenty or thirty miles from the sea, with a numerous fleet, he became the terror of India, and they proceeded so far as to capture several French and Dutch ships of considerable force. They had even baffled an attempt made by Commodore Matthews with three ships of the line, and a Portuguese force to reduce their fort at Coilably. Another attack made by the Dutch with seven ships and two bomb vessels, having also failed, raised the fame of these pirates beyond all bounds, till April 1755, when the gallant Commodore James of the Company's ships in India, with only one ship of 44 guns, a ketch of 16 guns, and two bomb vessels attacked and carried the fort of Severndroog in one day, with three other forts near it, though situated on the continent. The brave commodore then giving up these forts to the Mahrattas, to whom they belonged, proceeded to Bancoote, a fortified island about six miles from Severndroog, which surrendered at the first summons. This has been since called Fort Victoria. Gheria, the principal station of the pirates, was the next place proposed to be attacked. It stands on a lofty perpendicular rock something like Gibraltar, and in this undertaking it was agreed that Admiral Watson should co-operate. The expedition which sailed for this purpose on the 12th of February 1756, consisted of nine ships of war, from twelve to seventy guns, and five bomb vessels, having on board 800 Europeans, and 1000 Sepoys. These sailed into the rivers which form the harbour to Gheria, burnt the fleet, and by a tremendous cannodade, compelled the fortress to surrender. The works, containing 200 pieces of cannon, were then occupied, and effects and money to the amount of 120,000*l.* sterling fell into the hands of the captors. Angria himself surrendered to the Mahrattas, who became possesors of the pirate's forts along the coast. Still, though this daring pirate had been subdued, the province of Bengal became very shortly after

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after exposed to new and uncommon danger; for in 1741 the Subbahdary, or the Nabob's government of Bengal, fell under the usurpation of Alleverdy, a Tartar by birth, a military adventurer, who, with his brother had been employed under the former government. He succeeded in his usurpation, and defended his acquisitions with great ability till 1756, when dying he left them to his grand nephew, Moza Mahommed, to whom he had given the name of Choragee al Dowlah. Naturally debauched and cruel, this youth seemed to have ascended the throne with strong prejudices against the English; for within a few days after his accession he sent a letter to Mr. Drake, the President at Calcutta, demanding him to deliver up Kissendass, the son of Rajah Bublub with his treasures: the messenger, however, who had landed in a small boat in the disguise of a common soldier, was considered as an impostor, and turned out of the factory with derision. Just at this period advices were received from England that a war with France was inevitable, and some preparations being begun in the front of the fort, the spies of the Nabob represented them as enormous; but on the notification of an apprehension of a war with France the Nabob became outrageous, and instantly put himself at the head of 50,000 men to attack Calcutta and its dependencies. It was also believed, that having been led to think that the wealth of Calcutta was immense, he had already devoted it to the gratification of his rapacity. It was in vain the Presidency assured him they were willing to demolish any of their newly raised buildings. He first took and plundered a small fort belonging to the Company at Cossimbuzar, and reaching Calcutta on the 16th of June, immediately commenced his attack; here, as there were no more than 174 Europeans among the troops of the garrison, in the course of three or four days Mr. Holwell, the commandant, was reduced to the necessity of surrendering. Soon after this, the Nabob sent for Mr. Holwell, as it was supposed, to express his surprise at the smallness of the sum found in the treasury of Calcutta, which did not exceed 5000 rupees;

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pees; but whether satisfied or not, he dismissed him with repeated assurances on the word of a soldier, that he should suffer no harm; this was about seven o'clock in the morning of the 20th of June; the ensuing night was a night of horror. The English garrison, then amounting to one hundred and forty-six persons, had been conveyed to a strong stone prison, forming within the walls a cube of about eighteen feet, open only to the westward by two windows strongly barred with iron. Mr. Holwell, immediately on entering the place conceived the dreadful effects which must ensue, unless the people were speedily released, and accosting the officer of the Indian guard, promised him a thousand rupees if he would only remove half of them to another place. He retired for the purpose, but soon returned, telling the governor that the Subahdar, by whose order alone such a step could be taken, was asleep, and that no person dared to disturb him. A most profuse perspiration soon took place, accompanied by a raging thirst, which becoming each moment more intolerable, gradually changed into phrensy and delirum. The ravings of despair were succeeded by the groans and broken accents of the dying. In the morning twenty-three only were found alive, and yet these sufferings seemed to make but little impression upon the ferocious and besotted Subahdar, who had no idea that the English would return in force to Calcutta, and contemptuously declared "he did not believe there were ten thousand fighting men in all *Frenghistan*," the country of the Franks, or Europeans. A formidable armament, however, under Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive soon obliterated this disgrace; for commencing their operations in the December following, Calcutta was invested, and reduced in the month of January 1757, and also the city of Hughley on the Ganges, where the principal magazines were established. The Subahdar himself, who had assembled a large army to repel the invaders, was attacked by Colonel Clive, and being obliged to retire with considerable loss, on February 9, he signed articles of

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of peace, in which he consented that the factories and possessions of the English should be restored, and their losses indemnified.

Chandernagore, with its factory then in possession of the French, being next attacked, filled the Nabob with fresh apprehensions, and he remonstrated in strong terms to Admiral Watson, saying, that if the English were determined to besiege the French factories, he should be necessitated by honour and duty to assist them; to this Watson answered, "that if he protected the King's enemies he would light up a flame that all the waters of the Ganges would not be able to extinguish." But among others of his dependants Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, nearly related to the Subahdar by marriage, was the first to apprehend the threats of the tyrant, and Meer Jaffier accordingly making secret proposals to the English resident at Moorshebad, the capital of Bengal, they were also eagerly embraced at Calcutta. These had for their object nothing less than the deposition of the Subahdar Dowlah, and the advancement of Meer Jaffier to the *Musnad*. Encouraged by Meer Jaffier, Colonel Clive began his march to Moorshebad, and seeing the die was cast, the Colonel most adventurously putting the whole army in march, crossed the Ganges, and advanced to Plassey, within one day's march of the capital, where he found the Subahdar encamped with a force of seventy thousand men in all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of oriental magnificence. The number of elephants, with their scarlet housings; the richly embroidered tents and standards; and the glittering of the cavalry, made a grand and striking appearance. Here, though this army was posted on an eminence, Colonel Clive, with little more than three thousand men, advanced to the attack; when such was the distrust and despondency among the Asiatics, that with a trifling loss of about seventy men, a most decisive victory was gained, and the camp, artillery, and stores of the enemy falling into the hands of the English, their Commander soon after saluted Meer Jaffier, Subahdar of the three provinces, and exhorted him with the troops

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under his command to pursue his march to Moorshebad. Intimidated by what had happened on the Subahdar Dowlah's arrival at that place, as he disguised himself as a faquier, and left his palace in the dead of the night, Meer Jaffier was seated with all the accustomed ceremonies upon the *Musneed*, and acknowledged as Subahdar of Bengal by all the Rajahs and Omrahs, while the unhappy Subahdah Dowlah being discovered in his flight, was put to death, imploring in vain for mercy, by the son of the new Subahdar.

In 1758, the affairs of the Company being thus triumphantly restored, and Colonel Clive being nominated to the government of Bengal, there would have been no interruption to their progress had not the French in the interval of the war made themselves masters of Ingeram, Vizagapatam, and other places on the coast of Coromandel. M. Lally having also arrived from Europe with a large force, Fort St. David's was first invested and surrendered after a short and weak defence. The Rajah of Tangore having assisted the English, was the first to feel M. Lally's resentment, though the capital of that name bravely repelled their besiegers, and forced them to retreat. M. Lally next proceeded against Arcot, which he took without opposition, and in the beginning of December 1758, advanced with the whole force to Madras, which being relieved by the English Captain Kempenfeldt, in February 1759, he was obliged to abandon. Vizagapatam and Mesulipatam were recovered about the same time by Colonel Ford. Salabat Jing, Subahdar of the Decan, also ceded the entire Circar of Masulipatam to the Company.

In 1760, Colonel Coote, who commanded the Company's forces in the Carnatic, gained several advantages over M. Lally, particularly in the battle of Wandewash, where the French, after a long and obstinate contest, abandoned their camp, their cannon, and all the implements of the siege, which they were carrying on when attacked by the English. Arcot was immediately after invested and reduced. In 1761, Pondicherry, to which M. Lally had retired, being reduced by the want of provision, was the next

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to fall, the garrison surrendering prisoners of war, and it is worthy of observation, that this proud and opulent capital of the French settlements in the east, fell by the fortune of war into the hands of the English nearly at the same time that the conquest of Canada was completed in the west.

The power of the French being thus virtually destroyed, produced a material change in the nature and objects of the East India Company: a commercial society was raised into a territorial power, and instead of depending on the native princes for protection, or permission to carry on commerce, they became regulators of their politics, and arbiters of their destiny.

Such was the situation of Great Britain and France in 1762, when the peace of Fontainbleau took place, by which, though Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and other French settlements were restored, the ascendancy acquired by England was so great that a political competition could scarcely be said to exist. Meer Jaffier also found it convenient to go to war with Ramnarain, the Nabob of Patna, and seemed for a while, like his predecessor, to be jealous of the English; yet as Colonel Clive joined him with his troops upon condition that the Company should be put in possession of Hughley, and several districts, it was so managed after all, that Ramanrain should be confirmed in his remaining possessions on purpose to be a check on the increasing power of Meer Jaffier. About this time Colonel Clive was created an Omrah of the Empire, receiving also from the bounty of the Emperor the titles of Gubduk Ulmulk, &c. i. e. the Perfection of the Empire, the Sword of Victory, the Experienced Warrior.

Lord Clive, notwithstanding, animadverted on several parts of the treaty with France with some disapprobation. He, however, admitted, upon the whole, that it was highly advantageous; but, in exposing some geographical errors, he condemned the manner in which Salabat Jing and Mahomed Ally were acknowledged, as pregnant with future hostilities. In the mean while, the valour and activity of the English gave them great influence and high consideration; their aid was courted by all parties; and the

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overthrow of the French leaving them without any check, they became irresistible in several provinces of India. In 1760 Colonel Clive returned to England, where he was created an Irish peer, and he was succeeded in the command of the army in India by Colonel Cailland. In fact, almost the whole interval between 1760 and 1763, was taken up with feuds among the native princes, and which it is by no means surprising should terminate to the advantage of the English; and thus the weakness and infidelity of Meer Jaffier, who had secretly intrigued with their enemies, at length induced them to introduce Meer Cossim as his successor. He, it is observed, intending to deliver himself from the English, maintained a cautious dissimulation till his views could no longer be concealed. By the aid of Major Carnac and the English forces, he defeated and took prisoner Shah Allum, with whom he soon after made a treaty; he also reduced several rajahs: yet, after all, when Meer Cossim had recourse to hostilities against the English, it is confessed that it was not without provocation, as the English officers not only disputed his orders, but, on all occasions, shewed their superiority "with an insolence insupportable to an Asiatic prince," who could not brook a mode of conduct tending to render him contemptible in the eyes of his own subjects. This is a fact which is confirmed by a letter from Mr. Hastings to the governer.*

Still the treaty with Meer Cossim, till 1763, had been executed with such strictness, that the English factory at Dacca complained it would reduce them to the same distress which they had endured in 1756. The council of Calcutta voted it dishonourable, and urged that it had been concluded without their knowledge, so that Mr. Vansittart entered a minute in the books vindicating the proceedings. On the 5th of April, 1763, when peace could be no longer observed towards Meer Cossim, his city of Patna was taken by the English, but, through their disorderly conduct,

* See Appendix to the Third Report made to the House of Commons on the nature, state, and condition of the East-India Company, Nos. 17 to 26.

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conduct, recaptured, after a considerable slaughter. Mr. Ellis, who commanded the party, was with them made prisoners, after they had crossed the Ganges upon their retreat. In consequence of these disastrous events the Council of Calcutta proclaimed the restoration of Meer Jaffier. These disgraces were soon obliterated by the successes of Major Adams; Patna was retaken; and Meer Cossim, who was deposed in favour of Meer Jaffier, fled for refuge into the province of Oude, where he was protected by the Nabob. In January, 1765, Major Monro, who succeeded Major Adams, not being successful, was recalled, in consequence of the arrangements made by Lord Clive before his departure from England. Major Sir Robert Fletcher commanding in the interval, took Chandergeer, and Allahabad, the enemy's capital, which seemed to be the utter ruin of the affairs of Sujah-ul-Dowlah.

But Jaffier Ali Khan dying at Moorshebad on the 14th of January, 1765, the English thought proper to consent that Nazim-ul-Dowlah, his grandson, should be his successor; and exterting large fees from the weakness and distress of the young Nabob, they compelled him to confer the nabobship, or deputy-government of the province, on Mahomed Khezi Khan, an implacable enemy both to the young prince and his father.

On the 3d of May, 1765, Lord Clive arriving at Calcutta, regulations and covenants were formed, to restrain the enormous and flagitious peculations of the Company's officers, and for apprehending all Europeans, who, not having indentures, had no claim to the protection of the Company. In the mean while, Sujah Dowlah having formed an alliance with a Mahratta Chief, was defeated by Major Carnac, and surrendered himself a prisoner, to accept peace from the justice and courtesy of the victor. At this negociation Lord Clive attended in person; and though the English, as usual, were infinitely the gainers, the arrangements, upon the whole, were highly acceptable to the native princes. This treaty was executed on the 16th of August, 1765; and thus terminated happily and gloriously a contest, in the

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course of which the British name in India was more than once threatened with annihilation.

His lordship, by preventing those rapid promotions to offices of great trust by which many young men had suddenly acquired immense riches, and other laudable efforts to reduce the military to subordination, produced a dangerous mutiny, which required all his courage and conduct to suppress. In May, 1766, he abolished what was called the double *batta*, or an additional allowance for subsistence, granted only to the military in Bengal after the battle of Plessey. Several of the most culpable officers in this mutiny were compelled to return to Europe; and the houses of others deemed untractable, were surrounded by a military guard till vessels were ready for their departure*.

Lord Clive's endeavours at reform did not rest with the army; he wished to regulate the oppressive mode of letting farms in India; to supply the deficiency of gold coin; and to prevent the unnecessary rise of various articles, by a better administration of the territorial property: but these measures, however wise and salutary in themselves, created innumerable enemies to him and the government. He did continue in India to witness the failure of his efforts; but his health being impaired, returned to England in 1767, it is said, not enriched, but five thousand pounds less opulent by his expedition. Mr. Verelst was for a time his successor.†

Soon after Lord Clive's departure a new enemy arose in the person of a newly created potentate, Hyder Ally, or, as he was called from his rank, Hyder Naick. He had assumed the government of Mysore in 1763, and feeling the British power a strong restraint upon the native princes, he at length resolved to excite all the country powers within his influence to commence hostilities, beginning with the Nizam of the Decan; the latter soon repented of his

* See Strachey's Narrative of the Mutiny of the Officers of the Army of Bengal.—Verelst's View of the English Government in Bengal, p. 57.

† Verelst's View, &c. with the Appendix; the Papers published by authority; and the History of Transactions in India.

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his new alliance, and concluding a peace with the Company, added to them the Dewannee of the Balagat Carnatic, which included the territory of Hyder. In February 1768, Mangalore, one of Hyder's sea-ports, was taken, with nine large vessels; but so cautious was he in his measures, and his cavalry so numerous and well appointed, that nearly a whole year was occupied with very little advantage to the English, excepting a treaty of peace, stipulating for mutual aids and a free trade.

In May, 1769, the state of the Company's affairs were such as to produce a degree of political despair, so that in the course of a few days India stock fell sixty per cent. Under these circumstances new commissioners were sent out under the name of Supervisors, with authority to examine and rectify the concerns of every department, and a full controul over all their servants in India. To this the government made some objections, but at length a compromise was effected. An advantageous agreement with the Company was also concluded for five years, during which they were to pay an annuity of four hundred thousand pounds, and to export a certain quantity of British goods. They were also allowed to increase their dividend within that time to twelve and a half per cent, with a deduction from the sum payable to government; and if the dividend should be reduced to six per cent. the payment to government was to cease; but any surplus of their cash remaining in England, after payment of certain specified debts, was to be lent to the public at two per cent.

Notwithstanding the measures of controul, and the regulations adopted at home and abroad, the embarrassments of the Company were objects of enquiry in 1772, when the session of the 26th of November, was opened by an interesting speech from the throne, and the attention of parliament was particularly called to the present state of the East-India Company, and the difficulties in which they appeared to be involved; and his majesty recommended making such provisions for the common benefit and security of all the various interests concerned as they should find best adapted

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adapted to the exigencies of the case. In the enquiries which have taken place, many objects in India seem to have been viewed as a kind of legal plunder; and to the peaceable inhabitant, famine and the oppression of those who should have protected him were worse than the enemy; and notwithstanding every expedient used for the accumulation of wealth, the aggregate receipts of the Company's treasury alarmingly increased; the Gentoo, almost reduced to despair by perpetual exactions, could no longer purchase rice, the great staple of Indian sustenance. The commercial monopolist had seized it all, and collected it into stores, and as the miserable natives, from the principles of their religion, had no other alternative than to part with the last remain of their property rather than eat flesh, by living on unwholesome roots, a dreadful mortality ensued.*

The cities were thronged with starving multitudes; thousands died in the streets, the air was infected, and one hundred men were daily employed on the Company's account in Calcutta to remove the dead and throw them into the Ganges. Unusual numbers of jackalls, dogs, and vultures, flocked to the scene of desolation, and by devouring the dead added to the horrors of the spectacle. The river being thus contaminated with human carcases, fish was no longer considered as wholesome food; hogs, geese, and ducks also feeding on the dead; mutton was the only aliment deemed innoxious; and even this, from the unusual drought

* Vide Official Letters and Reports relative to India, *passim*. Rear-Admiral Staverin, a Dutch naval officer, in his account of the voyage made by him to Batavia, Bantem, and Bengal, during the years 1768 and 1771, says, "this dreadful calamity was occasioned partly by the failure of the rice harvest the preceding year; but it may be chiefly attributed to the monopoly by the English of the rice reaped the season before, and which they now held at so high a price, that the natives could not purchase a tenth part of what they wanted. The consequence was, that whole families perished miserably. The atmosphere was contaminated by the unburied bodies;—the unusual heat of the season augmented the contagion, the water of the Ganges differing only eight or ten degrees in warmth from the air of the shade."

drought of the season, was poor and scarce. After all, the Company, far from being benefited, was irreparably injured by these iniquities.

Fortune also combined against them: the Aurora, in which the Supervisors sailed, was never heard of. Malversation in India had grown to a most awful extent: the Company had disbursed for fortifications alone 3,728,562*l.** Mr. Sullivan, Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors, asserted, that the bad prospect of affairs abroad was occasioned by the want of power in the Directors to punish their servants for disobedience or malpractices; and, late in the session of 1773, a bill was brought into the House of Commons for regulating the servants and Court of Judicature of the East-India Company, but it did not pass. About the latter end of the year the Directors having recovered from their embarrassment, had the courage to dispute the right claimed by parliament of inspecting their books. Mr. Burke inveighed with severity against ministers, who, since 1767, had been receiving from the Company four hundred thousand pounds per annum, and yet conniving at their notorious mal-administration, for the purpose of subjecting them entirely to their own mercy, that they might invade their chartered rights without fear or scruple. Alluding to the dilitariness of the select, and the extraordinary dispatch of the secret committee, he said, "one had been so slow in its motions, that the Company have given up all hopes of redress; and the other has proceeded altogether so rapidly, that no one knows where they will stop. Like the fly of a jack, the secret committee has gone round, while the select committee has moved like the ponderous lead at the other end, and in that manner have they roasted the India Company." In the upper house the Duke of Richmond, who was conspicuous in the India-House as a proprietor of stock, strongly resisted all the measures of government. About the latter end of 1772, they very prudently reduced their dividend to six per cent.; but this did

* History and Management of the East-India Company, Chap. 17.

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did not restore order to their finances; for, early in February, 1773, they signified to Lord North their intention to apply to parliament for a loan, not exceeding 1,500,000*l.* for four years. On the 9th of March his lordship moved a series of resolutions; after which the propriety of a loan was admitted of 1,400,000*l.* with a proviso that due care should be taken to prevent the recurrence of similar exigencies; and on the 26th of April leave was given to the Company to export tea duty free to America. On the 10th of June the bill framed by the minister, notwithstanding much opposition, passed the third reading by a great majority, the blanks being filled up by the names of Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor-General; Lieutenant-General Clavering, the Honourable George Monson, Richard Barwell, and Philip Francis, Esquires, as counsellors for the presidency of Bengal.

In the course of the debates on India affairs, many severe reflections were made on the character and conduct of Lord Clive, who, in a long and elegant harangue, defended himself against the aspersions of the press. He depicted, with force and truth, the enormities which degraded the British name, and impoverished the Company, in the extravagant and dissipated conduct of the lower order of the Company's servants. After replying almost to every individual charge brought against him, he observed, "My defence may be made at the bar; but, before I sit down, I request the house, that when they come to decide upon *my* honour, they will not forget their own."

His lordship then quitting the house, a sentence of censure proposed against him was negatived; and though a resolution was passed unanimously, that Lord Clive had received the sum of two hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds, he had rendered great and meritorious services to his country.

Although throughout this enquiry Lord Clive displayed the greatest firmness, his mind never recovered its proper bias. His feelings, which every day became more agonizing, brought on a kind of delirium; and, on the 22d of November, 1774, it is generally understood that he put a period to his existence by shooting

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shooting himself through the head, by this melancholy catastrophe demonstrating to mankind the vanity of human pursuits, and the infinite superiority of conscious virtue to all the gifts of fame and fortune.

In April 1772, it should have been observed, the memorable appointment of Warren Hastings, Esq. took place as Governor General of India; a man whose conduct throughout all the inferior gradations of office stood confessedly unimpeached *.

When Lord Clive embarked for Europe, February 1763, he left the government in the hands of Mr. Holwell, *pro tempore*; Mr. Vansittart being then actually appointed, and arriving at Calcutta in July, Mr. Vansittart remained in Bengal till the beginning of 1764, and was succeeded by Mr. Spencer, who was quickly replaced by Lord Clive. On the second resignation of Lord Clive Mr. Verelst was advanced, January 1767, to the government of Bengal. To him succeeded, December 1769, Mr. Cartier. Both these gentlemen entered into the views, and acted upon the system established by Lord Clive. At length the Sullivan party prevailing in the direction, Mr. Hastings in opposition to Lord Clive's interest, was appointed governor of Bengal. The more secret transactions, with the concomitant intrigues and cabals, which distinguished his administration can be perfectly understood only by those who have employed their time in developing the complex and clashing interests of the Clive and Sullivan parties.

On the arrival of the new counsellors in India, in the autumn of 1774, the whole system and policy of Mr. Hastings seemed to have been changed; and his manners were so far altered, that these new coadjutors perceived they were not looked upon as associates in the great work of reform, but in the odious light of detectors, spies, and rivals. The Rohilla war, avowedly the work of Mr. Hastings, though it procured considerable wealth to the Company, was subsequently condemned by a formal resolution of the Court of Directors, passed November 1775, as con-

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* Belsham's Memoirs of the reign of George III. Vol. III. p. 73.

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trary to their express and repeated orders, and inconsistent with the principles both of policy and justice. The ruin of the Begums, and ignominious death of the illustrious Nuncodumar, will probably never be effaced from among the accusations against Mr. Hastings; and his conduct relative to Mahommed Reza Khan, a Mussulman of the highest distinction, was scarcely less extraordinary, who after being kept in custody two years, was honourably acquitted. The Mahratta war, which was begun in 1778, was attended with various success; and in the conclusion of 1779, it was observed, in consequence of Mr. Hasting's perversity and want of good faith, "that the whole Mahratta race, inflamed at the treachery of the English government, now entered into an alliance, in conjunction with the French, to expel us from India." This gave birth to the war of the Carnatic, and the ravages of Hyder Ally in that highly cultivated and populous quarter. At this period it is said a storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple, the miserable inhabitants flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered, till one dead, uniform silence reigned over the whole region.

In September 1780, Hyder Ally surrounded and cut to pieces a considerable detached corps under Colonel Baillie, and after making himself master of Arcot, the English government at Madras could scarcely believe themselves in safety; but Sir Eyre Coote arriving and taking the command of the Company's forces on the coast of Coromandel, Hyder was foiled and defeated in various successive engagements; several naval encounters also took place between Sir Edward Hughes and M. Suffrein, with equal skill, courage, and success. A secret committee was appointed in 1781, to enquire into the causes of the Mahratta war and that in the Carnatic; and Sir Thomas Rumbold, who had recently relinquished the government of Madras, was criminated, as guilty of gross peculation, embezzlement, and oppression. An address was also presented to the King, to beseech his Majesty to recal Sir Elijah Impey, his Majesty's Chief Justice in India,

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to answer to his conduct. The accusation of Sir T. Rumbold, however, fell to the ground, as did also a series of resolutions of the House of Commons in May 1782, condemning in the most decisive terms the whole system of India politics.

In this interval, the war in India had been vigorously prosecuted; Negapatam on the coast of Coromandel, and Trincomalee in the island of Ceylon, belonging to the Dutch, were captured by the English; and notwithstanding some reverses, the successes of General Goddard in 1781 and the following year, seemed to promise the happiest issue. In January 1783, General Matthews arrived from Bombay, and laid siege to the fortress of Onore; here the carnage was terrible, and the booty immense. But though at this time the hopes of the English were raised by the death of Hyder Ally, his son Tippoo Saib, succeeding him tended to damp them not a little. Sir Eyre Coote likewise having acquired a high pitch of military reputation, died about the same time at Madras.

Peace being at length concluded with Tippoo Saib and the Mahrattas, Mr. Hastings, in March 1783, made proposals to the Emperor Sha Alleam, to enter into engagements with the Company, of a very hostile nature to several powers of India, then in amity with the Company, which being acceded to, ended in the sudden invasion of the Emperor's territory by the Mahratta's, and in their making themselves masters of Delhi, his capital. The Council at length resolving to put a stop to Mr. Hastings's intrigues, and astonished at his gross inconsistency "in warring against a power lest it should become formidable in favour of a power already formidable," and he knowing his reputation at home to be greatly on the wane, thought it expedient to resign the government. On his arrival in England in 1783, he was, after a long previous investigation of his numerous delinquencies, impeached at the bar of the House of Lords by the Commons of Great Britain, of High Crimes and Misdemeanors in the execution of his office.

During the session of Parliament his majesty's ministers

brought forward the consideration of the situation of the East-India Company; and this produced Mr. Pitt's famous bill, which was preferred to another proposed by Mr. Fox, and also an entire change in the administration, Mr. Pitt being appointed first Lord of the Treasury. Early in 1784, Mr. Pitt's first India Bill having been previously rejected, his second was brought forward. On the motion of committment it was carried by 276 against 61, and passed the Peers on the 9th of August following. Sir Elijah Impey had arrived in England but a short time before; but all the eloquence of the celebrated Mr. Burke exerted at that time to induce Mr. Pitt and his colleagues to do justice to India were unavailing, and occasioned that celebrated Orator to declare he was at a loss to account "for the callous insensibility of the minister at a time of life when all the generous feelings of our nature are most lively and susceptible."

Mr. Hastings arriving in England from India in June 1785, Mr. Burke gave notice of his intention to move for a Parliamentary investigation into his conduct early in the ensuing session; accordingly, on the 17th of February, 1786, the late Governor General was formally accused by him; the latter was defended by Messrs. Pitt and Dundas; but on the first of May following Mr. Hastings by his own express desire, and the indulgence of the House was heard at the bar. The Rohilla war was brought before them on the first of June, and the question decided in favour of Mr. Hastings; the second charge relative to the Rajah of Benares, on the 13th and on the 11th of July 1786, an end was put to these proceedings for the present by the prorogation of Parliament.

In 1787 the charges against Mr. Hastings were resumed, particularly those relative to the Begum Princesses of Oude, when on the 7th of February this was opened by Mr. Sheridan with an eloquence and energy which were perhaps never surpassed: the *treasures* of these unhappy princesses he significantly observed were their *treason:* a succession of charges having succeeded each other till the 30th of May 1787, the king put an end to the session.

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session. In fact, the trial of Mr. Hastings in Westminster Hall was most disgracefully protracted, as from its commencement till the 26th of February 1790, the court had sat only by adjournments, and all the real merits of the case were lost in the immensity of the detail.

On the 30th of March following, Mr. Dundas brought forward his annual report of the debts and revenues of the Company as required by the Regulation Act; representing their affairs as highly prosperous. This change had been wrought by the wise and equitable administration of Lord Cornwallis, who had advanced the revenues of Bengal within the last year, from one million eight hundred thousand pounds to two millions one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. In his Lordship's dispatch to the Court of Directors, dated August 2, 1789, he says, "Independent of all other considerations, it will be of the utmost importance for promoting the solid interests of the Company, that the principal landholders and traders in the interior, should be restored to such circumstances as to enable them to support their families with decency, according to the customs of their several *castes* and customs." In his council minute of September 18, 1789, his lordship wrote "I can safely assert, that one third of the Company's territory is now a jungle, inhabited by WILD BEASTS!" This assertion, in spite of all party considerations whatever, could not be construed, but as a most bitter satire on the conduct of Mr. Hastings, his successor, as amounting to a very explicit acknowledgment of the misery and oppression the inhabitants had long suffered under his capricious, haughty, and tyrannical domination.

At length, in 1780, the time seemed to have arrived when a severe vengeance might be taken upon Tippoo, the tyrant of Mysore, for all his real and pretended perfidies and oppressions: he had then attacked the Rajah of Trevancore relative to two forts which the latter had purchased of the Dutch East-India Company, and as the English government found themselves bound in honour to support the Rajah, the grand Carnatic army was im-

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mediately assembled under General Meadows, when penetrating the Ghauts, or defiles, of the mountains, they advanced towards Seringapatam. However, as the Sultan defended himself with great resolution, and much military skill, General Meadows was compelled to retreat to the vicinity of Madras, where, in December 1790, Lord Cornwallis took the command of the army in person. The plan of the war was now entirely changed; in March 1791, the important town of Bangalore was taken with little loss on the part of the British; and on May 13, the British army were within sight of Tippoo's capital. Next day, though Tippoo was defeated, Lord Cornwallis began his retreat towards Bangalore, in consequence of the swelling of the river, Cavery. Early in February 1792, unremitted preparations having been made for renewing the campaign, the eastern and western armies with their allies having formed a junction, Seringapatam was closely invested, and Tippoo found it convenient to treat with Lord Cornwallis, paying an indemnification for the expenses of the war, and delivering up his two sons as hostages for the due performance of the treaty. As to the increased revenue in India under Lord Cornwallis, it does not appear to have been raised under the most gentle administration: in Bengal only, the seizures for non-payment were most alarmingly notorious, Mr. Francis producing two Bengal advertisements in Parliament, the one announcing the sale of seventeen, the other of forty-two villages. During the tranquillity that succeeded the war in India, with Tippoo, that is to say, during the parliamentary session of 1795, the long depending cause of Mr. Hastings, which began February the 12th, 1788, experienced its final termination in the acquittal of the culprit; and thus in consequence of repeated delays and an unnecessary extension of evidence, Mr. Hastings escaped the censure and punishment of a state delinquent.

As to the affairs of the Company abroad, ever since the peace of Seringapatam 1792, dictated by Lord Cornwallis after a glorious and decisive war, Tippoo, instead of bending to his circumstances, entertained a secret animosity against the English, so much so, that

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that in the summer of 1796, his military preparations compelled the government of Madras, at a great expense, to assemble an army of observation in the Carnatic. Early in 1797, it appears that Tippoo had been concerting measures with his ministers upon the best means of introducing a French army into the Deccan, and driving the English out of India. Of this proposal the French did not make the least secret. On the arrival of the Earl of Mornington, as Governor-General of India, in the spring of 1798, at Calcutta, he had no doubt of Tippoo's hostile intentions, who with this view had added Zemaun Shah, sovereign of the rich and populous provinces of Candahar, Cachemire, &c. in the north of India, to his allies. He had 150,000 cavalry, besides infantry; and both in court and camp maintained himself in great state and magnificence. Being prevailed upon by Tippoo to make an expedition to Delhi in order to depose the old and wretched Emperor, Shah Allum, Zemaun Shah had no sooner set up his power there, than he was solicited to advance into the Deccan, where he was promised the sovereign of the Mysore would join him with all his forces "to exterminate the infidels." Tippoo also intrigued with the two courts of Poonah and Hyderabad; in fact, as there could not be the least doubt of the systematic dissimulation of the Sultaun, in the beginning of 1799 a very fine and well organized army being appointed by the indefatigable exertions of the Governor-General, the British overtook their enemies near Bangalore, and followed them to Malavelly. On the 3d of April, the army came within sight of the lofty towers of Seringapatam, and on the 5th encamped at the distance of 3500 yards from the city. On the 14th the Bombay army under General Stuart crossed the Cavery, and took a strong position on its northern bank. The fire of the batteries which began to batter in breach on the 30th of April, had on the evening of the 3d of May, shattered the walls so much that early in the morning of the 4th, the troops being stationed in the trenches were ordered to remain there till the heat of the day, when crossing the rocky bed of the Cavery, under a heavy fire from the stupendous works

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which defend this great and magnificent capital, they mounted the breaches with the most heroic gallantry, and surmounting every obstacle, in a short time all was confusion and consternation among the enemy, and the British colours were displayed on the summit of the breach. Resistance continued notwithstanding to be made from the palace of Tippoo some time after the fire from the works had ceased, Tippoo was slain making a desperate resistance, and it was with some difficulty that his body was found almost covered with heaps of dead; but being recognized by the family, was the next day interred in the mausoleum of his father.

Thus, after a short, but brilliant career, fell the house or dynasty of the celebrated Hyder Ally. On the following day his brother, and the elder of the Princes formerly hostages with Lord Cornwallis, surrendered themselves and demanded protection. Tippoo's dominions were divided between the Company, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, though the latter had taken no active part in the war; but as on a careful investigation it was found that the only surviving representative of the ancient royal family of Mysore, was a boy of five years of age, to him it was deemed both just and politic to restore the kingdom of the Mysore. In the treaty made on the occasion the dependency of this kingdom upon the British government was formally recognized, and the right of British interference distinctly acknowledged. The reigning family were soon after removed to Vellore in the Carnatic, and an annual revenue of 600,000 rupees appropriated to their maintenance.

The Earl of Mornington, who had arrived as Governor-General of India in 1798, immediately on the capture of Seringapatam, began to make arrangements for establishing the British influence and authority in the conquered country; as for the hostile designs and movements of Zemaun Shah, they fell to the ground with the ruin of Tippoo. After this favourable revolution, the Company met with very little opposition, but for the advancement and security of their commerce they availed themselves of a factory

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tory at Surat, and the Prince of Wales's Island in the entrance of the straits of Malacca, the best harbour for vessels of every kind, being accessible and safe at all seasons. Here too the whole navy of England could be refitted with masts and spars, and it is now the centre of the principal part of the Malay trade. Since this settlement was formed in 1801, opium has risen in Bengal to three times its former value; and the pepper plantations on the Prince of Wales's Island now contains more than twenty thousand nutmeg trees belonging to the Company and to individuals. From its position and other natural advantages it promises to become one of the chief emporiums of India.

Surat, which is the chief trading town in the Mogul's dominions, is inhabited by people of all nations; here the English as usual, after being admitted and tolerated, have become the sovereigns, though a governor still resides there under the authority of the Mogul. Surat is a general magazine for the most valuable productions from the coast of Africa, Malabar, Persia, and Hindostan. The English live in great splendour here: in fact, most of the Company's establishments which at first were only factories have now become sovereignties. The Island of Ceylon also since it passed from the Dutch under the more liberal authority of the British, in 1801, has been rendered susceptible of commercial improvements never thought of before.

In 1802 it was evident that the wise and efficient measures adopted since the death of Tippoo had tended to introduce a state of tranquillity without any precedent; this notwithstanding was soon disturbed by the Mahrattas, who form a federative body of united chieftains; namely, the Peishwa, or Vizier, Bhoonsla, Holkar, Scindia, and Guckwar; and as their territories were not less than 970 miles in length, by 900 miles in breadth, this enabled these chieftains to support a military force of more than 300,000 infantry and cavalry. Upon a war breaking out between Scindia and Holkar, the latter of whom marched to Poonah, and being there defeated by his opponent and the Peishwa, he fled to Bombay; when, according to precedent, claiming the protection of

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of the British government, a treaty of perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded on the 31st of December, 1802, between the Peishwa and our Governor-General. Holkar, after defeating Scindia and the Peishwa, set up a new Peishwa upon his own authority, the better to enable him to carry on his designs. But to counteract them, in 1803, an army under General Wellesley, posted on the Mahratta frontiers, marched up the country and saved Poonah from being burnt and plundered in his retreat, by the rapacious Holkar; and though Scindia and Holkar were reconciled in order to unite together against the British General, Wellesley penetrated the views of the hostile chiefs, broke off the negociations which Holkar had insidiously protracted, took the town and fortress of Ahmedrugar, and gained several other advantages previous to the battle of Assye, which covered the British General with unfading glory. This was the first pitched battle fought by General Wellesley, now the Duke of Wellington, and formed a prelude on the plains of India to those victories he has since obtained on those of Europe. The very formidable force which he defeated at Assye, encouraged him without delay to go in pursuit of the Rajah of Berar for more than a month; at length overtaking him, the plains of Agra crowned the glory already acquired. He next assaulted the almost impregnable fortress of Gawilgar on the summit of a hill, and took it by escalade. These astonishing successes induced the Rajah and his allies, Scindia and the Nizam, to offer terms; and a treaty began on the 13th of December, 1803, was signed and concluded on the 30th of the same month. These splendid services did not pass unrewarded; the inhabitants of Calcutta voted a sword to the general worth 1000l.; both Houses of Parliament voted him their thanks, and the King invested him with the Order of the Bath. In the meanwhile, however, the successes of General, since Lord Lake, had been scarcely less brilliant, and had materially contributed to the peace that succeeded. It is almost needless to say that in the treaties made between us and the country powers with whom we had been at war, very considerable concessions of territory were

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were conceded; and early in 1804, peace being proclaimed between the Mahratta powers and the British, General Wellesley and his brother, the Earl of Mornington, returned to England in 1805, but not till General Lake had completely discomfited a new enemy in the person of Jeswunt Ras Holkar, he being stripped so completely of territory and resources, that after the month of May, 1805, he never ventured to approach within 100 miles of any of the British detachments. By these brilliant exploits tranquillity was once more restored to India, and Lord Wellesley now prepared to return to Europe, which he had delayed nearly two years on account of his zeal to serve the country. The wisdom and policy of his administration in India met with very few objectors, and he surrendered his high trust to his successor the Marquis Cornwallis, amid the regrets of all the subjects of the British government in India. Lord Wellesley left India on the 20th of August, 1805, soon after Marquis Cornwallis had reached Fort William. He immediately opened a correspondence with Scindia relative to some new boundaries which he wished to make of the Company's possessions. Retaining Delhi and Agra, a district near the latter fortress, his Lordship was anxious to remove the old Emperor from his capital;* as he probably contemplated at one period, the eventual abandonment of Delhi. An erroneous idea had been entertained that the Jumna river was in itself a strong barrier. This Lord Lake corrected in a communication to Lord Cornwallis, in which he transmitted the most particular information upon this subject: the result of which was that the Jumna was only useful as a barrier during the rainy season, when military operations, were from the general state of the country, almost impracticable. It was fordable in several places above Agra, even before the 1st of October. Lord Cornwallis also communicated to Lord Lake, the plan he had contemplated for disposing of the conquered countries southward and westward of Delhi, which was to give part of them to the several inferior chieftains

* See Malcolm's Sketch of the Political History of India, &c.

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chieftains for whom we were bound to provide, on condition of their not claiming any further remuneration. The territories of these his Lordship thought would constitute the desired barrier between the possessions of Scindia in Hindostan, and those of the Company in the Dnale. It does not, however, appear that any measures which his Lordship could have adopted would have reconciled all the jarring interests and prejudices of the country powers; for he was actually on this way to take the field against Scindia, and had proceeded to Ghazepoore, near Benares, on the fifth of October, 1805, when he was suddenly arrested by the hand of death, having been in a very weak state for nearly a month previous to this event. His Lordship was succeeded by Sir George Barlow, who was fortunate enough to adjust all the differences subsisting between Scindia and us, in a treaty concluded by Lord Lake; the former being bound in no respects to intermeddle with the affairs or territories of the Company; and some part of his ceded territory was promised him within a given time on condition of his preserving the relations of peace and amity.

But the brilliant successes of this year had been considerably damped by a circumstance at Vellore, the occasion of which must for ever be regretted. This fortress belonging to the British, was garrisoned by six companies of the first and second battalions of the 23d, and four companies of his Majesty's 69th. About two o'clock in the morning of the 10th of July, the European barracks were surrounded; and from every avenue a heavy fire from musquetry was discharged upon the British soldiers within; a six-pounder was also employed. The sick in the hospital, the sentinels and the soldiers, at the main guard, were put to death: after which the Sepoys proceeded to the officer's houses, destroying all they could find. Colonel Mackeras, commander of one of the battalions, was shot while he was haranguing his men on the parade. Colonel Fancourt, the commander of the fort, was killed as he was proceeding to the main guard; and Lieutenant Ely, of the

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the 26th, was stabbed with his infant son in his arms in his wife's presence. About seven o'clock, two officers and a serjeant quartered near the barracks, introduced themselves, and obtained the command of the four remaining companies, and sallying out they secured the six-pounder, assistance also arriving from Arcot, the insurgents were soon cut down to the number of 600, and 200 more drawn from their lurking holes, and shot. Five hundred escaped through the sally-port, many of whom were taken. In this mutiny nine English officers were killed; and exclusive of the rank and file killed, 88 were wounded. The cause of all this discontent originated in the impolitic introduction of a code of laws among the native troops; a new turban, in particular had been ordered to be worn by the Sepoys, similar to a drummer's cap; they were also commanded to shave their upper lip, and the peculiar make of their cast in the forehead was to be removed. But as strong symptoms of disaffection had shewn themselves among the native troops at Seringapatam, in consequence of the obnoxious dress, in December the government of Fort George, issued a proclamation assuring the native troops that no Hindoo or Mussulman should in future be in any degree interrupted in the practice of his religious ceremonies.

During the succeeding years, 1806, 1807, and 1808, India remained perfectly tranquil; but in 1809, disturbances of a very serious nature broke out in the British army belonging to the Presidency of Madras, in consequence of the stoppage of a certain monthly allowance given to each officer of the coast army, in proportion to his rank, for the purpose of supplying himself with camp equipage. A monthly allowance was also made to the commanding officers of the native corps, called the *Tent Contract*. These allowances in 1809, the Madras government thought unnecessary. Colonel Munro, the quarter-master-general, being ordered to report upon it, he stated it not only to have been needlessly expensive; but he most improperly charged the officers with having taken advantage of it for sinister purposes. The officers indignantly demanded of General Macdowal, Commander-in-Chief

in-Chief, that Colonel Munro should be tried by a Court Martial, with which the general very reluctantly complied. Colonel Munro being arrested, was soon after set at liberty by the Governor, Sir George Barlow. For this application to the civil power, General Macdowal severely reprimanded Colonel Munro, for which he was himself abruptly deprived of his command. The result of these disputes was, that a great number of brave and excellent officers were suspended, or deprived of their commands; and the native army, upwards of 80,000 men thrown, more or less, into a state of mutiny. Fortunately for the British interests, previous victories had so far reduced the native princes, that they were unable to avail themselves of the fair opportunity that presented itself for shaking off the yoke.

The years 1810 and 1811, both in India and Europe, were partly spent in examining the voluminous documents sent over by Lord Minto, the successor of Lord Cornwallis, and Sir George Barlow; happily most of the suspended officers were restored to their commands. On a careful review of the whole, nothing seems to have been more indiscreet than the conduct of Sir George Barlow, and that nothing but the moderation of the insulted officers themselves, had saved the country from utter perdition.

In August 1811, the conquest of the Island of Java from the Dutch was accomplished, under the command of General Sir Samuel Auchmuty. The troops landed on the 4th of August, and on the 8th, the city of Batavia surrendered at discretion. On the 10th, a sharp action took place with the Gallo Batavian army, which was driven into a strong entrenched camp at Cornelis, which was carried by assault on the 26th, when the whole of the enemy, 10,000 in number, with the exception of 50 or 60 horse, which escaped with the governor, were killed or taken. The governor retreated to Surabaya, the eastern extremity of the island, having a garrison of 3700 men, which soon after surrendered. Thus, as Lord Minto observed in his dispatches, an empire which for two centuries had contributed to the grandeur of one of the most

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most respected states of Europe, was added to the dominion of the British crown, and from a seat of hostile machination and commercial competition, converted into an augmentation of British power and prosperity.

Towards the end of 1812, Sir George Barlow, the provisional Governor, being recalled, the Earl of Moira having been appointed Governor-General, he took his departure from England in his Majesty's ship the Stirling Castle. Upon his arrival in India, there can have been no doubt that all the provisions of the late public acts intended for the amelioration of that distant country, and for fixing its political constitution, would be faithfully carried into effect. In the meanwhile, it may not be unuseful to take a retrospective view not only of Mr. Pitt's Bill of 1784, but of the explanatory Act of 1786, and of such as have been passed since that period, as it is upon these, the present ground-work of the Indian Constitution is established; though as Mr. Fox's Bill in 1783, was rejected, the points in which it differed from that of Mr. Pitt's are not now of any consideration. Mr. Pitt's Bill appointed six Privy Counsellors to be Commissioners for the affairs of India, of whom one of the Secretaries of State for the time being was President. These Commissioners appointed by his Majesty, and removable at his pleasure, were vested with a control and superintendance over all civil, military, and revenue officers, of the Company; and even the Directors were obliged to lay before them all papers relative to the management of their possessions; and to obey all the orders they received from them on points connected with their civil or military government, or their territorial revenues. The Commissioners were obliged to return the copies of papers which they received from the Directors, in fourteen days, with their approbation, or to state at large their reasons for disapproving them; and their dispatches so approved or amended, were sent to India, unless the Commissioners should attend to any representations of the Court of Directors respecting further alterations in them.

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The Court of Directors had no power to send any orders respecting their civil or military government, without the sanction of the Commissioners; but these might (if the Directors neglected to send true copies of their intended dispatches upon any subject within fourteen days,) send from themselves orders and instructions relative to the civil or military concerns of the Company, to any of the Presidences in India; and these instructions the Directors were in that case bound to forward. If the Commissioners forwarded any orders to the Court of Directors on points not relating to the civil or military government, or to the revenues of the Company, the Directors might appeal to the King and Council. In all cases of secrecy, and particularly such as related to war or peace with the native powers of India, the Commissioners had the power of sending their orders to the local government of India, through a Secret Committee of the Court of Directors; which Committee, by the act, could in this case only be considered as the vehicle of the instructions to the local authorities in India. The chief government in India was, by this act, to consist of a Governor-General and three Counsellors; and the Commander-in-Chief of the forces had, for the time being, a voice and precedence next after the Governor-General; but was not to succeed in the event of a vacancy, unless by special appointment of the Directors. The constitution of the government of the subordinate Presidences of Madras and Bombay, was the same as Bengal; and at both the Governor had, like the Governor-General, a casting vote in the Council.

These settlements were by this act placed completely under the rule of the Governor-General in Council, on all points connected with the Country powers, peace or war, and the application of their revenues or forces. The King had a right by this act to recall the Governor-General, or any other officer of the Company, from India; and if the Court of Directors did not within two months nominate some person to a vacancy which might occur in any of the principal stations, such as Governor-General, Commander-

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Commander-in-Chief, or Counsellors, the Crown became possessed of the right to make such nomination. This act further expressed, that as the schemes of conquest were repugnant to the wish, to the honour, and the policy of the British nation, that it was not lawful for the Governor-General in Council of Fort William, without the express authority and concord of the Court of Directors, or of the Secret Committee, either to declare or commence hostilities, or to enter into any treaty for making war against any of the native Princes or States, except when hostilities have been commenced, or preparations actually made for the attack of the British nation in India, or of some of the States and Princes whose dominions it shall be engaged by existing treaties to defend. The subordinate Presidencies were prohibited by this act from making war or peace without orders from Fort William, the Court of Directors, or the Secret Committee, except in cases of sudden emergency, or imminent danger, when it would be ruinous or unsafe to postpone such hostilities or treaty. The Supreme Government have the power given them of suspending any of the Governors of the subordinate settlements who disobeyed their orders.

By this act also, a new and extraordinary Court was constituted for the trial of Indian delinquents, formed of a given number of the members of the House of Lords and the House of Commons; in which great powers were vested for the purpose of bringing to justice such persons as common courts could not reach. This Court has, since the year 1784, been newly modelled. In the act passed in 1786, to explain and amend that of 1784, the power of appointing a civil servant of twelve years standing, on the occurrence of a vacancy, to Councils, was given to the local governments of India. The appointment of a Commander-in-Chief to Councils was made an act of option, not of necessity. The Directors were vested with the power of appointing the Commander-in-Chief in India, Governor-General, and of making the Commander-in-Chief at Madras and Bombay, President of those settlements; and, besides, the Governors of Madras and Bombay

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were vested with a discretionary right of acting in extraordinary cases without the concurrence of their Councils, being held solely and personally responsible for any consequences which might ensue from their measures: but this great power was only given to such Governor-General, or Governors, as were spefically appointed to those stations, and did not devolve to their casual successors; nor extend to cases of a judicial nature, or to the alteration of any established regulation for the civil government of the British settlements in India.

In 1797 an act was passed, by which Courts were established at Madras and Bombay, with powers very similar to those before given to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bengal. These Courts were made altogether independent of the Company's Governments in India; but they were not competent to try informations against the Governor or Council, unless in cases of felony or treason. These regulations underwent some alterations by an act passed in 1800, when a Chief Judge and two Puisne Judges were appointed to the Court of Judicature at Madras. But though it must be admitted that Mr. Pitt's Bill was intended to sap the power of the Court of Directors, the result has proved otherwise. The influence of the Company in the House of Commons has hitherto supported their authority in Leadenhall-street, and when that of the ministers has not been strong, their superiority over the Directors has been little more than nominal. The latter have evidently been obliged to leave much more power in the hands of the Directors than ever they intended. Among other changes, the limits of the territories of the local governments of India have undergone several since the act of 1784 was passed.

The applications made by the Directors for the aid of government, and a renewal of their Charter in 1812 and 13, terminated in exciting a kind of chimerical dread lest the bulk of the East-India trade should be removed from the port of London!

On Tuesday, January 5, 1813, a General Special Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock being held in Leadenhall-street, Sir Hugh Inglis informed them they had been summoned for submitting

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submitting to their consideration certain papers which had passed between Ministers and the Court of Directors, respecting their communications with the President of the Board of Controul.—The Company contended, that to open the trade would be ruinous to them, and injurious to the country; and they also called for more information than had been given on the subject; in answer to which they had received a letter from the Earl of Buckinghamshire, dated January 4, 1813. His Lordship commences by noticing the complaints which induced his Majesty's ministers to form their opinion upon the extension of the import trade which was withheld from the Court of Directors, and that objections to that extension had not been answered. To this he replied, that though the Government were disposed to enter into the most frank and unreserved explanations, they did not feel it within the range of their duty to *engage in a controversy with the Directors* upon the points at issue. The duty of government he thought sufficiently discharged in stating the grounds upon which they were prepared to act with respect to the renewal of the Charter. He further informed them, that his Majesty's Ministers were disposed to adhere to the present government in India without any intention of making any material alterations in the existing provisions for carrying it on, except such as might arise from the opening of the trade. To use the Directors' own words, he said, he thought that neither "the safety of the British Empire in India, nor the British Constitution at home, would be overlooked by the legislature, or the ministers of the crown." Though he granted, that if the government of India could not be carried on with safety to the constitution, except through the intervention of the Company, the propositions of the Court of Directors, whatever they might be, must *unconditionally* be adopted. He concluded, that it would be for the Parliament to determine whether, in this respect, the nation was without an alternative; or whether measures ought to be taken for opening the trade, and at the same time to provide an administration of the government of

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India, compatible with the interests and security of the British constitution.

At this General Court, Mr. Rigby spoke with some warmth of the ironical language of this letter; and the conduct of government was severely reprobated by every speaker, Mr. Hume excepted, who thought it premature to call upon his Majesty's ministers for a decision before parliament met. The Court, however, voted their approbation of the watchfulness of the Court of Directors; and at every subsequent meeting in the City: at the City of London Tavern, the Mansion-house, &c. there were large majorities in favour of retaining the whole trade of India at the port of London. Nor were any persons more ready to second the views of the Company than Sir James Shaw, Mr. Alderman Atkins, and the other city members. In a word, the partiality of the City of London towards the Company excited an expression of some surprise at this courtly behaviour; and, in answer to the pretence made by the Company, that the country would be guilty of injustice in withholding the renewal of their Charter, it was asked, What would be said of a tenant who should raise a clamour against his landlord because the latter refused to renew his lease? Have they paid their rent? Or rather, have they not borrowed ready money out of the nation's pocket which they have neglected to pay? It was provided that the Company, during the continuance of its Charter, should pay into the Exchequer 500,000*l.* sterling per annum: and that upon all the money not so paid, an interest of fifteen per cent. should arise and accumulate. Since the first year, however, it does not seem they had paid a penny. Between 1806 and 1813, four millions more had been advanced by government for the Company. Still, for non-payment, their advocates have urged that the Company have been engaged in unavoidable wars; and that the act of Charter provides, that in such a case *they shall be excused*, or at least that they shall have longer credit. So that it would seem that it having been their interest to be at war, they have taken pretty

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pretty good care never to be at peace: hence the territories they now possess are supposed to contain a population of fifty millions. Early in the session of 1813, the business of the Company's Charter being brought before the House of Lords in a motion made by the Marquis Wellesley, he dwelt much upon the improved state of the happiness and security of the natives of India: coming to the subject of religion, he said, as to the extending Christianity to India, all that was to be done should be effected by the gradual diffusion of knowledge; for which purpose a collegiate body should be subject to the first dignitary of our Indian church. As to the Missionaries, he had never heard, while in India, of any mischiefs done by them; neither had he heard of any impression produced in the way of conversion. They were quiet, learned, and orderly; and Mr. Carey, one of their numbers, was employed as instructor in some branches of Oriental learning at Fort William. Marquis Wellesley had thought it his duty to encourage the translation of the scriptures; but had also thought it not less such to issue no orders of government on the subject of religion. As to an open trade, he felt it his duty to resist any general alteration of the system. The Earl of Buckinghamshire, in reply to these sentiments, quoted an opinion expressed by Lord Wellesley in 1800, rather at variance with that which he had just expressed; but he concluded that the commercial interests of the country ought to receive every privilege and advantage they could wish for. Still as the subject of the Company's Charter had excited an uncommon degree of interest and discussion both within, and out of parliament, during part of 1812 and 1813, he concluded that the urgency of the times required some prompt measures. Our commerce, excluded from the continent of Europe, and from the United States of America, had suffered much: our labouring manufacturers were in many places almost in a state of starvation; and, as a natural consequence, our taxes had diminished in their produce, while the nation at large felt the bad consequences of the stagnation of trade in the increase of the poors' rates. Under such circumstances, it was not to be

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wondered at, that the distressed manufacturers looked forward to the East-India market with great confidence. Nor were the affairs of the Company less calculated to give a peculiar importance to the subject: for many years past they had gone on so ill, that they had contracted a debt of nearly 30,000,000l. and this it was shrewdly suspected would be increased instead of being diminished. The Company were almost every year applying to parliament to relieve them from their pecuniary embarrassments, and thus the nation saw itself burthened with the Company's debts. The American trade with China was another prime consideration which called for redress; but the consideration that the Americans have teas much cheaper than we have them, was wisely resisted by government, who were determined not to open the trade to China; but to wait till they saw the effects of laying open the East-India trade. The East-India trade has, it is granted, long been called a monopoly; but even in the opinion of Dr. Adam Smith, it is such a one as may be beneficial. Government also found it difficult to interfere very materially with a monopoly which had been so long established. Evidence was very prudently heard at a great length before the House of Commons, and such a renewed Charter was ultimately offered, as would at once secure to the Company a part of their exclusive privileges, and give them time and opportunity to prepare themselves for the sacrifice of others, if it should be necessary for the public good. In fact, the most sanguine enemies of the Company could not possibly suppose that an institution, on the continuance of which so many persons depended for the necessary or comfortable means of subsistence, should be at once entirely destroyed. Among the resolutions formally proposed in parliament were the following:—That all the present immunities of the Company and the regulations respecting the same, should continue, except as in hereafter provided:

That the China trade should remain under its present restrictions.

That it should be lawful for any British subject to export to

any other part included in the Company's Charter from any part of the united kingdom.

Also to import thence to any part of the united kingdom: provided the warehouses at the same ports should be deemed safe for the purposes of revenue.

Provided the vessel approaching port, notify its arrival by a manifest. Regulations to be adopted as to the importation and sale of silk and hair goods.—The Company to provide the payment of troops and support of forts.—To liquidate debts on bills of exchange.—To pay a dividend of ten per cent. and a contingent half per cent. To liquidate the bond debts till they amount only to 3,000,000l. the surplus profit to be divided in the ratio of 5-6ths to government, and 1-6th to the Company, with a provision for repaying the capital stock. Provision for the Lascars brought to England in private vessels. Provision to enable the Company to grant pensions and gratuities. Provisions for the appointment to the different Presidencies, and to render necessary the approbation of the Crown. And, lastly, the appointment of a bishop and three archdeacons to be paid by the Company.

At length the bill for the government of India for a further term of twenty years passed through the House of Lords without a single amendment, and received the royal assent on the 21st of July 1813, being to take effect from the 10th of April 1814. This bill limits the operation of the Company's exclusive Charter to places lying to the north of 11 degrees of south latitude; and between 64 and 150 degrees of east longitude. To other parts within the specified limits, ships of 350 tons burden may trade, and under certain restrictions bring all the produce of the East, tea excepted. Persons desirous of going out to India for commercial purposes must apply for a licence to the Court of Directors; and in fourteen days from the time of their application, if it be not complied with, may apply to the Board of Controul, who may order the Court if they see fit, to grant a licence. In many cases the power of the Board of Controul over the Company is enlarged. The patronage, however, remains in the hands

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of the Directors. This act too acknowledges it as our duty as a Christian nation "to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and to adopt such measures as may tend to the introduction of useful knowledge, and of religious improvement among them." Sufficient facilities also, are afforded by law, to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs: provided always that the authority of the local governments respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved. The act empowers the Court of Directors to grant licenses to such persons, who in cases of refusal or delay may appeal to the Board of Control; the local governments are also made judges of the propriety of the behaviour of such persons.

Some time must naturally elapse before the real and permanent effects of thus far opening the trade to India can be clearly and accurately ascertained; and though the present peace, not in contemplation when the late regulations were made, has ceded a very large portion of the settlements formerly belonging to the French and Dutch, may eventually involve us in some unpleasant disputes, much will depend on our conduct, which, with the experience of several centuries ought, at least, to ensure a longer period of tranquillity and prosperity in that distant quarter than has hitherto been experienced.

THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

This elegant edifice in Leadenhall Street was preceded by another erected in 1726, that only extended the breadth of the present west wing. It was at that time the residence of a single Director; but being unequal in accommodation and splendour to the increasing trade and opulence of the Company, it was thought proper to remove it, and to erect the present noble building upon the

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the old site, and that of several private houses purchased and taken down for that purpose. The present erection, or rather the enlargement and new fronting of the original building, took place in 1799, under the direction of Mr. R. Jupp. The principal entrance from Leadenhall Street is by means of a portico of six fluted columns of the Ionic order, supporting a frieze, decorated with antique ornaments, surmounted by a pediment; in the tympanum of which is an elegant group of emblematical figures, the principal, representing his majesty George III. leaning on his sword in his left hand, and extending the shield of protection with his right arm, over Britannia, who is embracing liberty. On one side Mercury, attended by Navigation, and followed by Tritons and sea horses, emblematical of Commerce, introduces Asia to Britannia, before whose feet she spreads her productions. On the other side, appears Order, accompanied by Religion and Justice. Behind these appear, the City Barge, and other emblems appertaining to the metropolis, near which are Integrity and Industry. The western angle contains a representation of the Thames, and the eastern, that of the Ganges. Above the pediment is a fine statue of Britannia, holding in her left hand a spear and a cap of liberty upon it. On the east and west corners are Asia seated on a Camel, and a beautiful figure of Europe on a horse.

The front of the India House has been a subject of satirical observation with every architect who has taken occasion to speak of it. It is said to be too long and too heavy for the building of which it forms a part. One of the first rules in architecture, say these critical observers, ordains that the parts should not only bear a relation to the whole, but that every part should have a relation peculiarly its own: the front of the India House is objectionable in both points of this rule. Its ornaments and designs are likewise much too general. The figures are too thickly grouped, and the mob of deities is very ill placed.

The most important accusation in this catalogue, is that touching the common-place character of the design at large. As to

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the apparent gravity or weight of the edifice, it does not strike us in the light of a defect. We certainly do not altogether accord with the assertion of a late eminent wit, that city mansions were in a correct architectural taste when a heap of bricks was so arranged as to convey the idea of a heap of guineas having been raised before; but we really do think that a building devoted to commercial uses has little occasion for the refined polish of Palladio, or the majestic graces of Bonarotti. Substantial respectability, devoid of all factitious art or ostentation, is the characteristic of commercial pursuits; and the edifice of congregated merchants is best suited to its object when it is grave, weighty, and simple.

But the want of general allusion to the Asiatic Possessions of the Company, censured in the design of the India House, is certainly an error of no trivial consequence. It was the pride of a philosopher "that his house should be known *by him*, rather than himself *by his house*." In an individual, this ambition might be laudable; but the rule cannot be deemed worthy of imitation by a national company trading exclusively to a particular quarter of the globe. When ornament was introduced, the costume of Hindostan should invariably have prevailed. With Greece or Rome the architect of an East India House had no manner of concern.

Still we cannot admit, as some have asserted, that the decorations and design of this building are as applicable to any other trading house as to the India House: the sculptured groupe in the tympanum, and the figures on the extremities of the portico, have evidently a poetical allusion to the species of traffic in which the Company is engaged; but then, unfortunately, these emblematical productions are so situated that none but the very inquisitive can decipher their meaning. There is nothing relative to the eastern world that *presents itself* to observation.

The above remarks on the architectural character of this magnificent building are chiefly borrowed from "Descriptions, Historical, and Architectural of splendid palaces and celebrated public

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public buildings, English and foreign," a very pleasing, but unfinished work, published in 1809. With most of them the present writer can most cordially agree: but the opinion respecting the grave and weighty character which that writer seems disposed invariably to ascribe to what may be not unaptly termed commercial architecture seems not altogether just; for what solid reason can be assigned, why the fruits of commercial labours should not be allowed to flow into the pleasing and ornamental as well as the merely useful pursuits of social life? And it should be observed with respect to the India House, in particular, that it belongs to a Company of traders who are the potentates of that part of the world which has ever shewn the greatest thirst for ornament and splendour. That so little attention has been paid to those ornaments which are emphatically termed Asiatic, is to be lamented; but an India House, seated in the centre of the British Metropolis, may surely be allowed to indulge in any of the graceful ornaments of Greece and Rome: to have been purely Asiatic in its construction and decorations would have been unsuitable to the convenience of English merchants, and uncouth in its appearance to an English eye to have had no ornaments of what are usually termed a classical and ancient character, would have been a reflection on the taste and spirit of the British noblemen and gentlemen, to whose concerns the India House is devoted. More of a strictly characteristic kind should certainly have been introduced, and less of a classical nature would, probably, have detracted from its general beauty.

Under the portico is the door of the hall; the principal entrance forming a recess from the portico, with a handsome pediment, and two windows on each side. The wings are plain, except the basement windows, which are arched; above these are others of a square form. The two wings are surmounted by a handsome balustrade. Under the portico the door of the hall leads to a long passage, taking a southern direction, and also leading to a Court and Court-room, surrounded by offices and apartments of various descriptions. In the former are two of Tippoo's

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Tippoo's long tyger guns, the muzzles of which are contrived to represent the extended jaws of that ferocious animal.

The Grand Court-room on the right of the passage is very elegantly fitted up, and is extremely light. The eastern side, or extremity, is nearly occupied by a chimney-piece, of the finest white marble, the cornice being supported by two caryatides of white, on pedestals of veined marble; these, with the brackets, &c. also of white, form a beautiful contrast. But the greatest ornament of this room, is the fine design, on *bas-relief*, in white marble, of Britannia, sitting on a globe, under a rock by the sea-shore, looking to the eastward. Her right hand leans on an Union shield, whilst her left holds a trident, and her head is decorated by a naval crown. Two boys appear behind her, one looking regardfully at her; the other diverting himself with the flowing riches. Britannia herself is attended by female figures, emblematical of India, Asia, and Africa; the first in a reclining posture, presenting a casket of jewels; the second, holding in her right hand an incense vessel, as an emblem of spices; and in her left, the bridle of a camel. The third figure representing Africa, is decorated with the spoils of an elephant, and rests one hand upon the head of a lion. Old Father Thames appears upon the shore, his head crowned with flags; a rudder in his right hand, and a cornucopia in his left. In the back ground is seen mercantile labour, and the ships riding on the ocean. The arms of the Company crown the whole, elegantly adorned. The doors are uncommonly handsome; and on the pannels, appear good pictures of Fort St. George, Bombay, Fort William, Tellicherry, the Cape, and St. Helena. The western extremity of the room exhibits a grand Corinthian portico, with an elegant clock: the south side has two ranges of windows; the *tout ensemble* of the architecture is excellent; and an uncommonly fine Turkey carpet covers the whole flooring.

From the room on the south-east is an opening to the *Committee Room*, in which, over a beautiful marble chimney-piece is an excellent portrait of General Lawrence. Stringer Lawrence, Esq.

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Esq. from his earliest youth was extremely anxious to acquire military glory. He had given repeated proofs of his courage in the war between Great Britain and Spain in 1739, till the peace in 1748. After the loss of Madras in 1746, the affairs of the Company required an officer of great courage and integrity, and finding such a one in the person of Mr. Lawrence, he was appointed major. The north door of the *Court Room* leads to the *Old Sale Room*. The west end of this apartment is circular; and here, three niches contain marble statues of Lord Clive, Admiral Sir George Pocock, and Major-General Lawrence, in Roman habits: all dated 1764, with an excellent statue of Sir Eyre Coote, in his regimentals. For the accommodation of bidders, there is a considerable ascent of steps to the east; and on the top is a stately colonade of the Doric order.

The New Sale Room is a very fine specimen of the abilities of Messrs. Jupp and Holland, and is lighted from the ceiling. It is ornamented with pilasters, and contains several paintings illustrative of Indian and other commerce; and without any visible fire, there is a subterraneous conveyance of heat, by which this room is rendered warm during the sales in the coldest weather.

In the room for the *Committee of Correspondence* is a portrait of Marquis Cornwallis, in a general's uniform, and another of Warren Hastings, Esq. on each side of a handsome inlaid chimney piece. The portrait of the famous Nabob of Arcot, and another of the same class, decorate the north and south ends, and by their trappings afford a striking contrast to the plain dress of Mr. Hastings. This room also contains the following views, painted by Ward, exhibiting interesting specimens of Indian architecture, viz. a View of Trichinopoly; a curious rock, called Viri Malli; the Bath of the Bramins in Chillimbrum; Madura to the East; Tippy Colum; Tanks, and Mausoleum of the Seer Shaw; Choultry of Seringam; south entrance to the Pagoda at that place, with various Choultrys, &c.

The Library is situated in the eastern wing of the building.

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It is not capacious, measuring only sixty feet in length, and twenty in breadth. On the south side there is a semi-circular recess. Over the chimney-piece a fine painting exhibits the Emperor of Persia, a young man of good countenance, with a long black beard. The dress in which he appears is richly embellished with jewels of considerable size. There are twelve on each arm. He is drawn in the eastern style, sitting upon a carpet studded with gold and pearls. A bottle of rosewater is standing by him, and his left hand bears the sceptre, an emblem of his sovereignty.

In circular recesses at the east end of this library are busts of the late Governor-General Warren Hastings and Mr. Orme, the historian. Every book known to have been published in any language whatever, is to be found here, relative to history, laws, or the jurisprudence of Asia. The company also possess an unparalleled collection of manuscripts in all the Oriental languages; but the most of them were presents from gentlemen employed in the service. Many of these manuscripts are written upon the smooth silky paper of India, and are ornamented with historical and mythological designs executed in the most brilliant colours, with burnished gold. Tippoo Saib's copy of the Koran, brought from Seringapatam, is one of the most remarkable, next to a plain Manuscript in the Persian character, relating his dreams; the whole of which seem to have resulted from his ruling passion, the destruction of the British power in the East. The Malayan Manuscripts in this library are said to have been scratched with a sharp pointed tool upon the leaves of the palm tree, joined at the ends and made to open like a fan. Others, folded up in the ancient manner, extend several yards in length when they are opened. Besides these, there are many cases containing original maps or charts of the countries in the East; with several forts, &c. belonging to the Company. There are likewise several volumes of drawings of Indian plants, and other representations of the arts, manners, and costume of the Orientals. Here is also the only collection that has been brought to England of the printed books

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of the Chinese, consisting of some hundreds of volumes; each set including five or six, enveloped in a blue cover, with a flap and button, in the manner of a pocket book. Next to the Library is the Museum, containing the Babylonian inscriptions originally written in what is called the *nail-headed character*. The discovery of some of these inscriptions at Persepolis by the celebrated Danish traveller, Niebuhr, induced the Directors to order Mr. Harford Jones, resident at the Court of Persia, to collect all the remains of this kind he could procure. The first specimen transmitted by him were eleven bricks, apparently baked by the heat of the sun upon a matting made of flags, the impression of which remains visible on the bottom of them; each of these bricks measuring fourteen inches square by four in thickness, the upper, or outer sides, containing an indented or impressed inscription of several lines, not less than three, or more than eight, of what is called the *nail-headed*, or Persepolitan character. These bricks were by Mr. Jones's procurement dug out of some very deep foundations near the town of Hillah on the banks of the Euphrates. These foundations were strongly cemented together by bitumen. The inscribed bricks are supposed to have been the facings of a wall. A fragment of Jasper is to be seen here, presented by Sir Hugh Inglis to the Court of Directors. It resembles a block of the pebble kind, upwards of two feet in length; the sides and the extremities are entirely covered with inscribed characters, ranged in ten columns, and not less than 600 lines in the whole.

To the credit of the Court of Directors, for the gratification of the curious, they have caused engravings of the whole of these remains of antiquity to be made from the drawings of Mr. Fisher, a gentleman in their service, a part of which only have been published by him. Some fragments of the ancient city of Gour, of great extent, and which formerly flourished near Patna, on the shores of the Ganges, are not less interesting than the curiosities already described. The Company also possess some beautiful pieces of Chinese rock-work, in hard bronze wood, with temples

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of ivory, the men, trees, birds, &c. seen about them, being formed of silver embossed, and mother of pearl. There is also a large painting, representing a Chinese festival, executed very much in the European style. The whole of these were intended as presents to the late Emperor Napoleon, when First Consul, but were taken by an English vessel at sea. The trophies obtained from Tippoo Saib, form some of the first in value in this repository: the most gratifying are his standards, which have been described as displaying a ground of party coloured silk, sprinkled with the tiger-spot, with the sun in its meridian splendour. These standards have been perforated by a number of bullets, &c. The foot-stool of his throne, which is also preserved here, is of solid gold; its form exhibits that of a tiger's head with its eyes and teeth of crystal; the velvet carpet on which he reclined, is also here. The throne itself, constructed by his orders soon after he succeeded to the Mysore territory, was a most splendid fabrication of massy gold, elevated about three feet from the ground, under a canopy supported by pillars of gold, and embellished with jewels and pendent crystals of unusual magnitude; but this was broken up and the parts disposed of, the produce being distributed as prize-money in the British army. But here are several pieces of his armour, consisting of waistcoats and helmets of cork with various coverings of silk, faced with green velvet, supposed to have been capable of resisting a musket ball. His mantle, which is preserved here, has some Persian writing upon it, conveying the superstitious idea of its being invulnerable, from the circumstance of having been dipped in the holy well at Mecca.

The most celebrated of all the spoils found in the palace of the tyrant, beyond all doubt, is the musical tiger, a kind of hand organ, contained in a case made to represent that ferocious animal in the act of tearing out the heart of a human victim. This instrument, which is partly musical, may be played upon, having keys like those of an ancient organ; but the sounds emitted from it were designed to resemble the groans or cries of some unhappy victim

victim its prey, with a hoarser note at times made to imitate the horrid growl of the tiger. Upon this instrument, it is said, Tippoo would often exercise his skill, with no other view than to excite in his imagination those acute agonies in which it was his common practice to indulge. Tippoo is reported to have "announced a design of ascending this throne on a day appointed, and to have invited vast numbers of unmarried Hindoos to his capital, to be present at the ceremony, with a promise of large dowries in aid of their intended nuptials; but a report getting into circulation that he had a secret design of forcing the males present to undergo the Mahometan ceremony of circumcision, the greatest part of them fled his capital in the night preceding, and thus disappointed the tyrant of his promised triumph." In consequence of this mortification, it is understood he made a vow congenial with his implacable animosity to the British government in India, which he had partly inherited from his father Hyder Ally, never to ascend this throne till he had driven the Intruders (a name he always gave the English) from the Peninsula. Happily his throne remained as an article of splendid lumber, till a period was put to his life and reign.

In order to form some idea how the vast concerns of the East-India Company are managed at home, as well as abroad, it is to be observed, that a proprietor of stock to the amount of 1000l. whether male or female, native or foreigner, has a right to be a manager, and to give a vote in the general council; 2000l. is a qualification for a Director. The Directors are twenty-four in number, including the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, who may be re-elected in turn. There are six Directors annually chosen, in place of six who go out by rotation, and remain in office for four years successively. The Chairman and Deputy Chairman have each a salary of 500l. a year, and each of the other Directors has a salary of 300l. The meetings of the Court of Directors are to be held once a week at least, but they are oftener summoned if occasion require it. There are several Committees formed of these Directors, and each Committee has the super-

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intendency of the various branches of the Company's business and concerns. The several Committees are as follow:—House Committee—Committee of Correspondence—Ditto of Buying—Ditto of Treasury—Ditto of Warehouse—Ditto of Shipping—Ditto of Accounts—Ditto of Law Suits—Ditto to prevent the growth of Private Trade. Each of these Committees has under it, a Secretary, a Cashier, Clerks, and Warehousekeepers.

The grand ceremony of opening the East-India docks situated at the eastern extremity of Blackwall, a place long noted for its ship-yards, took place on Friday the 3d of September 1802. The principal of these adjoining to Perry's Dock is capable of receiving twenty-eight East-Indiamen, and from fifty to sixty ships of smaller burden. Their extent with the embankments and adjoining yard, is nearly thirty superficial acres. The dock for loading inwards is in length one thousand four hundred and ten feet; width, five hundred and sixty feet; quantity in acres, eighteen one-eighth. The Dock for loading outwards is in length, seven hundred and eighty feet; width, five hundred and twenty; quantity in acres, nine and one-fourth. The entrance bason takes up the quantity of two acres and three quarters. The constructors of this grand concern, were John Rennie, Esq. and Ralph Walker, Esq. both highly respectable as Engineers.

A grand road continued from the Commercial Road serves as the line of communication between these Docks and the Company's Warehouses in town. A new road has also been constructed from the East-India Dock branch of road, and over the river Lea, by means of a bridge into the county of Essex, proceeding by West Ham, East Ham, Barking, Rainham, Wennington, Aveley, West Thurrock, and Grays, to Tilbury Fort. The distance from Whitechapel Church to Tilbury Fort, by the old road, is twenty-nine miles; but the new road decreases it to twenty-two miles. Thus, according to the letter of the Act of Parliament, a more direct communication has been made between his Majesty's arsenal at Woolwich, and the Navy, *East-India*, West-India, and other shipping lying in the Thames between

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Blackwall, Gravesend, and the Nore. The establishment of the East-India Docks, the principal entrance of which is at the eastern extremity of Poplar, has given new life and consequence to that hamlet, which before was comparatively in a state of decay. A great number of humble, but comfortable dwellings have been raised here and about Limehouse, for the accommodation of the labourers and other attendants at the Dock, whilst for the officers, &c. several good houses have been built so as to form a new and elegant neighbourhood almost all the way along the line of the Commercial Road from the East-India Dock to the new road leading to Wellclose Square.

As to the East-India Warehouses round about the Docks, they are but few in number; because as the Company possess places in town adequate to immense magazines, they have not been under the necessity of following the example of the London and West-India Docks, in depositing the goods that are landed in warehouses on the spot. On the contrary, in order to transport the vast quantities of goods imported with every fleet that arrives, they employ a number of waggons, which, according to preconcerted measures are secured even from the drivers of them on their passage from the Docks to the London Warehouses, situated in Haydon Square in the Minories; Gravel Lane; Petticoat Lane; Fenchurch Street; New Street, Bishopsgate Street; &c. &c. The grand repository of the Teas stands on the site of the Old Navy Office in Crutched Friars, and is a regular oblong of about 250 feet by 160, including a court of 150 by 60, which is entered by an arched gateway. The multitude of windows and great number of persons employed in each of these vast depositories convey some idea of the prodigious concern in which the Company is engaged. Some of these are appropriated to Pepper, Spices, &c. Others to Tea, Silk, China, &c.; and the regulations in all are excellent, particularly as to the preservation of these invaluable depositories from pillage in consequence of any riot or disturbance, as all the labourers not rendered incapable by age or infirmity, have been for several years past trained to

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arms, clothed, and regularly disciplined. With this view a large field was purchased by the Company on the north side of the City Road, near the Shepherd and Shepherdess. These persons, who are formed into three regiments, making a body of 2000 men, have extra pay allowed them when on duty; besides which there are funds provided for the relief of such as may be sick, superannuated, or subject to any accidents in the warehouses, or elsewhere; so that the continuation of the East-India trade in the port of London, as has been observed during the late debates on the extension of it to the out ports, is connected with the comfortable subsistence of several thousands of persons depending upon their employment in the East-India House, the Warehouses, &c. Besides these provisions made for the labourers in town, the East-India Company have alms-houses and an hospital at Poplar. The East-India Company also maintain the minister of a chapel at Poplar, built by the inhabitants of that hamlet in 1654.

As to the East-India sales, when goods are received in the private trade warehouses, they are brought to sale with all possible dispatch.* In these warehouses an even beam is never admitted; but in such cases, *one pound weight* is always added to the *tare;* and on all packages taring one quarter of a cwt. one pound super tare is allowed. In those goods which for their better preservation have an interior packing, as *cassia lignea, cinnabar, aloes, &c.* a proportionate allowance is always made. Upon packages weighing one quarter of a cwt. gross, a two ounce weight is placed in the scale, by way of giving a turn in favour of the trade; one pound is also allowed for draught on goods of the above weight, and in case of an even beam, one pound is also deducted. On all articles sold by the pound there is a further allowance of *tret,* or four pounds for every 104, which consists chiefly in the following articles: viz. annatto, Carmenia wool, cotton wool, cotton yarn, cardamoms, cloves, cubebs, cinnabar, indigo, mace, nutmegs, opium, quicksilver,

* Crosby's Merchant and Tradesman's Pocket Dictionary.

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silver, rhubarb, senna, tortoise-shells, and white copper. Weighable goods of a different description are sold by the cwt.

Respecting the Bengal trade the following are the latest regulations:

On all weighable goods no weight is made use of, less than a pound, a two ounce weight excepted, which is always kept in the scale where the weight is placed. On all weighable goods (raw silk excepted) one pound is allowed for draught on every package that weighs more than 28 lbs. gross, and on every draught of goods not in packages exceeding 28 lbs. Weighable goods sold by the pound except raw silk, have an allowance for *tret* after the rate of 4 lbs. for every 104 lbs. Where some of the packages only of any parcel of goods are *tared*, if on averaging the whole, there should be a fraction, it is made up a pound, by adding the fraction wanting. On all weighable goods, (tea and coffee excepted) one pound is allowed for *super-tare*; on all packages that tare 28 lbs., and upwards, and where the tare is taken on an average, and there should be a fraction, one pound and the fraction.

Allowances are subject to the following regulations: if on averaging those *tared*, they turn out even pounds, unless the chests weigh gross 84 lbs. or upwards, no allowance is made: in which case one pound *super-tare* is allowed on each package.

Half Chests. If on averaging those tared, it turns out even, one pound only is allowed for super-tare on each package, but where there is a fraction, one pound and such fraction as above.

Whole Chests. If the average of those tared should turn out even, two pounds are allowed on each package for super-tare; but if there be a fraction, one pound, and the fraction as above.

Coffee. If on averaging the bales tared, it turns out even, two pounds are allowed on each for super-tare; but if there be a fraction two pounds and the fraction, as in the preceding articles. The following goods are sold at the Company's sales by the hundred weight. Aloes, benjamin, borax, camphor, cassia, cambogium, china-root, coffee, cubebs, elephant's teeth, fossil, alkali,

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gallanga root, galls, ginger, gum-arabic, gum-tragacanth, gum-unrated, hemp and flax, long pepper, mother of pearl, shells, munject, myrrh, olibanum, redwood, rice, saltpetre, sapan wood, sago, sal ammoniac, seedlac, shellac, sticklac, turmeric, vegetable alkali, wax. Among articles sold by the pound, are cardamons, carmenia wool, cinnabar, cinnamon, cloves, cotton yarn, cotton thread, cotton wool, indigo, mace, nutmegs, opium, pepper, quicksilver, raw silk, rhubarb, tea.

East India Piece Goods consist of white calicoes, white, plain, checked, or flowered muslins, and white or yellow nankeen cloth; muslins, cossacs and other sorts rated as muslins, receive ten per cent drawback in full of every allowance. Calicoes three-fourths yard wide, and up to one-fourth, are entitled to 6*d.* per yard, drawbacks in manner following: Each 10 yards is called a calico, and receives 5*s.* drawback: Each ditto, from one half yard wide and upwards upon each six yards (exclusive of 14 one-half per cent. from the original price) 5*s.* drawback. Diaper and dimity draw per yard exclusive of 14 per cent. as above, 1*s.* 5*d.* ditto.

Brokers' Charges. Piece goods purchased of the East India Company, one fourth to one half per cent. to be paid by the buyer. Goods managed for proprietors in privileged private trade, &c. one fourth to one half per cent. to be paid by the employer. For all piece goods bought in other public sales, one half per cent. to be paid by the buyer. Ditto by private contract, one half per cent. by the seller, unless otherwise agreed. Valuation of piece goods, one fourth per cent.

Blackwall, the northern bank of the Thames to a considerable extent, contains, besides the dock formed by the East India Company, the one adjacent belonging to Mr. Perry, the most considerable private dock in Europe, as there is a reception there for twenty-eight large East India men, and from fifty to sixty ships of smaller burden, with room to transport them from one part of the dock to any other. On the spacious south quay, four cranes are erected for the purpose of landing the guns, anchors, quintaledges, and heavy stores of the ships. On the east quay,

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quay, provision is made to land the blubber from the Greenland ships; and adjoining are coppers prepared for boiling the same with large warehouses for the oil and whalebone; and ample convenience for stowing and keeping dry the rigging and sails of the ships. On the west quay a building is erected one hundred and twenty feet high, for the purpose of laying up the sails and rigging of the East Indiamen, with complete machinery above, for masting and dismasting the ships, by which the former practice of raising sheers on the deck, so injurious to the ships, and extremely dangerous to the men, is entirely avoided. The first ship masted by this machine was the Lord Macartney, Indiaman, on the 25th of October 1791; her whole suit of masts and bowsprit being raised and fixed in three hours and forty minutes, by half the number of hands, usually employed two days in the same service. Houses are erected for the watchmen on each end of the north bank, who have the care of the ships in dock night and day; with cook rooms for the sailors to prevent the necessity of their making fires in the vessels. The basins without the dock gate are constructed in such a manner that ships are continually laid on the stocks and their bottoms inspected, without the necessity of putting them into the dry docks; by which much time and expense are saved. Towards the end of the year 1789, and all through 1790, people came from far and near, to collect the nuts and pieces of trees, which were found in digging the docks at Poplar, many of them in a sound and perfect state, although they must have lain there for ages. They seem to have been overthrown by some dreadful convulsion, or violent hurricane from the northward, as all their tops lay towards the south.

To form a proper conception of all the benefits to society, and to the mercantile world in particular, which has arisen from the establishment of the docks before described, would require a mind of no common powers, and no small share of information. What has been saved by these, and the adoption of a general warehousing system, assisted by the *River Police*, can only be

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appreciated by a recapitulation of what had been lost, previous to the introduction of the measures connected with these valuable improvements.

A very able writer on the Police,* speaking of the Thames, says "Let the mind only contemplate the commerce of a single river, unparalleled in point of extent and magnitude in the whole world; where 13,444 ships and vessels discharge and receive in the course of a year above *Three millions of Packages*, many of which contain very valuable articles of merchandize greatly exposed to depredations, not only from the criminal habits of many of the aquatic labourers and others who are employed, but from the temptations to plunder, arising from the confusion unavoidable in a crowded port, and the facilities afforded in the disposal of stolen property." It will then be easily conceived that the plunder must have been excessive, especially where from its analogy to smuggling, according to the false conceptions of those who are implicated, and from its gradual increase, the culprits were seldom restrained by a sense of moral turpitude; and this at a time too, when, for want of a *Marine Police*, no means existed whereby offenders could be detected on the river. The fact is, that the system of river depredations grew and ramified as the commerce of the port of London advanced, until at length it assumed a variety of shapes and forms, each having almost as many heads as a Hydra: the first of these were *River Pirates*. This class was mostly composed of the most desperate and depraved characters; and their attention was principally directed to ships, vessels, and craft in the night, which seemed to be unprotected. Among many other nefarious exploits performed by these miscreants, the following was not the least remarkable. "An American vessel lying at East Lane Tier, was boarded in the night, while the captain and crew were asleep, by a gang of pirates, who actually weighed the ship's anchor, and hoisted it into their boat with a complete new cable, with which they got clear off. The captain hearing a noise came upon deck at the moment

* Colquhoun on the Police of the Metropolis, &c.

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moment the villains had secured their booty, with which they actually rowed away in his presence, impudently telling him they had taken away his anchor and cable, and bidding him good night." Much about the same time, the bower anchor of a vessel from Guernsey, was weighed and carried off with the cable. Previous to the establishment of the docks, ships being very much lumbered, were considered as the harvest of the river pirates, with whom it was a general practice to cut away bags of cotton, cordage, spars, oars, and other articles from the quarter deck, and to get clear off even in the day-time. And as all classes of labourers, lumpers, &c. were in a manner guilty, they naturally connived at each other's delinquency, so that few or none were detected. It was frequently the practice of river pirates to go armed, and in sufficient force to resist. Their depredations were extensive among craft wherever valuable goods were to be found; but they diminished in number after the commencement of the war: and now since the establishment of the docks and the *Marine Police;* a solitary instance of robbery is scarcely ever heard of. Yet as peace has returned, it may be expected that some of these desperate characters will endeavour to renew their former depredations; and many of these, it must be supposed will be discharged from the army and navy. What were called *Night Plunderers* were composed of watermen, associated in gangs of four or five in number, and their practice was likewise to get connected with watchmen employed to guard lighters and other vessels while cargoes were on board, and to convey away in lug-boats every portable article of merchandize they could lay their hands upon.

These corrupt watchmen did not always permit the lighters under their own charge to be pillaged; but their practice was to point out others which lay near their own, perhaps without a guard, and which on this account might be easily plundered. An hour was fixed upon for effecting this object; and the receiver, a man generally of some property, was applied to, to be in readiness at a certain hour before day-light to warehouse the goods.

A lug-

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A lag-boat was seized on for the purpose, and the articles removed into it out of the lighter, conveyed to a landing-place nearest the warehouse of deposit. The watchmen in the street leading to the scene of villainy were generally bribed to connive at it, under the pretence that it was a smuggling transaction, and thus the object was effected. Several cargoes of hemp obtained in this manner were conveyed up the river, and afterwards carted in the day-time, till, by the vigilance of the police-boats, a detection took place, and the whole scene of mischief was laid open. In many instances where goods could not be plundered through the connivance of the watchmen, it was no uncommon thing to cut lighters adrift, and to follow them to a situation calculated to elude discovery. In this way whole lighter loads, even of corn, have been discharged at obscure landing-places at the river, and carted away during the night. Even the article of tallow from Russia, which, from the unwieldiness of the packages, appears little liable to be an object of plunder, has not escaped the fingers of these offenders. The class called *Light Horsemen*, or nightly plunderers of West-India ships, are said to have originated in a connection between some Mates of West-India ships, and some criminal Receivers residing near the river, who used to apply to them to purchase what is called *Sweepings*, or rather the spillings or drainings of sugar remaining in the hold and between decks after the cargo was discharged, and which were generally claimed as perquisites. In getting these articles on shore, it was necessary the Revenue Officers should connive, which they did, and the quantity of spillings was of course gradually increased year after year. In fact, to such a pitch of infamy was the business carried, that an agreement being entered into with those concerned on board, and a gang of plunderers on shore, composed of Receivers, Coopers, Watermen, and labourers, they were permitted, on payment of from thirty to fifty guineas, to come on board in the night; to open as many hogsheads of sugar as were accessible, and to plunder without controul. For this purpose a certain number of bags, dyed *black*, and which went under the appellation,

tion of *Black Strap*, was provided. The Receivers, Coopers, Watermen, and Lumpers, all went on board at the appointed time. The hogsheads of sugar, packages of coffee, &c. were opened; the *black bags* filled with the utmost expedition, carried to the Receivers, and again returned to be refilled; till daylight, or the approach of it, checked the pillage for a few hours. On the succeeding night, the depredations were renewed, and thus, on many occasions, from fifteen to twenty hogsheads of sugar, a large quantity of coffee, and, in many instances, rum, (which was removed by a small pump called a *Jigger*, and filled into bladders with nozzels,) was plundered in a single ship, in addition to the excessive pillage committed in the same ship, by the Lumpers, or labourers employed during the day in the discharge of the cargo. And, previous to the establishment of the Docks, it has been estimated, upon credible authority, that above one-fifth of the vessels on the Thames suffered by nightly plunder. The ships subject to this species of robbery, generally known from the character of the Mates or Revenue-Officers on board, were denominated *Game-Ships*. On board some of these the labourers, called Lumpers, would frequently solicit to work without wages, trusting to the liberty of plundering. Another class, called *Heavy-Horsemen*, made up of Lumpers, &c. were exceedingly depraved. They generally went on board ships furnished with habiliments made on purpose to conceal sugar, coffee, cocoa, pimento, ginger, and other articles, which they generally conveyed on shore by means of an under-waistcoat, containing pockets all round, and denominated a *Jemmie;* and also by providing long bags, pouches, and socks, which were tied to their legs and thighs under their trowsers. These miscreants have been known to divide from three to four guineas a piece every night from the produce of their plunder, during the discharge of what they called a *Game-Ship*, besides the hush-money paid to officers and others for conniving at their nefarious practices.—*Game Watermen* were so denominated from the circumstance of their having been known to hang upon ships under discharge for the

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the whole of the day, in readiness to receive and instantly convey on shore, bags of sugar, coffee, and other articles, pillaged by the Lumpers. By such connections as these, Mates, Boatmen, Carpenters, Seamen, and Ship-boys, have been seduced, and even taught to become plunderers and thieves, who would otherwise have remained honest and faithful to the trust reposed in them. Many of the watermen of this class were accustomed to live in a style of expense by no means consistent with the honest earnings of industry; and an instance has been mentioned of an apprentice lad keeping both a mistress and a horse out of the profits of his delinquency.

Game Lightermen, were those who used to be in the constant habit of concealing in the lockers of their lighters, sugar, coffee, pimento, ginger, &c. which they received from mates, and others, on board of West-Indiamen. The lockers in these lighters were generally secured by a padlock, and these were seldom taken out till after the lighter had been supposed to have been completely unloaded. It was then the practice to remove to the road where empty craft used to be a-breast of the Custom-house Quay, and then carry away the stolen or smuggled articles. And it has not seldom happened that many of these *Game-Lightermen* have, under pretence of watching their own lighters, actually plundered the goods under their charge to a very considerable amount, without detection. The artful and insidious conduct of these lightermen was also exhibited in a very glaring point of view in the case of a Canada merchant, who had been accustomed to ship quantities of oil annually to the London market: finding a constant and uniform deficiency in the quantity landed, greatly exceeding what could arise from common leakage, which his correspondents were unable to explain, and having occasion to visit London, he was resolved to see his cargo landed with his own eyes; so as, if possible, to develop a mystery heretofore inexplicable, and by which he had regularly lost a considerable sum for several years. Determined, therefore, to look sharp after his property, he was in attendance at the wharf in anxious expectation of a lighter

lighter which had been laden with his oil on a preceding day; and which, for reasons that he could not comprehend, did not get up for many hours after the usual time. On her arrival at the wharf, the proprietor was confounded to find the whole of his casks stowed in the lighter with the bungs downwards; and convinced that this was the effect of design, he began now to discover one of the causes at least of his great losses: he therefore attended the discharge of the lighter until the whole of the casks were removed, when he perceived a great quantity of oil leaked out, which the lightermen had the effrontery to insist was their perquisite. The proprietor then ordered casks to be brought, and filled no less than nine of them with the oil that had thus leaked out. He next ordered the ceiling of the lighter to be pulled up, and found between her timbers, as much as filled five casks more; and thus, but for his own attendance, fourteen casks of oil would have been appropriated to the use of the lightermen, who, after attempting to rob him of so much property, complained bitterly of his ill usage in taking it from them.

Mud-Larks, were those who played a smaller game; being accustomed to prowl about at low water under the quarters of West-India ships, with pretence of grubbing in the mud for old ropes, iron, coals, &c. but whose object in reality was to receive and conceal small bags of sugar, coffee, pimento, and sometimes bladders containing rum. These auxiliaries were considered as the lowest cast of thieves. As for the Revenue-Officers, many of them found means not only to promote pillage in West-India ships, but also in ships from the East-Indies, and in every ship and vessel arriving and departing from the River Thames. This class of officers generally made a point of being punctual upon duty, and never being found absent by their superiors, they obtained preference to those particular ships which afforded the best harvest, either from being under the charge of Mates, or others with whom they were connected; or from the cargo being of a nature calculated to afford a resource for plunder. They were also generally acquainted with the *Copemen*, or Receivers;

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and at those seasons of the year, when the crowded state of the port rendered it necessary to have *extra* and *Glut* Officers, the general distress of this class of men rendered them very easy to seduce, and to become the willing instruments of any kind of plunder.

Scuffle-Hunters, were so called from their resorting in numbers to the quays and wharfs where goods were discharging, under pretence of finding employment as labourers, &c. and then taking advantage from the circumstance of disputes and scuffles arising about who should secure most plunder from broken packages, &c. These men were reckoned the very scum of society; but, with the establishment of the Docks, these, and every other pest of the community already mentioned, have sunk into that obscurity and nothingness best befitting the present state of improved commerce and morals. Still, as a memento of the dangerous depravity to which we are no longer subjected, a few more instances, as quoted by Mr. Colquhoun,* may not be without their effect.—"The Receivers, or *Copemen*," he observed, who formed the junto of wholesale dealers, and were accustomed to visit ships on their arrival, carried on their negociations in a language, and in terms peculiar to themselves; by *sand*, was meant sugar; by *beans*, coffee; *peas*, pimento, or pepper; *vinegar*, rum, and other liquors; *malt*, tea. It was their custom to lend assistance wherever such articles were to be procured by providing *Black Strap*, or the long bags before-mentioned. They also procured bladders with wooden nozzels, for the purpose of containing rum, brandy, geneva, and other liquors, and furnished boats to convey the plunder from the ships during the night. Some of these Receivers, to tempt and seduce those who would permit them to plunder the cargo, would advance them considerable sums, which, however, rarely amounted to a moiety of the value of the goods obtained, and frequently not one fourth part, particularly in the article of coffee. Other classes of Receivers being generally engaged in business, as small grocers, or chandler's-shops, and old

* Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis.

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old iron and junk warehouses, they were accustomed to protect the plunder in its transit from one criminal dealer to another, by means of small bills of parcels. For the purpose also of defraying the expense of prosecutors for criminal offences upon the river Thames, and to raise a fund for suborning evidence, and employing counsel for higher crimes, and of paying the penalties under the Act of the 2d Geo. III. cap. 28, commonly called the Bum-boat Act; there existed a club composed of *River Plunderers*, *Lumpers*, *Coopers*, *Watermen*, and *Receivers*, (denominated *Light Horsemen*, *Heavy Horsemen*, and *Copes*,) from whose funds the law expences incurred by members of the fraternity, were paid. By these iniquitous means not a few notorious offenders escaped justice; while those who were convicted of penalties for misdemeanors escaped the punishment of imprisonment, and being thus screened from justice, returned to their evil practices without the least apprehension of any other inconvenience than the payment of a fine of 40s. defrayed by the club. The new system, however, affording means of detection in the ships where the offences may be committed: what were formerly *misdemeanors*, are now treated as *larcenies*, which has operated most powerfully in breaking up this nefarious confederacy, and in defeating all the atrocious designs of the criminal delinquents of which it was formed, some of whom, though apparently common labourers, resided in handsome houses, furnished in a very superior style for the rank in life of the occupier. As a proof, among others, of the enormous extent of the river plunder, the convictions for misdemeanors under the Act of Geo. III. cap. 28, from August, 1792, to August, 1799, exceeded *two thousand two hundred*, of which number, about 2000 culprits paid the penalty, partly from their own resources; but chiefly, it is believed, from the funds of the club, amounting in all to about 4000l. in the course of seven years.

This peculation extended to almost every article imported into, and exported from, the port of London; though the dealings in stolen West-India produce were far the most extensive, yet it appears

pears from proper investigation that the *East-India Company*, and the Russian and American merchants, as well as the importers of timber, ashes, furs, skins, oil, provisions, and corn, were also considerable sufferers; and the colliers, though they suffered less than the rest had sufficient reason to complain of this lawless banditti. Nor was the export trade on the River Thames in any respect secured against these plunderers, particularly those laden with sugar, coffee, and other West-India produce. An instance is quoted of a shipmaster who was compelled to pay a considerable deficiency for deficient sugars plundered by lumpers and others who assisted in lading his vessel, notwithstanding his utmost personal vigilance and attention while the sugars were getting on board! At present a single Marine Police Officer, would prevent this. The effect of their power in overawing delinquents, from the nature of the system, and the discipline peculiar to the institution, is not to be conceived.

A volume might be occupied in describing the ill effects of the river plundering system upon various branches of society among the lower orders, and which continued without any essential check till July 1798, when the MARINE POLICE INSTITUTION, a wise and salutary measure of government, arose from the meritorious exertions of the merchants of this city, particularly those engaged in trade to the West-Indies.* From a Report of a Committee of West-India Merchants to a General Meeting in 1798, it appeared that the average saving to the Planters was stated at 111,012l. and to the revenue 50,150l. making an average of 161,162l. out of an importation amounting to 8,000,000l. sterling a year. It was, therefore, asserted as not too much to say that one and a half per cent. on this sum had been saved under a system of such extreme vigilance, where every class of depredators were defeated in their iniquitous designs, and deprived, in a great measure, of the powers they formerly possessed

* For a particular account of this Institution see a Treatise on the Commerce and Police of the River Thames.

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sessed of doing mischief: but the probability is, that the saving has amounted to more, though the fact never can be accurately ascertained. More specific details can scarcely be necessary, especially since deputations of the most respectable merchants from the *whole* commercial body, sensible of the benefits derived from the system of the Marine Police, which has been rendered complete, only by the establishment of the Docks, have solicited the sanction of Government for the purpose of passing a bill to extend the design, so as to afford the same protection to the general trade of the port, as had been experienced by the West-India Merchants; further requesting they might be permitted to defray the expence by an annual assessment upon the trade. It may only be necessary to state, that under all the disadvantages and difficulties attending the execution of this design, it may be truly said to have worked wonders in reforming the shocking abuses which prevailed. "The River Pirates do not now exist in any shape. The nightly plunderers denominated light horsemen, have not dared in a single instance to pursue their criminal designs. The working lumpers, or heavy horsemen, are no longer to be found loaded with plunder. Watermen are not now as formerly to be recognised in clusters, hanging upon the bows and quarters of West-India ships under discharge, to receive plunder. Lightermen, finding nothing to be procured by attending their craft, are accustomed to desert them until the period when they are completely laden. Journeymen coopers, do not wilfully demolish casks and packages as heretofore, since no advantage is to be reaped from the spillings of sugar, coffee, or other articles. The mud-larks find it no longer an object to prowl about ships at low water while under discharge, since the resource for that species of iniquitous employment is no longer in existence." The criminal class of revenue officers who had so long profited by the nefarious practices which prevailed, were for a long time unable to suppress their rage against the New Police; but were ultimately compelled to submit to existing circumstances. By means too of the vigilance used in watching the Docks and Quays, the scuffle

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hunters, and long-apron-men, accustomed to prowl about for the purpose of pillage, have deserted the Quays and landing places; while the copemen and receivers finding their former infamous pursuits cannot be continued, have mostly declined business, particularly since the precaution has been taken to oblige the sellers of old iron, &c. if their business go beyond that article, to exhibit over their doors or windows, a painted board, with their names and the words *Dealer in Marine Stores* in letters, the size of which, to prevent collusion, is specified according to Act of Parliament.

The excellent system of the river police is illustrated most strongly in the paucity of crimes committed since its adoption; a robbery of any consequence on the river, or in the docks, is now, and has been for some time, next to a miracle. The only instance of recent robbery that can be recollected, is the case of silk stolen from the Velocity Brig, or rather from a Hoy, which brought this article up to the Custom House, and was probably perpetrated under circumstances that may never again occur, and as such are worthy of attention. This daring robbery, which was committed on the night of the 7th of July, 1812, gave birth to a trial at the Old Bailey before Baron Thompson, of almost three days and three nights continuance, in the following October sessions, when Joseph Winter, William Henry Winter, George Brown, William Armstrong, William Allen, and Ralph Fenwick, the first five, watermen, the last a ship-chandler, were indicted. Being all associated for the purpose of plundering property on the river, in pursuance of this daring object, they took a hoy from its moorings at the Custom House Quay, and though Custom House Officers were on board, they robbed the vessel of the silk and ostrich feathers stated in the indictment, viz. ten bales of silk and two cases of ostrich feathers of the value of two thousand pounds and upwards. The silk and feathers they learned had arrived in Stangate Creek, and had been there put under quarantine from the Brig Velocity, Captain Blyth, from Gibraltar. This was about the middle of June. The offenders having heard that this silk was sent into Stangate Creek on board the Sisters, James Bampton, Master, owner Thomas

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boat Hutchson. As it was then understood that Bampton had been concerned with this party in some other jobs of this nature, he entered into their scheme without any hesitation, and communicating the business to John Knox, his mate, the plan arranged was, that Joseph Winter, and his five associates should go down to the neighbourhood of Sheerness in a barge sailed by Winter (in what is called shares for his master, Mr. Mason, of Greenhithe) and wait for Bampton's hoy coming out of Stangate Creek with the goods. They were then to follow the hoy up the river, and according to circumstances, Bampton was either to run her ashore, or bring to, at Dagenham Breach, when the rest of the party were to board him, and, after fastening Knox and two Custom House Officers below, they were to take the goods out; or, in plain terms, to commit the robbery. They had previously arranged with Robert Cooper, a publican in Ratcliff Highway, and one Ingram of Chadwell in Essex, to wait at Dagenham Breach, with a covered waggon, to take charge of the goods when landed, and convey them to a place of safety.

Bampton it appeared left the Creek with the silk on board on Saturday morning, July 4, and Winter and his party followed him in their barge, but Bampton neither ran his vessel on shore, nor stopped as agreed upon at Dagenham Breach. His conscience seemed to have misgiven him, and he alledged as his reason for not sticking to the original plan, that one of the Custom House Officers on board, was so well acquainted with the river that if the hoy had either been run ashore, or brought to, he would have known there was roguery in the business, and Bampton would have got into trouble. Bampton, thus finding himself unable to execute the original design, on their way up the river, sent his partner Knox on board Winter's barge to say that he durst not stop; but that he should bring up at the Custom House road, for the night, and they might do it there. Winter's party, however, did not relish this plan, they were afraid of the *Marine Police Boats*, and the matter dropped for the time. Within three days after, when the hoy was moored in the Custom House road, Win-

ter, Brown, and Armstrong, (Fenwick and W. H. Winter having left them) continued to make their observations, and thinking the business could still be done, they determined upon carrying it into execution on the night of Tuesday the 7th of July. However, it was thought necessary, as the party was not so strong as before, for Armstrong to apply to one Ivey, a toy merchant in Artillery Lane, who agreed to join them, and bring two more with him; men who feared nothing. Accordingly, the whole party, Winter, Brown, Armstrong, Ivey, Ben Caddick, and William Taylor, the latter enlisted by Brown, met at nine o'clock on Tuesday evening, at the Three Tuns, in Thames Street, where they finally concerted their plan, which was carried into effect on the same night by three of the party; (Brown, Caddick, and Taylor) who going on board the Hoy, and moving her off from the Quay, laid her along side of Winter's barge, where they found the rest of the party ready to assist them. During this time they do not appear to have met with any interruption excepting from one of the Custom House officers, who, when they first came on board looked up from below, and asked, "Is that you Jem?" (meaning Bampton). Caddick, who it was previously agreed upon should personate Bampton, answered "yes." The officer then asked where they were going with the vessel; and Caddick answered "They were going to haul off to the road, as the goods were to go into the London Dock, and they must be ready for the next tide," adding, "so, do you go below, and turn into my bed out of the way." This advice he unsuspectingly complied with, and they soon after fastened the scuttles down where the two officers were stowed, broke open the hatches, and took out the bales of silk, &c. as before observed, and immediately proceeded up the river to Baker's Dock, a place a little below Black Friar's Bridge on the Surrey side, and there landed them. A person of the name of Norman had previously hired a stable in Woolpack Yard, Woolpack Alley, Gravel Lane, and Norman was waiting at Baker's Dock with a cart, and conveyed at twice the goods to the stable, assisted by Caddick and Benjamin Allen.

Hoy.

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However, very soon after the alarm had been given that the Sisters Hoy had been robbed, Charles Sayers, an honest waterman in the employ of Lucas and Co. communicated to his employers his suspicions as to Brown and Winter, he having been tampered with by the former, previous to their excursion down the river on this business, and from having heard the same two persons damning Bampton, for having deceived them, swearing at the same time "they would still have it." This led to the apprehension of Brown and Winter, who stoutly denied all knowledge of the transaction; but it having been judged prudent to question Bampton also, who was never before suspected, he was induced to communicate all the particulars of the original conspiracy, in consequence of which W. H. Winter, William Allen, and Joseph Knox, were immediately apprehended. Fenwick and Armstrong both absconded, and could not be found. The butcher that owned the stable, it also appeared, having suspected that things were not going on right, had taken the number of the cart, and communicated it to the officers of Union Hall. Norman, who hired the stable was looked for, but was not forthcoming; whilst Sprigs, the owner of the cart, being taken into custody, proved that his cart had been loaded without his assistance, and that he conveyed a number of bags of clothes, as he was told, and supposed to be, to the top of Water Lane, Fleet Street, where they were put into another cart by the person who accompanied him, who, after giving him half a crown, drove off, he did not know where. Sprigs, notwithstanding, remained in custody with the rest from the middle of July to the 22d of August, during which time, though they underwent several examinations, the magistrates of the *Thames Police*, by a want of foresight almost unaccountable, thought proper to discharge the whole of them. Thus, in all probability, the ends of justice would have been completely baffled, had it not happened that on the same day their discharge was permitted, information reached the consignees of the silk, that a quantity of raw Valencia was working at the mills of Mr. Theophilus Percival, at Bruton,

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in Somersetshire; and as no other silk of that description had been imported for many months, two persons were immediately dispatched to Bruton, who discovered that about 630l. of Valencia silk had been sent there to be thrown, by Mr. Thomas Green of Worship Square, London, against whom a warrant was immediately taken out; but he being at Coventry, his people informed the officers that he had purchased the silk of persons of the firm of Stephens and Gibbs, in Cumberland Street, who after some hesitation, acknowledged they had bought it, though under an impression of its being smuggled, of a man of the name of Cooper, in Ratcliffe Highway, shewing at the same time his receipt for part of the money paid to him. Cooper, after being taken into custody, denied ever having any thing to do with Gibbs; but in the course of a day or two sent for Mr. Herriot, the magistrate, and disclosed the whole circumstances of the robbery and the parties to it, offering to produce five hundred weight more of the silk, upon condition of his being admitted to bail, which was refused. The apprehension of the offenders through the accidental precipitation of the magistrates, was all to be performed over again; however, as George Brown was the first taken, he very eagerly let out the truth of the story. Soon after, Winter, Fenwick, Allen, Ivey, Bampton, Knox, Spriggs, and Taylor, were apprehended the second time; but Norman, Caddick, Ingram, and Armstrong had irrecoverably escaped. During this time 516 lbs. more of the silk was delivered up by a person of the name of Thompson, at Horndon on the Hill, in Essex. Three hundred pounds of silk, which after all could not be recovered, it seems was disposed of by Caddick and Norman, on their own private account.

After a long private examination at the Thames Police Office, on Wednesday September 30, Cooper, the receiver, Winter, Allen, Knox, Ivey, and Taylor, were fully committed for trial, and Brown, Fenwick, and Bampton, admitted as evidence for the Crown: Spriggs, the carman, was again discharged, and on Friday, October 30, the prisoners, with Mr. G. Harris, afterwards ap-

apprehended, were brought to the bar of the Old Bailey; Harris then appeared to have been the person who took the silk round to different silk dealers. Mr. Bowland briefly opening the case, was followed by Mr. Gurney, who exhibited the whole transaction as one of the most extraordinary in its nature, and extensive in its consequences that had happened for several years. He adverted to the deep combination among so many men—to the secret so long kept among them; and from the whole tenour of the case he was sure the Jury would see that it had a most alarming tendency, and that it affected the vital interests of the trade of London.

After a trial for three successive days, and a charge from the Learned Judge, which occupied more than four hours in the delivery, the Jury remained several hours out of Court, the Verdict was then returned; Winter, Allen, Taylor, Guilty: *Death*; Ivey, and Cooper Guilty: *Transportation*. Knox and Harris *Not Guilty*.

Thus this robbery, though alarming upon a partial view of it, will most probably verylong remain unaccompanied by any fresh attempt being made for the purpose of violating the strong fences which since the institution of the Marine Police, and the establishment of the Docks, have been raised for the defence of commercial property of every kind, but more especially that of the Great Chartered Companies of the kingdom, the security of whose *domestic* concerns at least, perhaps has never been at any period equal to the present.

As to the real state of the administration of the Company's government abroad, after all that has been said by persons of different sentiments, nothing will probably be found more completely divested of party spirit than the view taken of the Company's foreign affairs, by one of the first statesmen in this or any other country, when the question of opening the trade, and of abridging, or rather violating their Charter, was lately agitated.

Respecting the innovations proposed, Lord Castlereagh on the

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occasion here referred to, observed, he must be allowed to say that the lapse of years and existing circumstances had rendered a partial change in the system of policy hitherto observed towards our Indian possessions, indispensably necessary, and that there was no part of the Empire more concerned in adopting that change than the East India Company itself. The mode of government adopted by them had certainly raised and preserved an empire unprecedented in the history of the world, and they had governed a people under their control on a principle eminently calculated to produce the happiness of the governed. He did not believe the history of the world had ever produced its parallel: a system by which a population of fifty millions of native subjects were governed, while the civil officers of the Company by by whom the government was conducted, did not exceed 1600, and this too under a government than which there never was a milder, nor one by which the happiness of the people was more consulted. He did not know that there was ever a government possessed of servants of greater ability or character, than those of the East India Company. He said, and he said so with sincerity, that he did not know of any set of public servants whose merits were so conspicuous, or whose acts of delinquency were so few, as those of the East India Company. Ministers, he said, were called on to form a judgment as to what was fit to be done, so as to consult the just rights of the public of this country, and of the East India Company, taking care at the same time not to lose sight of the happiness of the native inhabitants of our Eastern Empire. They might have formed an erroneous judgment in these respects. They only wished, however, to be convinced of this to retract. They had proceeded on a firm conviction that what he had now to propose was safe and expedient. Ministers would feel it no reproach to their understandings to admit that they had been mistaken. He hoped, however, when he had stated the view he entertained of the matter, the House would be of opinion that it was not such a proposition as went in any degree to break in upon the chartered rights of the Company. It

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was not desirable that discussions of the nature of the present, should too frequently be gone into; therefore, if it be renewed at at all, he thought the Company's Charter should be renewed for twenty years. If this was to be the case, then he could see no principle of justice or policy which could warrant the house in tying up the capital of one half the globe, and confining the exclusive trade to the Company and to foreigners: that was so monstrous a proposition, one so much out of the course of nature, that no principle could be found to support it: for, on what pretence could it be argued that all British capital was to be excluded from trade to British settlements, except the capital of this Company; and that in addition to the Company, foreigners only were to be allowed a free trade? When it was said that the Company had extended the trade to India, to the full amount to which it could be carried, he could not help doubting the assertion. But supposing that to be so, he could by no means go along with the idea that the trade to India was to remain stationary for twenty years. He was aware that great danger was to be apprehended from an over speculation at the first throwing open of such a trade: good, however, often came out of evil: and though he looked with apprehension to the burst which might be expected at the first opening of the trade, that was not a sufficient cause for a great country to despond, or to shut out the enterprising spirit of her merchants. It was with commerce as with war; in the latter many valuable lives were sacrificed for the country; and though the intermediate loss was to be deplored, yet the country would thereby often have her dearest interests promoted. So it is with commerce: the first adventurers in a new trade might go too far. They were the pioneers, however, who cleared the way for others; and though at first a loss might arise from excessive speculation, there could be little doubt that new channels would be opened for the trade and manufactures of an enterprising and persevering people. His lordship apprehended that the private trade to India had of late years greatly increased, notwithstanding all the restrictions

strictions to which it had been subjected by the East-India Company. Within the last nineteen years it had risen to within one-third of the total of the Company's trade! It was impossible in these circumstances that this could be an inviting commerce. With regard to the question on what footing ships should be built in India, he said, he wished them to be placed on the same footing as all other vessels, namely, that they should be manned according to the navigation act, with two thirds of British sailors, but with the provision that this should extend only to times of peace. The Indian vessels would thus afford a nursery for British seamen, who might be immediately transferred to the more effectual service of their country in time of war, by thus allowing a greater proportion of Lascars to navigate our vessels. He said, he should also wish some provision to be made, by which all persons bringing the natives of India from their own country, should be bound to take proper care of them, and carry them safely back. As to the army, no material alteration could be made in this body, for, if transferred to the Crown, it would be a gratuitous sacrifice of the interests of the Company to take this force out of the control of the local sovereign; and so long as the Company retained the government of India, it would be an anomaly to take from them the power of the sword while they were permitted to hold the power of the law. The King's troops were sent to India in very uncertain numbers; there were times at which it had been advisable that there should be a force in India sufficient to meet the attacks of the French when that power was making rapid strides towards universal sovereignty; and whenever the defence of India became necessary for the interests of the whole empire, it was unjust that the Company should defray the whole expense of it. The only regulation he should propose in addition to the existing ones, was as to the different appointments to the presidencies. The Crown, he said, at present, has the virtual power of recall. The resolution he should propose on the subject would leave the appointment of the presidencies in the hands of the Directors, but would render necessary the approbation of the Crown,

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Crown under his Majesty's sign-manual. On the subject of religion, he was aware that it was unwise to encroach on it generally; and that under the circumstances of our government in India, it was a most delicate question. All that his Lordship argued for, in addition to the free exercise of religion already granted, was a kind of regulation in favour of the members of the Episcopal Church, who, as matters stood in India, could not avail themselves of the benefit of confirmation. He hoped the house did not suppose he was coming out with a great ecclesiastical establishment; for it could only amount to one bishop and three archdeacons, to superintend the chaplains of the different settlements. The Company, he hoped, would not think it an encroachment on their rights, that while British subjects were governed in India by British law, they should be permitted to exercise their national religion. After making some observations on the carrying trade, and submitting the resolutions already stated, he concluded a speech, which, for the solidity of its arguments, and the perspicuity with which they were illustrated, upon a subject involving so many points, can never be surpassed. As for one objection, which is still continued in the mouths of the enemies to the Company's privileges with respect to the exclusive trade to China, which they still retain, those who urged it did not consider what has been said in defence of the plan of government in this particular: viz. that the character and disposition of the Chinese were of such a singular cast and tendency, that it would be impossible to trade with them, except through the medium of a company; that if the trade were open, our sailors would be continually involved in disputes with the Chinese, and that the necessary consequence of these disputes would be, that we should be expelled from China altogether. In reply to this, it was observed, that the Americans, who traded pretty extensively to China, and not under the management of a company, have not in fact been involved in disputes with the Chinese government nearly so frequent, nor so seriously, as our seamen; and that the same methods which kept them free from

from disputes, might, if adopted and strictly enforced, equally preserve our men from contention. The evidence given before the House of Commons, however, on this point, uniformly tended to prove, that the American seamen were more steady and regular, and better behaved than ours. It was further objected that the profits of the Company upon tea were greater than they ought to be, or would be, if the trade was thrown open. In answer to this, it has been asserted, that the Company could not possibly derive an unfair profit on tea, because, by the express terms of the charter, they are obliged to put up all their teas to public sale at a very small advance, (it is said on most descriptions of teas not more than one penny per pound,) on the prime cost and expences of that article. Hence all advance above this sum must depend upon the bidders. As to the Americans selling tea much cheaper than they are sold in England, it seems very satisfactorily accounted for: all teas were first offered to the agents of our East-India Company, and such as were rejected by them, were generally bought by the Americans: so that in fact, though the names and descriptions of the teas sold in the United States might be the same, their qualities were very different. Thus one of the principal arguments for laying open the trade to China has fallen to the ground; and the legislature has wisely secured to the Company, or at least for twenty years, a constant and permanent source of revenue and emolument, commensurate with their expenditure.

In closing this historical and descriptive outline of the East-India Company's affairs, and of the various collateral points of this vast concern, it will, perhaps, be expected that some farther account should be given of those clauses in the late Bill for the renewal of their charter which excited great public interest. Our limits will not admit of any observations except on that clause which regarded the introduction of Christianity into India. It has already been glanced at; but the subject is much too important to be passed over indifferently.

Much has been said concerning the moral and religious cha-

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racter of the Hindoos. By one party, if a party it may be termed, they have been represented as a very moral, benevolent, and almost enlightended race. It has been more than hinted, that little is left for Christianity to perform on the moral habits of these Asiatic idolaters: their shocking rites and cruel practices have been glossed over as the mere mistakes of education; while the most odious comparisons have been drawn between the virtuous Hindoo, and the vicious Christian. By another party, the character of the worshippers of Veshnu has been described as of the vilest cast. Lord Teignmouth, in answer to some questions put to him by Mr. Stephen and others, in a Committee of the House of Commons, asserted that his opinion of the general standard of moral character of the people of Hindostan was, that it was very far below the Christian standard of this country. Falsehood founded a prominent part of their character; they were a compound of servility, fraud, and duplicity. Their character might have originated in some degree in the despotism of the ancient government. Their crimes were the burning of women on the funeral pyles of their husbands, which he had learned was a common practice, and also infanticide in some particular districts. They immolated themselves sometimes by prostrating their bodies before the procession of their idols, permitting the car to pass over them, and crush them to death, which they considered a meritorious sacrifice. He had likewise learned, that on particular occasions they leaped into the rivers, where they drowned themselves. It has been asserted that their religious rites are attended by many obscenities; but, in this particular, his lordship did not appear to be informed. He was not aware, that their religious festivals were celebrated with rites of unnatural obscenity; he had seen indecent pictures on their temples, but never witnessed any obscenities. The murder of a Bramin by a stranger, and the murder of a stranger by a Bramin, were not punished in the same manner; for a Bramin might suffer punishment much worse than death; but none might put him to death, while he who killed a Bramin was held guilty of the com-

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commission of an inexpiable crime. He had heard that Bramins were known to offer violence to themselves, after having suffered insult from strangers, for the purpose of making them guilty of inexpiable crimes. He did not know whether the Gentoo religion was an insuperable obstacle to the advancement of civilization and moral character. Their women were so concealed, that he knew nothing concerning them. The introduction of Christianity among them would improve their civil condition. He did not recollect that any efforts of that kind had been made by the East India Company. The discreet and well ordered efforts of missionaries would not be dangerous to the British dominions in India. Other nations had been more active than Britain in the cultivation of the Gospel. The Danish government had made some efforts; the Dutch had Christianized many of the people of Ceylon; and considerable numbers were also reformed by the Portuguese without any dangerous consequences.

Such is the substance of Lord Teignmouth's evidence on this very important subject; and, doubtless, in a general way, his lordship's opinions are correct concerning the character of the Hindoos, and the value of missionary labours; but so much depends on the judgment, prudence, and spirit of those whom the missionaries may send out, that evident danger is to be apprehended. That their zeal is of the purest and most disinterested kind, there can be little doubt; but, if one might hazard an opinion of the spirit of the whole, from the sample we have of it in many of its supporters in Europe, but very little should be confided to the unaided judgment, and unlimited zeal of an English itinerant preacher. It is more than probable that the labours of these pious men will be opposed; and, most certainly, unless they shall turn out to be more patient under opposition from Indian Heathens than most of their brethren are here, under the opposition of European Christians, they will not only thwart their own benevolent purposes, but considerably endanger the interests of the East Company in Hindostan. Ample have been the means afforded them, warm and disinterested have been their

ved in the employment of those means; and it will now be fairly tried, how far the moral efforts of the Genevan creed will operate to the enlightening and reforming of Heathens and Mahometans.

The doctrine of predestination, common to the Mahometans and these Calvinistic Missionaries, may be taught without reserve; and probably some of the Mussulmen may be surprised or allured into the other dogmas of the Calvinistic theology, when they find themselves encouraged on a point which has ever been deemed by them of such vital importance. How far the disciples of Calvin will be able, encouraged as they now are, to operate on the prejudices and habits of the Gentoo Heathens time alone must determine. Hitherto they have done little; and it is the opinion of the writer of these observations, that the spirit and the means adopted by the Quakers, would perform the work of conversion much more effectually than the present missionaries will ever be able to accomplish.

It is now time to draw the present volume to a close. The subjects which it embraces are, beyond all doubt, of signal and interesting importance; but in the discussion of them the author has, certainly been led into remarks, historical, and critical, the extent of which he evidently did not perceive at his commencement. A brief re-capitulation of the whole of what has hitherto been done towards the completion of this very extensive subject may, while it helps to remind the reader of the great facts he has been reviewing, serve, in a very essential manner, to connect the various matters that are yet to follow with those which are already gone before; and so, making an uniform whole, complete the design first proposed of portraying the several objects relating to this vast Metropolis.

In the first part of the present undertaking, a general outline is given of the Statistics, General Character, and Agricultural and Political importance of the county of Middlesex. Various conjectures concerning the origin of London, and the presumed etymology of its name then follow. A tolerably copious account

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count of Roman London, together with numerous important particulars and facts concerning various Roman Antiquities that have been discovered in it, as coins, inscribed stones, tessellated pavements, sepulchral remains, &c. is then given. Regular chronological notices of the City of London, from the departure of the Romans till the time of the Conquest; and from thence to the accessions of Edward the First; with Fitz-Stephen's description of the City in the reign of Richard the Second, follow. The History of London is then traced during the reigns of Edwards the First, Second, and Third. The same History is next pursued from the accession of Richard the Second to the death of Henry the Sixth; and from thence to the accession of Queen Elizabeth. From the accession of this greatest of British Princes, the history is continued to the Revolution of 1688, in which part are given several interesting particulars of the Great Plague in 1665, and of the Fire of London in the succeeding year. This historical outline is then continued through the successive years from the Revolution to the fiftieth year of his present Majesty, George the Third.

It is impossible to dispute the value and magnitude of these several subjects, whatever may be thought, by some, respecting the strict propriety of introducing them, at least so much in detail, into a work so confined in its objects, and so local in its general delineations as the present one; and the same remarks and objections may possibly apply to some of the points with which the present volume is afterwards concluded.

Following the general outline above re-capitulated, is a copious account of the Commerce, Trade, &c. of London; with some particulars of the City Companies. And here is concluded the First Volume.

The Second Volume commences with a General Description of London in its present state, including particulars of its situation, extent, buildings, population, domestic polity, manufactures, retail trade, climate, &c. These several points are, in many instances, but slightly glanced at; and then commences an account, also in

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in a general, and cursory manner, of the growth and progressive improvements of London from the time of the Britons to the present period, together with various incidental notices of Trade, Commerce, Local Regulations, Religious Establishments, and Historical Events. After these follow some particulars of the civil, military, and ecclestastical government of the City of London and its Liberties; including an account of the City Charters, Magistracy, Law Courts, Bishops of London, &c. From the details relative to the history of the prelacy, the author has thought it necessary (though somewhat irregular) to enter into an historical and descriptive account of St. Paul's Cathedral, with notices of the monuments, and various particulars of other subjects connected with that building. He has then returned to the more direct subjects connected with twenty-six wards, into which the City and its liberties are divided. This, as he conceives, has naturally drawn him into some account of the origin and particulars of the History of the City Companies; comprising various notices in Trade, Commerce, Religious Establishments, &c. with descriptive accounts of the City-Halls, Guildhall, and the Mansion-House. He has next proceeded to some historical accounts and descriptions of the Royal Exchange and the Bank of England; as also of the Stock Exchange, and of the Stocks themselves.

This Second Volume is concluded by an historical view of the Rise and Progress of the East India Company, including many particulars relative to its Trade, Government, Possessions, Establishment, &c. together with a Description of the East India House, and Accounts of the Company's Warehouses, and of the East India Docks. With these details are intermixed a few important collateral subjects, particularly an account of the late debates in Parliament on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter; and also of several particulars relative to the Police and management of the River Thames, with respect to the Docks, and the frauds formerly practiced on the concerns of the

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Company during the loading and unloading of ships in the Thames.

This rapid view of the points already discussed in these volumes was become absolutely necessary in order to shew the reader what he has to expect in the conclusion of this work; and also to justify the succeeding Editor in the attempts he is compelled to make towards a still farther and more detailed view of this vastly important Metropolis.

Of what remains to be done towards the final completion of this work, this is not the place to enlarge; and yet the judicious reader will discover that some explanation of this kind could not be dispensed with. He will also perceive, that little has hitherto been done towards a detailed description and delineation of the Metropolis, as a Town or City. The Civil and Ecclesiastical Architecture. The Public Institutions. Numerous great Commercial Edifices and Establishments. The Charitable Foundations, Schools, and Colleges. The Inns of Court, Prisons, and Law Offices. The Palaces, and Parliament, and Court. The Literary Character and Institution of the Theatres, the Scientific Societies, and Foundations. The great Ornamental Objects, both ancient and modern, with numerous other objects of vital importance, all present a field for research and observation, which, though often explored, will always present valuable traits of character, which, if not, in every instance new, are at all times interesting, and such as cannot with propriety, be slightly treated in a work of this nature. Since this work was first begun events of the highest, historical, and local interest have transpired.

From the fiftieth year of the present reign, with which our last chapter of Historical Notices closed, to the Peace of Paris, in the present year, (1814) the labours of centuries have been accomplished; and London has witnessed events which the greatest sagacity could never have contemplated; nor the shrewdest politican have anticipated. To pass over these events would leave an hiatus in our work of the most unpardonable nature. They

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will, therefore, form a preliminary chapter in the Third Volume, and which will be followed by such a minute survey of the Metropolis as the nature of our plan obviously requires.

A complete description, Historical, and Topographical, will occupy the portion devoted to Middlesex, as a county, distinct from the cities of London and Middlesex; and thus our readers will be put in possession of a description of the British Metropolis, and the County to which it belongs, on a sufficiently large and important scale.

END OF PART II.

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GENERAL INDEX

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

HISTORY OF LONDON AND MIDDLESEX.

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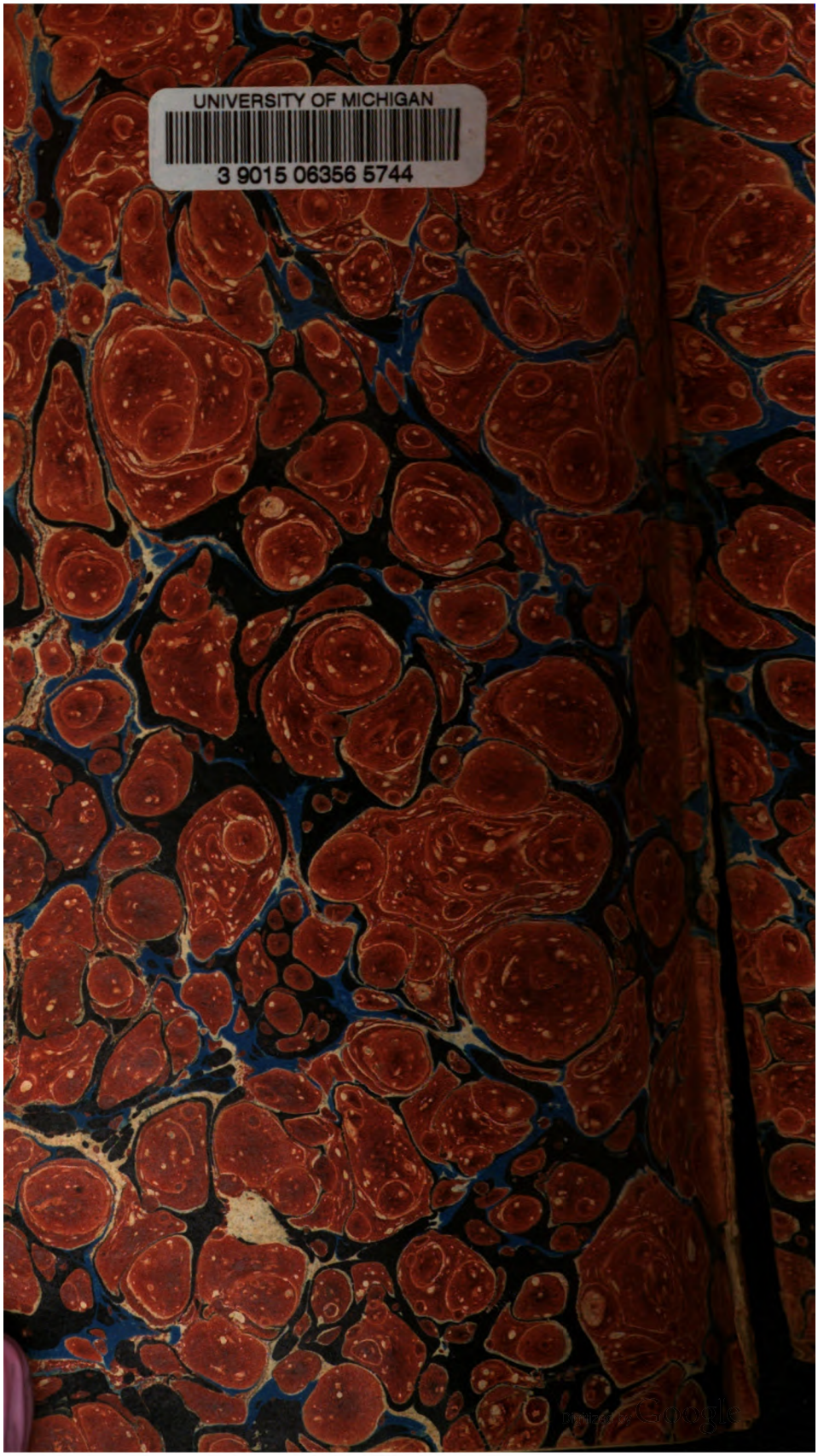
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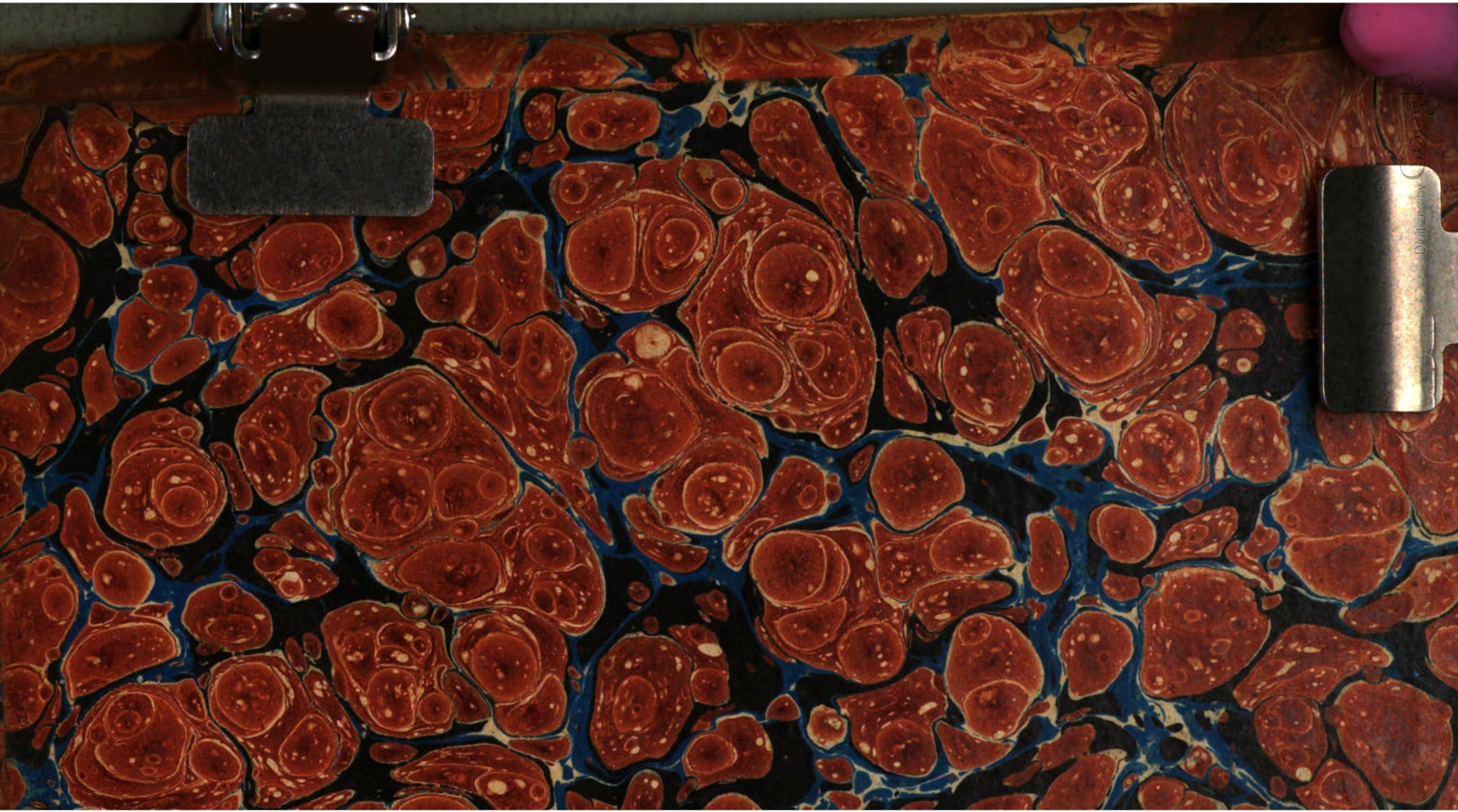

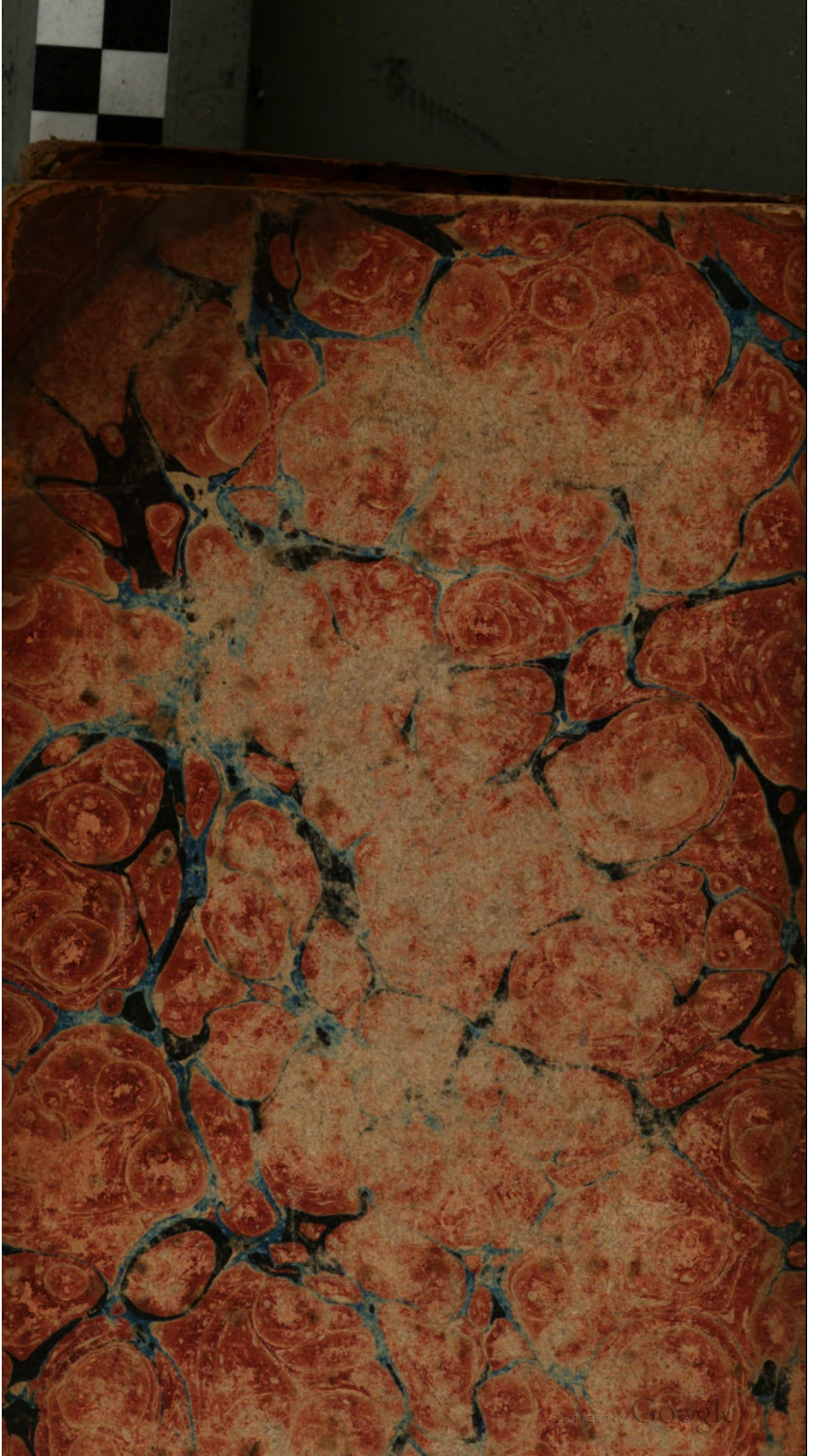
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